

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXIII—JANUARY 1904

INEFFECTUAL PREFERENCES

IN an article last July, when the fiscal discussion was in its infancy and Mr. Chamberlain's proposals had not been definitely formulated, I pointed out how little difference even a 5s. per quarter duty on foreign wheat imported into this country, and similar preferences on other articles of agricultural produce, would make to the Colonies, and how little difference in return would result to the United Kingdom from any preferences in their markets which the Colonies could give. Apart from all questions of principle, the proposals before the country, it seems to me, should be considered from this point of view. What is the use of endlessly discussing theories of free trade and protection when no material advantage can result to anybody from the special proposals put forward, even if protectionist principles are fully admitted? I propose, therefore, to resume the discussion with reference to the preferences we are to give to the Colonies, and the advantages promised us in the shape of the extended colonial cultivation of wheat and other articles, and the final result of making the Empire self-sustaining in the matter of its food supplies. If the preferences will not conduce to these ends, and the final result is unattainable in any near future, if at all, why continue a discussion

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES - - - No. 323, JANUARY 1904

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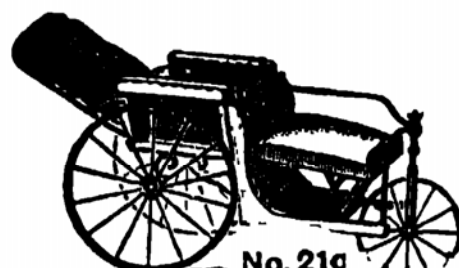
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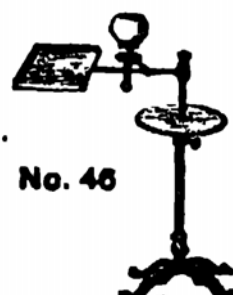
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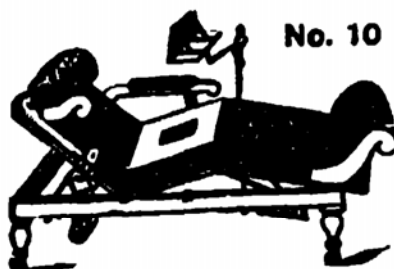
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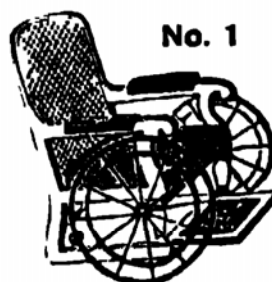
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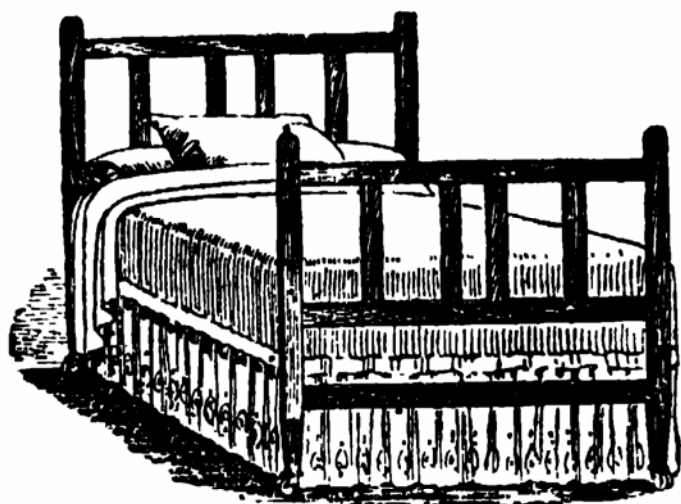
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THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXIII—JANUARY 1904

INEFFECTUAL PREFERENCES

IN an article last July, when the fiscal discussion was in its infancy and Mr. Chamberlain's proposals had not been definitely formulated, I pointed out how little difference even a 5s. per quarter duty on foreign wheat imported into this country, and similar preferences on other articles of agricultural produce, would make to the Colonies, and how little difference in return would result to the United Kingdom from any preferences in their markets which the Colonies could give. Apart from all questions of principle, the proposals before the country, it seems to me, should be considered from this point of view. What is the use of endlessly discussing theories of free trade and protection when no material advantage can result to anybody from the special proposals put forward, even if protectionist principles are fully admitted? I propose, therefore, to resume the discussion with reference to the preferences we are to give to the Colonies, and the advantages promised us in the shape of the extended colonial cultivation of wheat and other articles, and the final result of making the Empire self-sustaining in the matter of its food supplies. If the preferences will not conduce to these ends, and the final result is unattainable in any near future, if at all, why continue a discussion

which must proceed on the assumption that the preferences are to be effectual?

The discussion is more suited for farmers and speculators than for economists, or for the masses of electors who have now to pass judgment upon it. But it is one of the inevitable penalties of a protectionist policy, *in posse* as well as *in esse*, that we must all become speculators. The Government is being constantly asked to do something in expectation of purely speculative and contingent results, such as speculators—and speculators alone—are accustomed to anticipate.

It is amazing to see, by the way, the cocksureness of some of our protectionist friends. The keenest speculators, I believe, are never quite so sure of anything future, after they take every pains to be right, as many people who are not acquainted with the speculators' problems are about their answer to the present question when they have taken no pains at all.

The proposition before us then is that a duty of 2s. per quarter on wheat imported from foreign countries, and duties of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on other articles of agricultural produce, except maize and pork and bacon, which are specially omitted as the food of the poorest, will have for effect partly to increase the home production and partly and chiefly to increase the production in the Colonies, so that the Colonies will be great gainers, the people of the United Kingdom will be less and less dependent on foreign countries for their supply of food, and the Empire will be in the end self-sustaining. What we have to enquire into are the *pros* and *cons* of this speculation.

On the preliminary point of the gain to the Colonies on the existing production, I may refer to my former article. Even with a duty of 5s. per quarter on wheat, and corresponding or 10 per cent. duties on other articles of agricultural produce, it was shown that the immediate bounty to the Colonies at the expense of the people of the United Kingdom would not be more than about 1,200,000*l.* for wheat alone, and 4,000,000*l.* at the outside for all articles including wheat, and that these sums would not materially increase the general purchasing power of the Colonies,¹ whose aggregate income might be taken as 1,200,000,000*l.* Now the bonus is to be something much less material. Instead of 1,219,000*l.* for wheat it is to be two-fifths of that amount, 2s. instead of 5s. per quarter, or about half a million only, and about 2,000,000*l.* only on all articles put together. These are the amounts about which the present pother is raised. People with 1,200,000,000*l.* annually to spend are to have their average incomes raised by one-sixth of a hundredth part, and their increased purchasing power, it is supposed, is to be sensibly felt

¹ Always including India.

in the United Kingdom, where the people have an aggregate income of close upon 2,000,000,000*l.*, although this small increase of purchasing power may be directed in part only upon the productions of the United Kingdom itself.

There is consequently no immediate gain to the Colonies of any particular value in the proposed preferences, especially no immediate gain that will at all stimulate the trade of the United Kingdom. What extension of agricultural production is probable either at home or in the Colonies?

For answer, I would submit that apart from the risk involved in all speculations which would make the speculator hesitate—the risk of war, or money panic, or political uncertainty, as Lord Salisbury specially feared in this very matter—such bonuses on future production or extended future production are not sufficient to count materially to the farmer in any part of the world. His business is altogether too rough and depends on too large chances for sums of this kind to affect his calculation of future profit and loss. Let us see how they will look in the concrete to a farmer who is already working at a maximum, with no capital or labour to spare for experiments, taking wheat as the leading article. An English farmer having say twenty acres of wheat producing four quarters per acre, or eighty quarters in all, will at 30*s.* per quarter receive 120*l.* If he gets 2*s.* per quarter extra through the preference, he will receive 128*l.* instead of 120*l.*, and for this he may be more or less grateful as a windfall, but still not particularly grateful, as the ordinary fluctuations of quantity produced and price—which may easily be 20 per cent. or more—far exceed the bonus of 8*l.* If he should contemplate extending his cultivation by one-fourth, which would be a great change, what he would have before him would be that instead of getting 30*l.* for the produce of an additional five acres or twenty quarters, he might get 32*l.*, a difference of 2*l.*, which would hardly enter into his calculations at all if he could only be sure of the 30*l.* An English farmer with twenty acres of wheat has to be guided by much larger differences and considerations. Take again a Canadian peasant farmer with about ten acres of wheat growing twenty-five quarters at a maximum price of 20*s.*, giving him 25*l.* at the end of the year. He will be thankful enough for 2*l.* 10*s.* extra on his present production; but suppose he contemplates increasing it by one-half—which he would do even now, if he could, as wheat is his cash crop—the proposed stimulus would enable him to look forward to receiving for the produce of his additional five acres, or twelve and a half quarters, the sum of 13*l.* 15*s.* instead of 12*l.* 10*s.*, a difference again not great enough to affect him much, because the 12*l.* 10*s.* would induce him if anything could. A speculative Canadian farmer on a large scale would necessarily be in a similar position. For 140 quarters, the average produce of about fifty-six acres of wheat, which

seems to be the usual amount allotted to wheat by Manitoban farmers, the maximum price now receivable would be perhaps 140*l.*, to which the preference of 2*s.* would make an addition of 14*l.* Clearly if satisfied that he can look forward to 140*l.* or any such sum in average years, the Manitoban farmer or any other speculator would not alter his procedure by the prospect of other 14*l.* He does what he can now to capture the 140*l.*, and he cannot do more. The inducement must be very strong indeed that will increase the present strain when every motive exists already to add to the production.

Nor is it a mere matter of guess-work what the action of individual farmers will be regarding an addition of 2*s.* to the price of wheat. In the last eight years the *Gazette* average price of wheat has risen from 22*s.* 10*d.* and 23*s.* 1*d.*, the prices of 1894 and 1895 respectively, to 26*s.* 9*d.* and 28*s.* 1*d.* in 1901 and 1902, having been still higher in 1898; but the area under wheat in Great Britain only rose from 1,417,000 acres in 1895, the lowest point, to 1,726,000 acres in 1902, falling back to 1,581,000 acres in the current year. This is after a much greater rise in price than 2*s.*

Similarly, as far as India is concerned, we find that the imports from that country in 1902 are almost exactly the same as in 1895, viz. eight to nine million cwt., or about two million quarters, notwithstanding the rise in price.

From Australia and New Zealand the imports are also about the same, viz. less than a million quarters, both in 1895 and at the present time, notwithstanding the rise in price.

It is thus clear that a 2*s.* rise in price will not of itself increase the wheat area or production. *Per contra*, in British North America, where we do find a large increase of the wheat area and wheat yield going on for a considerable number of years, we also find that the improvement has coincided with various fluctuations of price, and it seems reasonable to connect it with the obvious cause, an increased immigration into Canada, which has not wanted the stimulus of an extra 2*s.* per quarter.

Mutatis mutandis, what is true of wheat is of course true of other articles. All the articles of farming production are liable to such changes of quantities and markets, to such accidents of disease, floods and droughts, as to make the whole business a gamble, so that a difference in the average price to be made by a preference of this sort will hardly tell. The stimulus, it will be observed, is to be much less for all other articles than it is for wheat. The exemption of maize and 'bacon' from duty on imports from foreign countries, so that as regards these there will be no preference, will also have a singular effect, which would probably be more noticeable in fact than it is now likely to be if the difference were greater. If other agricultural products are raised in price by the duty, will not the

tendency be for maize and bacon to rise also by 'sympathy,' just as wool, hemp, and silk rose during the cotton famine of 1862-6 as well as cotton itself? In that case, as maize and pork products are hardly at all imported from the Colonies, but come from foreign countries only, an unexpected effect of the preferences would be to stimulate the growth of maize and pork in foreign countries, and so diminish *pro tanto* the favour intended for the Colonies.

It has also to be considered that a preference to wheat or any one article only might have some effect, which would not result from a preference to all. Attention could then be concentrated on the favoured article, whereas there will be no temptation to do so when all receive a preference.

There is yet another practical objection to the anticipation of any extensive effect from the preferences. There are important crops which are comparatively unsuitable for the Colonies, of which at least they contribute but an inconsiderable surplus for export to the United Kingdom. Barley has already been identified by Mr. Chaplin as a crop where the advantage will be to the home and not to the colonial producer. Maize and pork have been referred to above as in the same category. So with oats, sugar, and many kinds of fruit and vegetables. A general tax on such articles from foreign countries will not be a real preference to the Colonies, and cannot therefore have the effects assumed. There is also one special case of a Colony which sends us already the maximum surplus it can produce of its principal article of export, or very nearly the maximum surplus, viz. New Zealand, which talks of improving the quality of its fresh mutton, as there is not much to be looked for from an increase of the quantity exported. As far as *additional* supplies of fresh mutton are concerned, New Zealand is in the position of a country which cannot produce fresh mutton at all.

It would appear then that there are grave reasons for questioning the assumed operation of the proposed stimulus to the agricultural production of the Colonies, and similar production at home. Apart from the uncertainty of all speculations which ought never to be lost sight of, the stimulus itself is small, not sufficient according to past experience or the consideration of concrete cases to induce the majority of farmers to act. Neither at home, nor in India, nor in Australia has there been any such growth of wheat consequent on a larger rise of price than 2s. to lead us to expect an augmentation as the result of a preference of 2s. only; while in Canada, where the area and production of wheat and some other articles have increased, the obvious cause is the immigration into new regions such as we have witnessed with similar results for many years in the Far West of the United States and in the Argentine Republic. Last of all there are several articles, such as barley, where the Colonies are able to grow but a very small surplus for export, or where they are already

up to their maximum, as in the case of New Zealand and fresh mutton, or where they are naturally not adapted to compete. If home and colonial production are to be increased by means of preferences, it cannot be by such small preferences as those that are now in question.

With this conclusion there seems an end to the dream of the British Empire becoming self-sustaining in the matter of food, but so much importance is attached to the latter idea that some additional remarks may be made. There are really two questions to be considered—the prospect for wheat specially, which is interesting to Canada, and the prospect for other articles.

As regards wheat, then, the situation is that Canada, quite apart from preference, will probably increase largely its cultivation of wheat; it needs no preference to do so; but even so it will hardly take the place of all foreign countries in supplying the United Kingdom with wheat at an early date. The question is one of population and the growth of population in Canada for forty years has not been so very rapid. The figures are :

Addition in 1861-71	.	.	.	.	.	545,000
„ 1871-81	.	.	.	.	.	689,000
„ 1881-91	.	.	.	.	.	509,000
„ 1891-1901	.	.	.	.	.	538,000

With these additions Canada at the last census, three years ago, had a population of 5,600,000, which has increased since then probably by 300,000 or more, owing to the boom in the North-West which has set in, so that at the next census it may have increased a million from the previous census, instead of the half million we have had hitherto. At the same time its net surplus of wheat for export is now about 3,000,000 quarters—it imports *from* as well as exports to the United States—and allowing for the increase of population being specially in the North-West, where it takes about 250,000 people to grow 5,000,000 quarters of wheat, we may assume that the surplus, allowing for an increased production of 5,000,000 quarters, and for increased local consumption, will be doubled by 1910, and another addition of 6,000,000 quarters made by 1920. Large as these figures are, they are very far from the sanguine estimates now being put forward in Canada, and still leave a great gap to be supplied by foreign countries, even if the United Kingdom obtains the whole surplus. We want about 20,000,000 quarters to displace the present foreign supply, and there is a prospect of about 10,000,000 quarters only from Canada in the next twenty years. The surplus may also be trenched upon by demands from foreign countries, Germany for instance, as well as by South Africa, which the Australian Colonies may not be able to

supply fully. Without venturing on a speculative conclusion myself, I need not say that if one were addressing a City audience the utmost moderation in all estimates for the future would be advised. Even as regards wheat, therefore, there being no Colony except Canada to be considered, the prospect of the British Empire becoming self-sustaining appears somewhat remote.

Coming to other articles than food, what we have to consider more fully is the position of the Colonies as regard those articles where the share they contribute of imports into the United Kingdom is now small. As any one can see who will pick out the items from the last Annual Statement of Trade, we imported in 1902 of different grains, meat, butter and fat, and fruit, sugar, and miscellaneous articles, about 200 millions worth (in round figures), of which 33 millions, or one-sixth, only came from British Colonies and possessions. In the case of one or two articles a large proportion came from the Colonies, but the general run is about a sixth. If we were to include tea, coffee, and cocoa, this proportion would rise to a fifth, but to include such articles would involve the addition of beer, wine, and spirits, and perhaps other articles not usually thought of as 'food.' The proportion of one-sixth may thus stand. That the Colonies in some cases send a larger proportion—for instance, cheese 4·4 millions out of 6·4, or two-thirds (mainly from Canada); fresh mutton 3·8 millions out of 6·9 millions, or more than a half (mainly from New Zealand)—also involves the receipt of a smaller proportion in other cases. There need, however, be no doubt on the point, the following being a list of articles of food of which the Colonies send us little or none:

	Total Imports	Imports from British Colonies and possessions
	Millions	Millions
Barley	£7·1	—
Oats and oatmeal	5·5	£0·2
Maize and maize meal	11·8	0·1
Bacon	13·4	1·2
Beef, fresh and salted	8·1	0·6
Ham	3·8	0·4
Pork, fresh and salted	1·7	—
Unenumerated	1·2	—
Poultry and game	1·1	—
Butter and margarine	23·1	2·5
Eggs	6·3	0·2
Lard	4·1	0·2
Imitation lard	0·3	—
Preserved milk	0·1	—
Oleo oil	0·3	—
Fruit, raw and preserved (including raisins)	12·8	1·7
Sugar	15·7	0·9
Total	116·4	8·0

In this long list of articles, amounting in value to 116,000,000*l.* out of the 200 millions worth of food we import, the share of the Colonies is no more than eight millions, or about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only, while the articles in which the Colonies are only nominally represented or quite unrepresented, such as barley, fresh pork, beef (fresh and salted), maize and maize meal, and 'sugar,' account for many millions.

It is needless to say then that as regards the articles in the above list the Colonies have practically to begin their competition with foreign countries. How far such competition can go, and in what time foreign countries may be superseded, if from circumstances of climate and population they can be superseded at all, is surely a most speculative question. The problem will require much study even if we come to the conclusion, which I confess seems to me very doubtful on strategical grounds, that it is desirable to obtain our food from British Colonies and possessions exclusively, or even to reduce very largely the proportion we now obtain from foreign countries. Doubts as to the practicability of the proposals may well affect our judgment of their desirability. It is no part of wisdom to cry for the moon.

The suggestion has been made to me in conversation, and it is an extremely natural suggestion, that if a small preference will not augment the agricultural production of the Colonies, a larger preference may; and that the question should be discussed with reference to large as well as small preferences. The answer is that large and small preferences are not *in pari materia*. We may deviate from sound principle a little at a certain cost for the sake of avoiding a worse evil, as when a small duty is imposed on imports of corn, or on the export of coal, in order to diminish an excessive income tax. But serious deviations, involving great diversions of trade from its natural channels, are on a different footing. It cannot be said, therefore, that if small preferences will not effect the objects of their promoters, all that has to be done is to make the preferences larger. Even this might not answer, as we have seen, looking to the number and importance of different articles of agricultural production which the Colonies hardly export to us at all. But admitting that it is mainly a question of how much, just see how we should stand as regards the cost of the operation. In July last my calculation was that with a duty of 5*s.* per quarter on wheat the cost to consumers in this country would be 8,300,000*l.*, of which 5,000,000*l.* would go to the Government, about 2,000,000*l.* to the home producer, and 1,200,000*l.* to the colonial grower—a great disturbance, it was remarked, for so small a result to our colonial friends. Similar duties on all our imports, it was also calculated, would place the consumers in this country under a burden of 21,000,000*l.* for imports alone (and another 21,000,000*l.*, the increased price which would go

to the home producer), about 4,000,000*l.* in all being received by the Colonies, and 17,000,000*l.* by the Government. Under the duties as now actually proposed, smaller as they are, my calculation is that the burden on the consumers of the United Kingdom would still be about 15,000,000*l.*, of which about 1,400,000*l.* will go to the Colonies, 5,600,000*l.* to the Government, and 8,000,000*l.* to the home producer—again a great disturbance for very little advantage to the Colonies. But with higher preferences the burden would easily become fifty or a hundred millions, of which only a fraction would go to the Colonies. By such a burden the home consumer would be seriously affected, granting all that can be said as to the amount paid to the Government being a substitute for other taxation, and as to the amount by which the home producer benefits remaining within the country and tending to strengthen home industry. The initial disadvantage is obviously too great to be corrected satisfactorily in any such indirect manner.

It will be urged, indeed, that the initial disadvantage will not be so great as appears; that neither the duty on foreign imports will fall altogether on the home consumer as supposed, nor will the price of produce exempt from the duty rise by the full amount of the differential charge imposed on a portion of the supply. To any such suggestions, however, the obvious reply is that academic discussions of exceptions to the ordinary incidence of taxation are very well in their proper place; but when it comes to business, business men always take for granted that charges on goods on their way to the consumer fall on the consumer, and that if the cost of bringing to market any material portion of the total supply necessary to meet the total demand is increased, the whole supply is raised in price by this cost. This is the 'cost of production,' which regulates the price of the whole supply. For business purposes it is unnecessary to consider anything but this ordinary and usual effect of charges on commodities and additions to the cost of production of a necessary part of the supply.

Higher preferences then are not to be discussed as a matter of course if small preferences fail. The introduction of such a factor alters the entire problem. For very good reasons we may be sure the proposal is confined to that of small preferences only. It is at least possible to argue for them as involving no great loss to the community, though the loss is greater than some of their advocates suppose. But while they are less objectionable on that score than higher preferences would be, they have the fatal defect of being wholly ineffectual. Between the Scylla and Charybdis of ineffectual preferences on the one hand, and preferences that might perhaps be effectual but are too costly on the other, the shipwreck of the proposals seems assured.

It may be asked why so many of our colonial friends are in

favour of such preferences, if these and like criticisms and objections are well founded. May I suggest in reply, with all hesitation, that colonial opinion in such a matter is perhaps biassed, unconsciously no doubt, but biassed all the same. It is the Colonies which are to receive the bonus, and it is always agreeable to receive money, much or little, without any return, as the proposed bonus will be received on the volume of existing production. The money will be received, moreover, by a comparatively small class, chiefly, as regards wheat, the farmers in the Far West of Canada, while behind this class, if I may hazard a guess, there may be found a number of land speculators, whose speculation will be favoured by a windfall from the English Government, even though small, enhancing the price of land taken up by immigrants. What the English Government has to beware of in all such proposals is undoubtedly the little finger of the speculator and promoter, who sees his way to realising a capital profit out of the trifling differences, as they may appear, which are alone in view.

The conclusion is that we should inquire most carefully in detail into these suggested measures of protection, besides examining them in principle and theory. The detail helps in fact to let us see what the proposals really are, and may often render theoretical examination unnecessary. I desire to add one word in conclusion on a broader aspect of this whole protectionist discussion. If it is the right view that the proposals themselves are puerile, like this preference to agricultural production, what a calamity it is that the whole country should be in a tumult for so little! We seem to have quite lost sight of the urgent business of an agreement with our Colonies respecting commercial negotiations with foreign countries, and respecting common action when difficulties arise, which was the excuse for beginning the agitation, and which indeed most urgently requires settlement for business reasons alone. While explaining in July last some reasons for the conclusion that, in order to unite the Empire for international commercial affairs, it might be expedient for the country to make some concessions to colonial prejudices, if they would not associate with us in a free-trade policy, I expressed the fear that the subject would not fare well before the constituencies, themselves ignorant and passionate, and receiving information from biassed and ignorant instructors. This apprehension has been only too well realised. Ministers and their missionaries, instead of trying to effect some arrangement with the minimum of resistance, have thought proper as a preliminary to raise again the whole question between free trade and protection, and have thereby aroused the opposition of large numbers of Imperialists, who are forced to make a choice between their attachment to free-trade policy, and an Imperial policy of a sort which no friend

of liberty can desire. The leaders of the political Opposition, on the other side, seem rather to welcome the rallying cry which has been offered them, and say as little as Ministers themselves about the serious and urgent problems which face the country, and which can hardly be postponed until this fight between two systems of commercial policy is settled. Evil must come of it all unless we have more good luck than we deserve.

ROBERT GIFFEN.

THE LARGER BASIS OF COLONIAL PREFERENCE

IN the midst of much that is difficult respecting the fiscal controversy now raging in this country there is probably a prediction that may be made with some confidence. Whatever the hasty confusion of facts and figures for the moment, whatever the passing plausibility of argument on either side, the case for the reversal of the trade policy which this country has followed for the past sixty years can only be carried on one condition. It must be won on its permanent and intrinsic merits. If so much be admitted, there is a test of those merits which may be held to surpass most others in severity. If the case for change be made out, we must be able to conceive it as involving in the not remote future a national policy having the general assent not of one but of both political parties in the State. Looking for a moment beyond the existing party conflict in Great Britain, how are we able in such a light to regard the proposals that have been made? If we can imagine the position in British politics reversed, and can conceive a statesman of unusual insight and of commanding personality engaged on the other side in just such a task as Mr. Chamberlain has undertaken on his, what is the nature of the case he would have to present? What are the arguments by which he would have to justify before the tradition of English Liberalism the proposal to depart from the attitude in fiscal relations which Great Britain has for the last two generations maintained towards the world and towards her own Colonies?

It is now some ten years since a book was published in England which at the time attracted a great deal of attention. It was the product of a mind steeped and nurtured in the ideas which have been associated with the free-trade epoch through which we have passed in the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century in England. The book in question, *National Life and Character*, by the late Charles Pearson, was the last work of a man of education and culture, who had held the lectureship of Modern History at Trinity College, Cambridge; who had become a student of the

world, visiting the countries of Europe, the United States, and the British colonies, and bringing at last a varied career practically to a close as Minister of Education in the colony of Victoria. The principal conclusion of the book, as it appeared to many minds, was absurd to a degree. Urged with the intensest conviction, it was to the effect that the civilisation of the advanced peoples was in the not remote future bound to go down before the increasingly effective industrial competition of the lower races of the world. It was not this fact alone, however, which principally attracted notice. What riveted attention on the book was the logical precision of argument, reinforced by a very wide experience of the world, by which this conclusion was deduced from the accepted ascendancy in the world of the doctrines associated with the free-trade period in England; and above all the stoical pessimism with which the author accepted what appeared to him as the inevitable assumptions following from his own belief. There must be many in England who remember the kind of effect produced by the reading of this remarkable book. The present writer will not forget that effect as he saw it in print, in a review of the work which appeared at the time in one of the leading organs of Liberal opinion in this country. For one brief moment, as it were, the author of *National Life and Character* had taken the reviewer up into a high mountain and shown him all the kingdoms of the world. And in that moment in which he had resisted the temptation of Mr. Pearson's desolate creed there had apparently come to him a vision in which a life-long conviction had withered. What the reviewer saw was that the conception of that international scramble in commerce and industry, which we have hitherto called free trade, was fated to become an impossible creed; that it had never been a scientific creed; and that all the dogmas and doctrines which have accreted round it in England were destined to slow but certain dispersion by the inevitable logic of events in the world.

Not more than ten years have passed since that time, and we have at the present moment a statesman of the first rank and of commanding personality proposing in England a revolution in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom which would have been almost inconceivable a few years ago. Nay, further, we have the Prime Minister of England and one of the two great parties in the State already committed to the first step by which the vision of the Liberal reviewer begins to realise itself in national policy. For the moment the air is full, as well it may be, of the sound of the readjusting strife of parties in Great Britain. But a quarter of a century hence who will be troubled to remember these transient phases of the hour? Who will even think it worth while to recall to which side in parties Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Balfour belonged? As in the case of other statesmen who have deeply influenced British policy, there will be only one standard by which their conceptions can be measured—the

place which they will occupy in the development of the national life of Great Britain. Let us see if it is possible to anticipate how the proposals that have been made will stand to be judged in this light.

The existing generation in England has been so familiarised with the name of free trade that there are probably few persons who have taken the trouble to imagine exactly what is involved in the present circumstances of the world in that policy of international exchange which goes by the name of free trade. Let us, instead of occupying ourselves with outside aspects of the subject, endeavour to get to the heart of it at once. What is free trade? Down to the present day the literature of this movement in England has perhaps produced no terms either in economics or in controversy which give a better idea of the essential principles of the policy which has gone by the name of free trade in England than a few terse expressions of Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations*, which may be set out substantially in his own words as follows :

(1) The fundamental principle upon which civilised society exists is the unrestricted working of the principle : give me what I want and you shall have what you want. (2) The merchant is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country. (3) It is not the advantage of society, but his own advantage, which the merchant has in view. But the individual by following his own advantage is necessarily led to the best employment of his capital in the interest of society.

These three maxims may be said to express all the essential meaning and spirit of that policy which has gone by the name of free trade in England during the nineteenth century. It is the spirit of these maxims which is reproduced at the present moment in economic criticisms which oppose Mr. Chamberlain's proposals on the grounds that to give preferential treatment to colonial products in British markets is necessarily wrong, because it rests on the idea that the trade with the members of one political body is better than trade with members of another.

Now if we regard the fundamentals of free trade as here clearly and simply set out, it is obvious that there is a question involved to which as a people who have hitherto played a leading part in the world we must sooner or later be prepared to give an answer. Do we really in our heart of hearts imagine that in the resulting free scramble of the merchants and financiers of every race and country, each following his own advantage in quest of gain, it is possible for us to remain ultimately indifferent as to what types of civilisation or races of men or standards of labour or of living shall in the result prevail? With the development of the world the international rivalry is getting down to the ultimate principles which govern it. As a living people we must stand and consider our answer. In anticipating what that answer is likely to be, it seems to me, and

for reasons to be referred to presently, difficult to avoid the conclusion that the vision of the Liberal reviewer of ten years ago is likely to be verified. The theory of the international free scramble which we have called free trade is destined to become an impossible creed, and impossible for the greatest of all reasons—namely, that it is incompatible with the fundamental principles of Liberalism.

In attempting to give reasons for this view it will greatly simplify consideration of the problems involved in international trade if we begin at the beginning and regard, at first, not international relations, but the situation at home. If it be asked what is the principal problem of home trade around which the stress and movement of politics have centred in England for the last three-quarters of a century, there can be little doubt as to what the reply must be. It has consisted in the effort of labour to improve its position, and to raise its standards of life in Great Britain. A recent important instance of a step in this effort—a step which the economists of fifty years ago would have regarded as an absurd denial of Adam Smith's principles—will be fresh in general recollection. It has consisted in securing official recognition of the standard of the living wage in agreements between labour and public authorities of this country. In the midst of much that is confusing in this development at home, there may be some nowadays who do not yet grasp its general principle. I do not know of anywhere in which this is more clearly set out, and in a manner which enables us to understand its bearing on international trade, than in the following terse example by an American writer, Professor H. C. Adams :

Suppose [says Professor Adams] ten manufacturers competing with each other to supply the market with cottons. Assume that nine of them, recognising the rights of childhood, would gladly exclude from their employ all but adult labour. But the tenth man has no moral sense. His business is conducted solely with a view to large sales and a broad market. As child labour is actually cheaper than adult labour, he gives it a decided preference [following his own advantage, according to Adam Smith]. What is the result? Since his goods come into competition with the goods of the other manufacturers, and since we who buy goods only ask respecting quality and price, the nine men, whose moral instincts we commend, will be obliged, if they would maintain themselves in business, to adopt the methods of the tenth man, whose character we condemn. Thus the business is brought down to the level of the worst man who can sustain himself in it.

It may be observed, after a moment's consideration of this incisive example, in what direction it carries us. It may be seen, for instance, that the greater part of all the progress in the internal relations between industry and the state in this country during the past three-quarters of a century, has consisted in the gradual reversal of the principles of the free scramble as laid down by economists who have followed Adam Smith. We have, in fact, in the regulation of home industry come gradually to refuse assent to Adam Smith's assumption that the individual following his own advantage is necessarily best

serving the interests of society. Child Labour Acts, Factory Acts, Adult Labour Acts, Right of Combination Acts, Hours of Labour Acts, Living Wage Regulations, and a multitude of other measures, are all the steps by which, in home industry, society has slowly, but with increasing emphasis, asserted that it thinks entirely otherwise. To put it briefly, the sum of the matter is that while we have respectfully listened to the economist when he has explained to us the laws by which a state of competition is governed, when he has gone beyond that province, and told us that it was good for us that we should not interfere to prevent that competition from reaching its natural level by protecting the standards of the higher competitors, we have, with growing conviction, turned our backs on him. Not, indeed, as is sometimes wrongly said, because there is no science of political economy, but because it is coming to be seen that the whole matter is governed by other and larger considerations. The employment of labour beneath certain standards may lead to the greatest production of wealth at the present moment, but it is not good for society in the end that such a result should be permitted. The future has to be taken into consideration.

The record of legislation for the last half-century in Great Britain has, therefore, been the record of a development, out of which the less organic view of the old 'orthodox' economists has, on the whole, emerged discredited. It has been a development in which society has, by force of circumstances, come definitely to abandon the fundamentals of Adam Smith's theory of the individual serving society best by following his own interest in a free exchange, necessarily conducted at the level of the lowest competitor who can sustain himself in it.

As soon as we come to apply the meaning of this example to international trade, its bearing is evident. Driven from point to point by force of events, we may be seen to have practically abandoned in Great Britain the theory of the free scramble as it prevailed in home industry. There are many, however, who still continue to believe what seems to me—and despite honoured names on the other side—impossible of belief, namely, that the same theory is destined to survive with undiminished authority, and in all its crude simplicity, in trade in its international relations.

Now if one follows the controversy at present raging in England as to the merits of what is called protection on one side and free trade on the other, the first thing which has to be noticed is that it is the theory which we had formerly in view in home trade that we have now in view in international trade. In the conception of free international trade that has hitherto prevailed in England, we have, that is to say, merely a reproduction on another level of all the theories of the old free scramble that have been gradually losing ground in home industry. We have, for instance, the same theory

of the individual in pursuit of gain being the best judge of his own interests ; we have the same assumption that he should be allowed to pursue them now amongst the peoples of the world entirely unrestricted ; we have the same assurance that in so pursuing them the individual is best serving the interests of society. And, lastly, we have once more the same confident advice of the economist that we should not think of interfering in any way to protect the standards of the higher competitors against those of the lower.

As one follows the development of this theory of free trade as it has been developed in Great Britain from Adam Smith down through economic text-books into the present controversy, we may observe how that it is in its essence a theory of the freest possible exchange amongst all the peoples of the world without concern of ultimate consequences. As in the old attitude towards the employment of child labour at home, the trader is assumed to be concerned only with his profits. He is, therefore, to have nothing to do with race, or civilisation, or nationality. As he must on no account think that trade with members of one political community is in any way to be preferred to trade with members of another, he must consequently have no concern with the conditions of production, or with the standards of labour or of living which are maintained amongst the people with whom he deals. What is to be aimed at is the completest possible fluidity of capital and labour all the world over. The theory of what is called free trade is, in effect, the theory of maximum efficiency in the production of wealth in the present time and irrespective of all other considerations. And in the prevailing theory, therefore, however the text-books may hide it, there is everywhere the necessary underlying assumption that we have no concern with the question as to what standards eventually prevail in the world, as to what peoples or nationalities are increased or diminished by the exchanges of trade, or as to whether the world in result is to be for the most part peopled by Greeks, Germans, British, Turks, Chinese, or any other race or civilisation. A merchant, in Adam Smith's phrase, is the citizen of no country, and a nation is merely a 'neighbourhood' within which economic products circulate freely.¹ The business of capital is in Dr. Pierson's ideal to go in search of cheap labour, as it is the business of cheap labour to go in search of capital.² The end of activities according to Mill is the maximum production of capital.³ And to this end, as Professor Bastable puts it with great clearness, 'the weight of evidence is altogether in favour of the Free-trader's contention that productive power attains its greatest efficiency when it is directed by the normal

¹ *Wealth of Nations*, I. vii. and x.

² *Principles of Economics*, translated by A. A. Wotzel, vi. 8.

³ *Principles of Political Economy*, iii. xvii.

economic motive of self-interest.' ⁴ So we have the free-trade theory as it has prevailed in Great Britain in the past.

When we look this conception fairly in the face, it seems impossible to ignore its inherent weakness. The larger scale and greater complexity of the operations of international trade may for a time prevent us from recognising the ruling principles of the situation; and there have been special reasons which have tended to prevent a people like ourselves, who in the past have had three-quarters of a century start over any really effective competition from other nations, from recognising them. But, sooner or later, and just as in Professor Adams' example, the inevitable result awaits us. In international trade as in home trade the process must be ultimately regulated by the conditions which rule it. The 'free' process, if we allow it to go on, must in the end be conducted not at the level of the standards of the higher competitors, but at the level of the standards of the lowest competitors who can maintain themselves in it.

As we watch, therefore, this conception of international trade being slowly brought into contact with the stern facts of the world, we have all the elements of a most interesting development. The features of it cover a wide field, and have come into view slowly. They range now from the universal movement of neighbouring nations towards protection on the one hand, to the uprising of distant democracies against the competition of Chinese labour on the other; from the insidious growth in international production of the tendencies involved in the practice of 'dumping,' to the equally insidious growth in international finance of all the tendencies now associated with the growth of the modern 'combine.' The features of the development are all closely related to each other. We have in them nothing more than the incidents of the free scramble on the international plane, and these incidents have now begun to be accompanied by that conflict which was to be expected as they have come into contact with the more organic tendencies of society destined ultimately to control them.

It may be noticed that the first resolute opposition which this theory of free trade has encountered in the world has come into being over the principle of nationality. Outside the United Kingdom the increasing tendency of the world for the past quarter of a century has been to oppose protective 'national' systems of trade to the system which has hitherto been known in England under the name of 'free' trade. This opposition was at first isolated and tentative, but it has gradually grown till it has now become the prevailing rule. Other nations for a time followed the example of Great Britain and adopted the principle of free exchange. But the end has always been the same. In the result, to quote the Prime Minister's striking summary:

⁴ *Theory of International Trade*, ix.

None have consistently adhered to it. Irrespective of race, of polity, and of material circumstances, every other fiscally independent community whose civilisation is of the Western type has deliberately embraced in theory, if not in practice, the protectionist system. Young countries and old countries, rich countries and poor countries, large countries and small countries, free countries and absolutist countries, all have been moved by the same arguments to adopt the same economic ideal.⁵

In attempting to examine the meaning of this tendency we must be careful to be on our guard. Any hypothesis which requires for its support the assumption, which I am afraid underlies many of the pamphlets of the Cobden Club, that we are the only wise people of the world and that the conduct of all the others who so unanimously differ from us is to be accounted for by the fact that they must be partly insane, or at all events more stupid than ourselves, is *prima facie* open to grave suspicion. Let us rather endeavour to see the matter from the other side. Why have modern nations become protectionist? What, in the first place, is a nation?

The simplest of all definitions of a nation is the most complete. It is at the same time the one that best brings out most clearly the essential crudity of the conception which has hitherto prevailed in England under the name of free trade. A nation may be described as the best example we have in the present imperfect state of the world of society in its organic aspect. Society is organic when it is ruled by principles which prevent the sacrifice of the future to the present, and all social progress has consisted in the larger expression of this fact in history. A nation in the economist's theory of free exchange may be no more than a 'neighbourhood' in which products circulate freely, and its imaginary inhabitants may, like Mill, see no reason in theory why capital and labour in the future should not be transferred from England to China, and from China to England, as readily as from one part of England to another. They may, therefore, be prepared in theory to see any race, or civilisation, or standards prevail, instead of their own, so long as the maximum production of wealth in the present is secured. But in the world of real life a nation is something entirely different. All that a living nation has will it give for that entity of standards and principles which constitutes its distinctive life. Its life in the past has been bound up with the fact that its history has been nearly always a history of constant economic sacrifice on the largest scale in the present to secure its principles and its place in the future. The higher the civilisation of a nation, the more organic, as a rule, are its principles, and the more nearly do its standards represent all the best that the race has achieved. It is in defence of these standards that a nation in Maine's fine phrase cries out, above all things, for life—for life beyond any theory of the

⁵ *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade*, by Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, ii.

balancing of economic exchanges in the present—‘for life from generation to generation, life prolonged far beyond that of children’s children, life like that of the everlasting hills.’⁶

Now to get to the heart of the modern struggle between the principles of nationality on one side and the principles of unregulated competition in international trade which we call free trade on the other, it is necessary to understand something of an important principle in economics known as the law of increasing returns. The principle of increasing returns, put simply, is little more than the expression in economic terms of the increasing advantage of organisation in industry. It is the law according to which, other things being equal, the bigger the manufacture or industry, the more effectively it can be run, the more it lends itself to organisation and improvement, and the cheaper it can be worked.

When the minds of Cobden and those who thought with him three-quarters of a century ago looked out on the world and thought they saw all other nations following the lead of England in free trade within five years, they recognised perfectly clearly the advantage they expected. The rest of the world was to furnish the agricultural exchange against England’s manufactures, and in manufactures England’s position under the principle of increasing returns appeared to them to be firmly entrenched. As Mill put it with great clearness, using it as an argument at the time in support of Cobden’s idea of free trade, ‘A country which produces for a larger market than its own, can introduce a more extended division of labour, can make greater use of machinery, and is more likely to make inventions and improvements in the processes of production.’⁷

The exponents of this conception saw one side of the question clearly enough. The difficulty has been that they saw that side only. Let us endeavour to do what the economist does not always find it easy to do in England. Let us try to place ourselves for a moment in the position of the others. If we are able to do so, I think we shall see in operation a train of causes in the world now rolling up the whole of the free-trade position developed by Cobden as effectively as a leaf is enfolded in the closing hand.

When the other nations looked round and saw Great Britain settling down to the position which Cobden had assumed for her, the effects which followed were the most natural in the world. When it is once recognised that the ultimate exchanges of the world are between agriculture and manufactures, we are not far from being able to perceive a fundamental fact of the existing situation in international production. This is that modern competing nations have really little advantage over each other save such as they obtain in two main respects. First of all, in respect of such natural advantage as they

⁶ *Popular Government*, p. 61.

⁷ *Principles of Political Economy*, iii. xvii.

have in their agricultural position, and then from such artificial advantage as they can obtain, under the principle of increasing returns, through the more effective organisation of industrial production. It was inevitable, therefore, that other countries should in time discover the weakness of the position into which Cobden had carried England. The questions which they were bound to put to themselves were, in fact, the merest commonplaces of the position. Have we not, too, they asked themselves in effect, mineral and other resources only waiting to be developed? Have we not large populations capable of being trained in industry? Above all, have we not an altogether preponderating advantage in the agricultural side of the exchange? Whose markets, therefore, are those upon which English Free-traders are counting to enable Great Britain to build up her position—those markets which are to enable her to produce for a larger demand than her own, to introduce more extended division of labour, and to make those inventions and improvements in organisation upon which ascendancy in industry depends? Are they not our markets? Why should we not, therefore, develop our own position? Why should we not, in order to do so, make some sacrifice in the present for the sake of the future by gradually shutting out Great Britain from our markets, and on so large a base build up our own industries by exchanging our agricultural products against our own manufactures?

Slowly, but with increasing decision, the answer to these questions has come. It forms, in effect, the economic history of the world for the last quarter of a century. What has happened is that other countries have taken advantage of their strong position on one side of the exchanges of the world. Slowly the tariff walls have arisen along the frontiers of nearly every civilised State. Within them, each country has endeavoured to create its own manufactures, and then to bring the products into exchange against its products of agriculture, and so to displace England from that commanding position upon which Mill was counting. The race in this first stage has been, above all things, a race for a place in the rivalry of the future, and the organic principle round which the whole reconstruction has proceeded has been the principle of nationality, by which it has been possible for the present to be in some measure subordinated to the future. Driven by the deep, dumb instinct of reason which carries nations in these matters far beyond the teaching of economic text-books, some of them have even dimly realised the bearing of List's generalisation that what was true of nations would eventually be true of the world, and that, in the ultimate rivalry of nations, the exchanges which would weight the process would be those between the manufacturing power of the temperate regions and the agricultural resources of the tropics. The partition of Africa by the European Powers, the parcelling of Asia into spheres of influence by the

Western nations, the attempt of the United States to form a pan-American union embracing both the temperate and tropical regions of the two American continents, have all been moves in obedience to this driving instinct. The guiding principle throughout has been the economic reorganisation of the world round the principle of nationality. There has been no important exception to the rule. To use again Mr. Balfour's illustration. Excepting Great Britain, every fiscally independent community whose civilisation is of the Western type has deliberately followed the same aim. 'Young countries and old countries, rich countries and poor countries, large countries and small countries, free countries and absolutist countries, all have been moved by the same arguments to adopt the same economic ideal.'

Now there is a fact which it is important to keep in mind during the present controversy. It must always be remembered that it is as a manufacturing nation that Great Britain has attained to the prominent place which she has hitherto occupied in the world. It has been as the first manufacturing nation that she has grown rich during the past decades, equipping all other nations in the development that has just been described, selling them her machinery, teaching them her arts and processes, and generally financing their development at every stage of their resulting expansion. It has been as a manufacturing nation that she has in this way acquired the large capital sums now invested in British shipping, in the carrying trade of other countries, and in all kinds of undertakings abroad by the earnings of which we are enabled to pay the enormous balance which makes up the present excess of imports over exports in this country. The base, in short, from which Great Britain has drawn her strength in the past has been her manufactures. It is the base from which alone she can hope to hold her position in the future.

When we come to look at the position of Great Britain in the face of the almost universal movement which has just been described, it must be confessed that, notwithstanding all the statistics and arguments which can be produced, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that her position as a manufacturing nation is under existing conditions becoming increasingly insecure. However much we may stand to gain for a time in the international rivalry through the vast sums of capital accumulated in the past, it would appear that the tendency inherent in the train of events which other nations have been organising cannot be averted. If Great Britain finally elects to stand on her small economic base in these islands she must be steadily driven in one direction; she will be compelled to fall back more and more on her own exchanges. As the first stage of the free scramble which we have called free trade draws to a close, we may foresee the result. *There will be no open markets*

in the world save such as every nation is able to keep open by the principle of its own nationality. And in the international competition outside these markets the preponderating advantage will, in the end, lie not with the nation standing for the principle of free international exchanges, but with the nations with the largest economic base nationally organised on the basis of internal free trade.

Before turning to see how the general movement of the world towards free trade has not really been along the lines of an unregulated international exchange, it may be desirable to observe first how significant are the facts as bearing on the foregoing argument which are already emerging out of the present controversy. Arranged in periods of five years the yearly averages of the manufactured exports of the United Kingdom for the last twenty years are as follows. For the period ending 1885, 206,000,000*l.*; for the period ending 1890, 207,000,000*l.*; for the period ending 1895, 195,000,000*l.*; for the period ending 1900, 209,000,000*l.* The meaning of these figures would undoubtedly appear to be, in the first place, that Great Britain as a manufacturing nation has already ceased to grow with the development of the world, and that even the level of past growth is maintained with some difficulty.

When, however, the position of Great Britain is viewed in relation to that of other countries, the extent to which the causes described in the previous pages are succeeding in undermining her manufacturing position is seen far more clearly. The following is a significant table compiled from figures in the recent Board of Trade Blue-book:—

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS, 1881-1900

—	For 5 years 1881-5	For 5 years 1886-90	For 5 years 1891-5	For 5 years 1895-1900	Increase or decrease per cent. on whole period
•	£ millions	£ millions	£ millions		
United Kingdom:					
Exports of manufactures to principal protective foreign countries . . .	414	402	373	375	- 10
Germany:					
Exports of manufactures to all countries . . .	470	515	502	634	+ 38
France:					
Exports of manufactures to all countries . . .	357	364	364	411	+ 15
United States:					
Exports of manufactures to all countries . . .	130	144	177	327	+ 135

The meaning of these figures appears to be unmistakable. The first fact which they bring out is that the policy of protectionist

countries of gradually excluding Great Britain from their markets is proving quite successful in its aim. Notwithstanding the increase in the population of the protective countries of the world, there has been a fall of no less than 10 per cent. in the export of British manufactures to those countries during the two decades ending 1900. This falling-off appears moreover to be progressive in character, and the average for two later years, 1901 and 1902, is lower than the yearly average of any quinquennial period till we go back before 1866. The second fact which is brought out is even more significant. It is that while the policy which we have called free trade has apparently entirely failed to obtain for Great Britain during the past twenty years any appreciable share of the increase in the trade of the world, protectionist countries have nevertheless obtained a full and an increasing share of it. Of the three typical countries that have been taken, Germany obtains an increase of no less than 38 per cent., the United States an increase of 135 per cent., and even France with her stagnant population has an increase of 15 per cent. on the figures of twenty years ago. The more these figures are studied, the less will it appear possible to put aside the meaning which they seem to convey. It would appear therefore that, if Great Britain with her small economic base elects to stand on the principle of free exchange with a world of growing protection, her position as a manufacturing nation must pass from her. For the edge of Mill's principle of increasing returns (*i.e.* of the effectiveness of the large market in the competition of industry) must in time be turned against herself. In other words:—*With her existing policy Great Britain must in the end fail, not only in hostile markets but in friendly markets, to compete successfully with the industries of protective countries organised on an immensely larger national basis.*

Passing briefly from this general view to particular cases, the positions which have been brought into sight in the present controversy appear no less significant. One of the industries of Great Britain of which the recent history has been much discussed has been the tin-plate industry. It may be fairly taken as an example of others, as the position is often said by its defenders to favour the free-trade theory. The general facts are not disputed. Ten or twelve years ago Great Britain did a large export trade in tin-plates for the United States. It was considered, however, in the latter country that there was no reason why the tin-plates used in the United States should not be made there, although none had previously been manufactured. A high duty was accordingly imposed on English plates and a native industry was soon brought into existence. In 1890 the total British export of tin-plates to the United States was valued at 4,786,000*l.*, but in 1902, as a result of the protective duties imposed, the British export of tin-plates to the United States had fallen to 887,000*l.*

In the meantime the British export of tinplates to all countries having been 6,362,000*l.* in 1890 fell to 2,744,000*l.* in 1898 and was 4,333,000*l.* in 1902. The free-trade argument is that this is an instance of the weakness of protection as against free trade. For by the high protective duties on tinplates the United States are said to have injured many of their home trades, and, in particular, to have injured themselves in competition with other countries by the increased cost of the goods packed in the tin cases for export. The partial recovery of British manufacture from countries competing with the United States in the products packed in tin cases is pointed to in support of this. When the facts are examined, however, it will be seen that they will not fairly bear the construction which is put upon them. In the first place, the fact remains that Great Britain has undoubtedly lost her best customer. Her export trade in tinplates with the United States has been to all appearance permanently extinguished. In the second place it has to be noted that the principal markets in which Great Britain has partially recouped the loss have been only those in which the chain of protection has not yet been completed. The tendency of other countries must be in due time to follow the lead of the United States. The increased British export to the Central and South American States has been specially mentioned in the controversy. But these are just the countries which the United States are tending to bring within the ring of the Pan-American protective union. The third fact which stands out is that, while in the case of so small and so recently established an industry it is yet too early to draw any conclusions from figures, there remains no natural reason why under protection the United States will not in the end, with their larger base, and in virtue of the principle of increasing returns, be able to produce tinplates not only as cheap as, but cheaper than, Great Britain with her existing policy. In this, as in most other instances, the whole of the free-trade case may be freely admitted. But the inherent tendency of the process as a whole remains and cannot be ignored. It is as if a crowd of observers stood on the banks of the Thames proving with figures and diagrams that the river flows north, west and south. So no doubt it does. But when one looks on the map one sees that on the whole it falls by gravity due east, and that all these facts and observations cannot alter the main fact.

Much the same remark will apply to many phases of the argument which has centred round the practice known as 'dumping'; that is to say, the selling of the manufactures of other countries in British markets at prices which bear no true relation to the cost of production. Whatever may be said as to the temporary benefits to certain trades of products sold below the cost of production, it is difficult to see how in any reasonably long view the practice can be good for British industry as a whole. When it is once realised that

it is principally under the law of increasing returns and, therefore, through the superior efficiency of the large industry well organised, that modern industrial nations will have an ultimate advantage over each other, the effectiveness in international competition of the practice of dumping products in an open and unorganised market will be seen with increasing clearness. The practice, if existing conditions are allowed to continue, may be expected to become more scientific, and there are few British industries which, with open markets and unorganised production, are calculated to stand a course of it scientifically directed over a considerable period. It is interesting to note here how the phenomena of the free scramble in home production are reproducing themselves in international production. Dumping of goods below the cost of production simply represents in the international competition of capital what the 'blackleg' represents in the home competition of labour. It represents, that is to say, production which has not conformed to the standard of the living wage. And it is important to notice how just the same arguments which were formerly used to support the one are now used to support the other. Another feature closely associated with the practice is the induced tendency to the migration of British capital and industry within the protected frontiers of other countries and the employment of foreign labour under lower economic conditions, tending in time to complete the vicious circle by return competition with the open market at home.

One of the most significant of all the changes that have taken place since the present trade policy of Great Britain was instituted is often overlooked in this controversy—namely, that we are prevented from any longer holding to a belief in free exchange on its merits as a universal principle. In the days when the early Free-traders contemplated England remaining permanently the workshop of the world, it was not absolutely impossible to hold that the standards which were being established in England by the efforts of labour and by legislative enactment might be upheld in a world of exchanges in which England was expected to supply the industrial side, and the rest of the nations the agricultural side. But we can no longer believe this. With the development of industrialism in other countries one of the results of the conversion now of the rest of the world to free exchange would be to immediately bring the products of British labour into freer and more direct competition with the products of labour employed elsewhere under lower standards. The free scramble in such case, as in all other cases, must be regulated by the principles which govern it. It must fall, that is to say, to the level of the lowest competitors who can maintain themselves in it. We have now, in short, the curious result of the Cobden Club advocating on universal principles a system, a first incidental effect of the universal adoption of which would be to ruin us as a manufacturing

people. We should no doubt, in virtue of the earnings abroad of accumulations of capital in the past, still continue to have a considerable trade—a trade in which the excess of imports over exports would be even larger in proportion than it is now. But it would be a case in which the fallacy which underlies one of the arguments in the present controversy, to the effect that such an excess of imports is necessarily paid for by the exchanges of productive British labour, would be easily seen. For it would be then an excess of imports derived almost exclusively, as it is now derived in part, from the earnings of British capital employing foreign labour abroad. The strength of our position would, in short, have passed from us. Our position as a manufacturing nation would have gone.

It is thus that the principles of the free scramble may be seen, slowly and by a kind of law of gravitation, falling to their natural level throughout the world. When we turn from the spectacle to observe that larger movement in history which, beneath outward forms, is carrying the world forward by an entirely different path to such free trade as is at present possible, the contrast is an impressive one.

It will be observed that the theory of movement towards free trade associated in England with the name of Cobden is that of a movement towards international unity founded on nothing more organic than that which is the least organic of all the motives which influence human nature—namely, the sense of commercial self-interest amongst peoples who have nothing else in common. It has contemplated, therefore, that kind of superficial unity through the exchanges of ‘the Grand Commerce,’ which necessarily ignores all the fundamental differences between nations and stages of civilisation; that kind of pseudo-unity, in short, in which the merchant becomes the citizen of no country and in which we must be prepared, so long as the maximum production of wealth is maintained by free exchange, to view with a certain indifference the increase or diminution of any people or nation by the processes of trade. And this, according to some, even to the extent of seeing our civilisation, as Charles Pearson was prepared to see it, elbowed into a secondary place by the economic rivalry conducted on more purely animal conditions of other races.

Is this really to any extent the character of the general movement of the world towards free trade? It seems to the present writer impossible to believe it; or even to hold that any of the features of it as here described have a permanent part to play in the future of civilisation.

When the English observer in the United States resides for a time in the midst of the largest experiment in free trade which has yet been tried in the world, he becomes, after a while, conscious of a peculiar experience, and more especially so if he has been brought

up in the strictest school of Cobden free trade in England. On all sides of him he sees and hears in that country, and particularly in the Southern and Western States, evidence showing how absolutely irreconcilable on any theory of common interests in the present are the economic rivalries which still exist between the different parts of the American Union. They are rivalries so great that if they were not all subdued and subordinated by the ever-present sense of the meaning of a larger unity, would even now divide the United States into economic regions permanently at war with each other. What has been the character of this organic cause which has here subordinated present economic interests and given the country as a whole its enormously increased potentiality in the future under internal free trade? The answer is that it has been the organic principle which, for want of a better name, we call nationality. But what has to be specially noticed is that it is not any superficial feeling of common economic interests in the present which has in this case risen superior to nationality and given a nation freetrade. Quite the contrary. *It has been the organic principle of nationality which has subordinated competing economic interests in the present and made possible the greater future under free trade.*

As soon as the bearing of this important principle is clearly seen we may readily grasp the meaning of that central fact of economic development which the historical school, particularly in Germany, is now bringing clearly into view. This fact is that the secular movement of the world towards free trade is everywhere essentially a movement in which the economic life of the smaller unit is, through the operation of a motive superior to the economic motive, being gradually overlaid in ever-widening circles by the life of a larger area, within which internal free trade is then built up. The whole internal history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only in Germany but everywhere else, says Schmoller,⁸ is summed up in this movement. In it we see at the beginning the exclusive economic life of the town, through the operation of a motive more organic than the economic motive, being broken down and overlaid by that of the territory; the independent economic life of the territory being then in turn similarly overlaid by that of the State; and finally the independent economic life of the State being slowly merged in that of a federation of States within which the principle of complete internal free trade has been won. The principle of the whole process is seen to be the exact opposite of that which we have hitherto called free trade. Just as in the example of the United States it is not any superficial theory of common economic interests in the present which is seen breaking down localism. It is the organic principle which Schmoller calls nationality which is seen subordinating antagonised economic interests in the present and

⁸ *The Mercantile System.* Ed. by W. J. Ashley.

making possible the greatly increased effectiveness in the future of the wider area, for which the principle of internal free trade has been secured. The most impressive feature of the whole process is the expansion which is to be observed taking place *pari passu* in the conception of nationality itself as it is seen rising from mere local tribalism at first to a sense of common inheritance in a great tradition of history ; or, as we shall undoubtedly see it in the larger federations of the future, rising to a sense of common loyalty to the standards of living and of civilisation which have been won and established in the world by so much effort on the part of those who have gone before us.

Thus it is that we see how great is the conception of colonial preference ; how naturally it has come to us in the fulness of time and from the Colonies themselves in the history of our expansion as an imperial people ; and how orderly it falls into place as part of the secular movement of the world which is carrying us upwards in civilisation, and away from the principles of the free scramble. On another occasion it may be possible to deal with it in its further relations. But the first thing necessary is to endeavour to see the movement scientifically as a whole, and to see it in its due place as part of the natural order of progress in the world. The more seriously this endeavour is made, the more we are likely to realise that it is only another and larger phase of that more organic conception of social progress and social responsibility before which the theory of the free scramble has already begun to wither at home. And the more also an immovable conviction as to the eventual realisation of the ideal will tend to grow in the mind. There need be no tendency to ignore or to evade any of the difficulties in the way. The arguments from the fact that we are not as yet in sight of free trade within the Empire, from the difficulties of home taxation, from the possibilities of threats and retaliations from other countries, will have to be encountered and dealt with. They will, I think, be found to represent bogeys which we shall see, all in due course, undergoing peaceful disrobement. Successfully to challenge the tendencies now involved in the economic process we must have a base wide enough to enable us to become masters of the situation. There is only one such base possible. No other country, not even the United States, has before it the possibilities which are involved in the economic consolidation of the British Empire. It is the first step towards the organisation, under the influence of a motive higher than the economic motive, of the largest economic base in the world.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

THE 'YELLOW PERIL' BOGEY

WHEN the German Emperor in the summer of 1900 descanted on the Yellow Peril, and posed for half an hour as the European Michael, he set an example which has proved infectious among observers of the situation in the Far East whose imagination is more easily excited by the spectres of their own creation than controlled by the sound knowledge and calm judgment that alone make any opinion of value. The Yellow Peril is again being raised by Russian, French, and even German writers and politicians, whose names are well known, in order to excite Continental opinion, first against Japan, and secondly, and perhaps more definitely, against England, the ally of that Great Power of the Orient. There is no more popular theme in the Continental press and periodicals to-day than the alleged approaching combination of the yellow races, welded and led on by Japan, the magician of the Far East, for the purpose of defying, humiliating, and in the end menacing Europe.

The prospect placed before the uninstructed reading public is a revival of the Hun and Mongol terrors, and the names of Attila and Genghis are set out in the largest type to create a feeling of apprehension. The reader is assured in the most positive manner that it is the doing of that enterprising nation of Japan. Nay, there is a still greater culprit, it is England, who stands behind her, and, unfortunately a very large number of foreigners believe it, and add this one to the long list they have compiled of our enormities as a nation.¹

Before examining the Yellow Peril in a matter-of-fact manner it will be as well to give one or two specimens of what is being written about it on the Continent. M. de Lanessan, an ex-French Colonial Minister who has studied colonial questions with some assiduity, has published a long article aiming at showing what China may become under Japanese teaching and leading. He is aware that some of the Chinese authorities have made use of Japanese instructors, not merely for military but also for pacific pursuits, and

¹ A typical instance of these opinions may be found in the description of England given by a Belgian Senator, M. Picard :—‘Ce peuple est aussi enthousiaste et *brigand* comme nation, qu’il est honnête et loyal comme individu.’

he assumes that results have been attained many years before they are possible. For instance, he asserts that 'the Viceroy of Yunnan has now under his orders an army of 50,000 men well trained by Japanese officers, and provided with modern weapons.' This statement is not based upon fact, and is a typical exaggeration among the collection of details put forward to make out a plausible-looking case. Yunnan is one of the poorest provinces of China. If the ten Japanese officers who went there in 1902 have succeeded in drilling a thousand men, they are as many as the Viceroy would care to pay for. In order to create a sense of peril, it is necessary to exaggerate, and M. de Lanessan gravely assures his readers that the education which the Chinese are receiving at the hands of the Japanese 'contains nothing favourable to the Western nations.'

In another part of his paper he extols the 'military qualities' of the Chinese, whose sole defect from this point of view is that they have 'no taste for the soldier's profession' and 'no sense of military honour.' But these defects are removable, and wherever they are given a chance Japanese instructors are already removing them. General Frey, a French officer who served in China, has just published a book on 'The Chinese Army, as it was, as it is, and as it will be,' in which he supports M. de Lanessan's conclusions, and enlarges upon the formidable proportions that the future Chinese army—the force of a nation of 500 millions—will attain. It is possible to agree on this point to a great extent with the author, and to hold the highest opinion of the military qualities of the Chinese race without foreseeing or apprehending the disturbance of the present political system or the danger to Europe that has been conjured up as the inevitable consequences of the revival and progress of the Far Eastern States in a fit of nightmare.

But if French writers are somewhat alarmist, it is in Russia that the general imagination is running riot on the subject of the Yellow Peril, arising from the anticipated and dreaded *accaparement* of China by Japan. The Russian papers are full of the subject, and as they only deal thus persistently at any rate with matters approved of by the official authorities, it may be concluded that design and calculation are at the root of the demonstration rather than mere imagination. The expression of these opinions is not confined to the journalists of St. Petersburg and Moscow. A Russian officer, Commandant Eletz, who served in China, has lately been lecturing on the subject in Brussels and elsewhere. Some of the gallant officer's remarks were a little surprising—as, for instance, his assertion that 'the arrogant and dictatorial attitude of some ambassadors, especially the English,' was responsible for the present situation, which he described as 'worse than before the Boxers.' He evidently forgot the presence in Peking of M. Lessar, who outdistances all competitors in arrogance and imperiousness, and indeed admits of

no rivalry in those respects. Commandant Eletz does not confine himself to one extraordinary statement. We, who think that English action in the Far East for the last ten years has been extremely supine, are assured that the attitude of the English ambassador is especially arrogant, but in the next passage a still more serious charge is laid to our account. Our 'territorial acquisitions by force' (*brutales*) have been, it appears, the real incentive to the Chinese and Japanese to combine and create a formidable Yellow confederacy. Yet it is Russia, and not England, who has absorbed Mongolia and Manchuria, and come down to the Yellow Sea. A little inaccuracy of this sort is not surprising on the part of persons who see in the employment of Chinese labourers in South African gold mines a contributory to the Yellow Peril.

An officer of the Russian Imperial Guard entrusted with a semi-official mission as a propagandist does not allow himself to talk nonsense such as this without a strong motive. What is it? Russia is brought face to face with Japan. She tried a game of bluff and browbeating, and Japan did not flinch. Russia recognises the seriousness of the position, and is alive to its hidden dangers. But against a small Power such as Japan is still considered to be, against an Asiatic Power which she always must be—and Asiatic on the Continent means inferior—she cannot call out to her too faithful ally, France, for aid. No matter what the reverses of war, neither pride nor self-interest will allow of such an appeal—pride, because Russia is, after all, a great empire on the map; self-interest because, if Russia cannot vanquish Japan, the question must be asked in Paris what possible use can Russia be against Germany? All these contingencies have been passed in review at St. Petersburg, and the necessity has been realised of creating the impression of a common danger. Hence the Yellow Peril has been evoked. Russia does not want aid against Japan, but against 'a peril which is common to all Europeans and their immense interests in China.' The situation is painted as worse than it was before the Boxer rising, and the prediction is made as a crushingly conclusive argument that 'Chinese soldiers will become first-class, and that Japan will make out of them the most formidable army in the world.'

The object of these statements is clear. It is to rally France and Germany to the side of Russia, to revive in 1904 the triple alliance of 1895 which humiliated Japan in the hour of victory, and to avert, for the benefit of Russia, the unpleasant admission that she has gone too far and must draw back under the pressure of diplomacy or by the force of arms. These are the definite aims and objects which have made Russians set their wits together to conjure up the Yellow Peril, and some of their sympathetic friends in Paris are backing them up. In Berlin, too, the idea has been well received. If there is hesitation there, it arises from the doubt as to what the

three allies of 1895 could accomplish against the other three allies of 1904, for everyone ought to know that, though there may at this moment be no written bond, the co-operation of the United States with England and Japan in face of such a menace would not be delayed one hour after the other side had revealed their intentions.

As our Continental friends are for their own reasons devoting so much attention to the so-called Yellow Peril, it is not wholly waste of time to give it careful consideration from our point of view, and to reduce the problem to its correct proportions. Assuredly if there were a real Yellow Peril, we could not escape feeling its consequences just as much as any of the others. It would mean the disappearance of our trade throughout the greater part of Asia, the probable loss of Burma, a constant menace to India, and the closing of Central Asia more effectually than is done by the Russian tariff. The magnitude and tempting character of the prize that our possessions in Southern Asia would offer might even prove the safeguard of Europe, by diverting the overflow of those millions of armed warriors before it reached the Volga. It is with no intention of diminishing the possible consequences of the peril, whenever it may have attained corporate reality, that I proceed to expose the non-existence for us of the Peril itself within any considerable period of time. We have to deal with the questions and facts of the day and our most carefully arranged political combinations must be based on them, and can at the longest only have force and value for twenty years. There are some questions that must be left for posterity. It is perfectly clear why the Russians are conjuring up the Yellow Peril, but the very reasons which are actuating them in creating this racial Frankenstein should make us see in it a Yellow Protection.

The great and central fact upon which all these suppositions are based is the Chinese nation, 400 millions or more of active, vigorous, unchanging and self-perpetuating individuals, upon whom time, contact with European civilisation, and the ravages of famine, pestilence, and war seem to have produced none of the accustomed and anticipated impressions and modifications. There we are confronted with an ocean of humanity, impassive, unimpressionable, for which we have no plummet, that is tranquil to-day, but that may at any time become agitated by some national upheaval as sudden and terrible as the typhoons that sweep its seas. It is not surprising that the imagination should run beyond the limits imposed by custom and common sense at the contemplation of a society and a nation which in all essentials are what they were at least 2,500 years ago. But up to a recent period there had been no sense of grave peril as the result of this contemplation. The Chinese were distinctly free from the military spirit, and what was still more assuring, they had effected no real progress in the military art. The purchase of modern arms and artillery had not made them any more

formidable as opponents than they were in the ginseng and bow and arrow period. The study of the Chinese question suggested then a mystery rather than a danger.

But the progress accomplished by the sister nation of Japan raised apprehensions and changed the perspective. Here was one of the Yellow races emancipating itself from a past scarcely less hoary than that of China, and placing itself without an apparent effort on a level with the foremost nations of the world, and especially, and above all things, in military science and equipment. The overthrow of China in 1894-5 as a feat of arms did not count for much, but the scientific manner in which it was accomplished created a deep impression, and that impression was further deepened by the incidents of the international campaign in China in 1900-1. There the Japanese were associated with the picked troops of all the Powers, and there is no disputing the fact that they displayed the greatest courage and dash of them all. If they had a competitor for the first place, it was the Anglo-Chinese regiment led by English officers. This demonstration of what Yellow troops could do on the field of battle was enhanced by the poor show of the Russian troops. If a secret ballot had been possible of the opinions of the foreign commanders as to the merit of the different contingents, there is scarcely a doubt that the Japanese would have been placed first and the Russians last. Of course the Japanese were more on their mettle than the English or the French. They wished to show what they were made of before Europeans, and their temerity sometimes cost them more than was necessary, but on the other hand it furnished some ground for the boast of a Japanese officer that when they had to deal with the Russians 'they would walk through them.'

If the question of Japan's future had remained detached from that of China, it would still have presented a serious aspect for the Power which had practically absorbed Mongolia and Manchuria, which aspired to control the affairs of Corea as well, and which regarded the Chinese ruler as a mere puppet. From its geographical position Japan commands the route of sea communication between Russia's old possessions at Vladivostock and her new occupations round Port Arthur. By its industrial and commercial necessities Japan requires an outlet in Corea, and Russia is well aware that she will never acquiesce in her being ousted from that peninsula, whilst it is perfectly clear that Japan's occupation of Corea in a military sense would render Russia's position in Manchuria so precarious as to deprive it of any real value. Finally neither her pride nor her political aspirations would allow Japan to look on idly while Russia acquired the control of the central Chinese Government at Peking and converted the Manchu Emperor into a vassal prince. Her feelings on that subject might be compared to ours if Germany attempted to place a Hohenzollern on either of the thrones of the

Netherlands. For all these reasons Japan represents a formidable obstacle, and one that must become more formidable with the lapse of time, unless Japanese influence can be excluded from the Asiatic mainland until Russian preponderance has been firmly established there. But Russia has already failed to accomplish this object. Japanese influence has asserted itself not merely in Corea, but also in Manchuria, and, more remarkable still, it has acquired an ascendancy over the councils of China.

The gravity of the expansion of Japan for Russia is not to be denied. Before she has consolidated her position, while indeed it reveals to the eye of the casual observer the most glaring weaknesses of all kinds, Russia is exposed to the morally certain and probably imminent first trial of strength with Japan, on the result of which her future position in the Far East must depend. The ordeal is rendered the more severe by the fact that all her diplomacy and all her expenditure, which has been enormous, have not availed to make the Chinese Government subservient to her. Instead of being able to pose and act as the protector of the Chinese Government, which was the original aspiration of the Russian Government, it has to recognise that the co-operation of the Chinese trained forces under the able Viceroy Yuan-Shih-kai with the Japanese is assured. For the moment, then, the interests of China are merged in those of Japan, and Russia, who had hoped to set one country against the other, finds herself confronted by the two.

Under these circumstances it will be seen and admitted that Russia has displayed very considerable ingenuity in bringing up the Yellow Peril as such a menace to 'all Europeans' that they ought to band themselves together once more in China for the purpose of contributing to the success of Russia's own little game, or, as the hope can scarcely be indulged that England will turn upon her ally, that the triple alliance which revised the treaty of Shimonoseki to the detriment of the victor, should be resuscitated in order to arrest the progress of Japan and prevent the interference of England. Whether Russia succeeds or not in her plan, it is quite certain that she could not have conceived a more ingenious device for obtaining support in the coming struggle without having to make the admission that she stands in need of assistance against an Asiatic and therefore apparently weaker antagonist. But even if she were to succeed in her plan to the fullest extent, it is inconceivable that England would stand aside and thus consent to lose a most favourable opportunity for establishing her naval superiority and security on an unchallengeable basis.

If it is clear that Russia has discovered and obtruded the Yellow Peril only for the purpose of promoting her own designs, and if some Frenchmen out of complaisance to their country's ally have pandered to the same idea, those who can regard the alleged danger

with calm and unprejudiced minds, as the peoples of Great Britain and the United States are able to do, must pronounce it for the present generation at least the creation of either a disordered imagination or a subtle policy, and in either case a matter not calling for their opposition or interference.

Let us leave aside the Platonic theorising of M. de Lanessan and the interested diatribes of the Russian officer, and let us examine coolly and dispassionately the real significance and the more remote possibilities of the alertness of Japan and the conjectured awakening of China. The Japanese can have no objection to our taking careful stock of the situation and to our expressing our candid opinions. So long as we fulfil our formal engagements with them, they will not mind our indulging in some speculations as to the future of certain questions in which they, not less nor more than ourselves, are deeply interested.

We may have nothing but admiration for the energy and thoroughness with which the Japanese have gained their place in the family of nations and maintained it by courage and constancy in the face of danger, and at the same time we may have reasonable doubts as to whether the Chinese, even under Japanese leading, are going to imitate the wisdom and to display the self-restraint that they have exhibited. The Japanese are not likely to lose their heads or to be carried away by even the most signal success in any struggle with Russia. They will feel quite convinced that such a contest cannot find its definite settlement in a single campaign or even in one war. They will also feel that the very magnitude of their success calls for a special display of moderation and dignity, so that they may be held to wear their laurels worthily. The Japanese have a very remarkable appreciation of the fitness of things, and above all they really desire to figure well in the estimation of the British and American publics. They are self-respecting, and they wish to be respected on and for their own merits. But after all they only represent half—the better half indeed in every way—of the Yellow problem.

On the other hand, it is impossible to feel any assurance at all about the proceedings of the Chinese. Success in their eyes does not signify the obligation to show themselves worthy of it, but merely that it provides an avenue for escaping from their responsibilities, and a means of gratifying their own latent passions. The defeat of the Russians might well be followed by a resuscitation of the Boxer movement, and by an attempt to exclude, or at least curtail, the rights of all Europeans in common. The fact is that the Chinese Government, so long as it is subject to the dominant influence of the Empress-Dowager, is worthless and rotten. The possession of even a passably efficient army is no proof or guarantee that the Government is animated by a right spirit, or that it means

to turn the fruits of victory to reasonable account and not to abuse them. The Russian presentment of the Yellow Peril makes the most of these possibilities, which are not hidden from any observer, but what is entirely overlooked in it is the fact that Japan, not less than England and the United States, is altogether opposed to the Boxer programme, and would send her troops just as freely as we should to cure Chinese Chauvinism and to uphold the right of treaties. Japan, it may be remarked, has pledged herself to the policy of 'the open door,' while Russia is bent on closing harbours and treaty ports and preventing all access to the region that she seeks to monopolise. These facts speak for themselves, and are not to be set on one side because some designing persons cry out that Europe may find itself again exposed to the peril of a Tartar invasion.

In resolving the problem of the Far East we must proceed step by step, and deal with each successive phase as it arises. The Yellow Peril is not practical politics to-day, it will be the affair of some future century. But what is most pressing is to ascertain how far the patience of the Powers interested will endure in face of Russia's manifest intention to appropriate as much as she can of Northern China. The acts of provocation are committed by Russia. It is she who by her aggressiveness is making herself the enemy of every one else, and the success with which the easy tolerance of England has allowed her measures to be crowned really constitutes the only visible Peril in the Far East. Yet her diplomacy has been so astute, and her representations have been so specious, that serious consideration has been paid to her suggestion that she is quite innocent and inoffensive, while the Japanese are calculating villains in the first place, and are destined in combination with the Chinese to become the most formidable enemies of the human race later on. It is surprising that any credence has been given to such a misrepresentation of the truth, but the transparency is too clear to admit of protracted deception.

Even if there were a great deal more fact upon which the Yellow Peril theory might be based than there is, that would still furnish no reason for allowing the Russians to accomplish their own object, which is nothing less than the *accaparement* of China by Russia. And if Russia were to be permitted to carry out her policy, what would be the position then for the rest of the world? It would be confronted by a Yellow Peril far more formidable than it could ever become under the care and direction of Japan. This position of the question only needs the slightest consideration for it to be realised that the grave peril for the rest of the world does not come from the side of Japan, even a victorious Japan, but from that of Russia herself. The affinity between the Russians and Chinese is quite as marked as that between

the latter and the Japanese. When Li Hung Chang was shown at Moscow the portraits of the old Czars he exclaimed, 'But these are my ancestors.' They are given to political speculation in long anticipation of the event on the Spree; a theme for their consideration may be suggested in the appearance of Russo-Chinese hosts on the Vistula in the year 1925.

If it is fair play for Russia to dazzle Europe with the phantasmagoria of a Yellow Peril under the auspices of Japan, we are far more justified in directing serious attention to the well-calculated and hitherto successful measures of Russia to secure for herself the control of China. She has already lopped off the trans-mural possessions of China in the north, and nothing but defeat in war will make her resign them. In four or five years' time, assuming that peace is preserved or that she experiences no reverse, she will be ready to make her second spring forward, and this will be to Peking itself. The possession of Peking means the commencement of the conquest of China, the termination of the 'open door' period, and the reversion to the policy of partition with all the advantages on the side of Russia and all the obstacles against ourselves, America, and Japan.

An entirely fresh vista is then opened up. Russia, having secured all the outlying possessions of China, opens the new phase of the China question with a bold declaration that the time has come for breaking up China. The proposal is favoured and supported by France and Germany, both of which States are even now perfectly willing to enlarge their areas of authority or spheres of interest in China. France claims the province of Kwangtung, in which is the great city of Canton, and by that period a railway largely built with French money and under French and Belgian engineers will be far advanced towards completion, forming a trunk line through the west of China from Russian territory to French. That is a serious outlook for us, and no *entente cordiale* can diminish its perils for British enterprise and interests. Nor is the outlook more cheering if we turn to Germany. The province of Shantung is already her preserve. No Englishman can take up his residence in that part of it covered by the yellow and black flag. Does anyone think that Germany is satisfied with that province as her share? Already there are projects of encroachment into Nganhwei and Honan. But a far more serious blow is intended. The Germans have their eyes on the Yangtze Valley, which theoretically is the British sphere, and the British Government, contented with theories, has done nothing whatever to establish its claim on the sound foundation which Germany did in Shantung by the occupation of Kiaou-Chau. It has been admitted by the Foreign Office that there is a different reading in London and Berlin of the Anglo-German agreement of 1901, and it needs no second sight to predict that the coming *casus*

belli between England and Germany will arise in the Yangtze Valley. Under such circumstances it is suicidal policy for us to remain inactive while Russia is consolidating her position, from which she will be able to beckon her allies, present and contingent, to her side, and while Germany and France are acquiring the claims created by the construction of railways, the investment of funds and establishment of commercial, property, and individual rights that must carry with them extensive encroachments upon our hitherto nominal sphere in Central China.

The Yellow Peril as expounded on the Continent has no practical meaning for us. It is a will-o'-the-wisp that may divert us from our path and lead us far astray. Even if the worst according to the Russian prophecies were to happen, it must be remembered that Japan, the motive power according to M. de Lanessan, is an island State which would always be liable to the moral and naval pressure that the English-speaking States, England, America, and Australasia, could bring to bear upon it.

But if we substitute Russia for Japan the Yellow Peril assumes a totally different aspect. Russia is not an island State. She is a vast land empire stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific. She has few vulnerable points, and once she is secure in Manchuria there will be fewer still open to attack. Naval reverses will not bring her to her knees, when her land communications across Siberia have been perfected. She will be able to deride the terrors of a blockade. These may be serious matters for all her neighbours, but for British interests in Asia, commercial as well as political, they must signify a heavy and perhaps a deadly blow. While we can afford to look on the development of the so-called Yellow Peril under Japanese auspices with calmness, and even to encourage its progress with a clear reservation as to our sphere in the Yangtze Valley, no such tolerance can be safely extended to the realisation of Russia's schemes for obtaining the control of the destinies of China. Her success would mean the creation of that formidable militant Power that is described in such impressive language as threatening Europe with a return to the days of the 'scourges of God.' But whereas the Peril under the direction of the Japanese would never be more than a phantom for any State except Russia, it might become in the hands of Russia a menace to the peace of the world, and the means of overthrowing the British Empire in Asia and of laying the whole fabric of British commercial prosperity level with the ground.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

EDUCATIONAL CONCORDATS

THE correspondence which has recently taken place between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Horton, although for the moment it has not achieved the object proposed, has at any rate set people thinking upon the educational problem. Irretrievable injury will ensue if the present strife continues. It cannot be that the people of this country will allow the interests of the children to suffer, while their education is being made the sport of the fanatic and the partisan.

No laboured analysis is necessary to establish the fact that the Education Act of 1902 has aroused an opposition which, although varying in intensity, is almost unexampled in its extent. There are those who, being keenly anxious about collateral issues, assail the Act with a vehemence more political than educational in its characteristics. A criticism which never leaves the superlative degree cannot be permanently formidable. The objections to the Education Act which are really formidable come from moderate men, who, without distinction of party, are profoundly alive to the importance of making our elementary schools as efficient as possible. It cannot be denied that a very large section regard the Act of 1902 as inequitable in some of its provisions, as perpetuating, if not creating, serious grievances, and as retaining privileges which are amorphous, if not indefensible. Reasonable people recognise that there cannot be steady progress in education when the wheels are being continually spragged by the agitator. In saying this we are not blind to the great progress marked by this Act in co-ordinating primary and secondary education, and in creating for elementary and secondary education an authority which will have all the advantage of local interest and local knowledge. These undoubted merits afford an additional reason for removing grievances which may still retard the efficiency of our schools. Before we come to close quarters with these grievances, two facts stand out clearly in all the Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary discussions on the Education Act of 1902. The people of this country will not have a secular system of education. They are determined that their national system of education shall be as efficient as it can be made.

I entertain an inextinguishable hope that the grievances which seem to bar the attainment of these two objects can be removed by a sober consideration of all the facts involved, and by a resolute determination to accept a reasonable compromise.

The history of the Welsh Concordat may be useful and opportune. Wales, with its State colleges, with its long-established system of intermediate schools, with its genuine zeal and sacrifice in the cause of education, with a body of Nonconformists not less vigorous and capable than their English brethren in defence of their principles, can supply a valuable test and criticism of the Education Act. Soon after the passing of the Act a meeting of the representatives of the Welsh County Councils invited the Voluntary school authorities in Wales to a conference, 'with a view of bringing the management of Voluntary schools into line with the provided schools, on condition that religious education should be safeguarded, and facilities for special religious instruction should be given where demanded by the parents.' One diocese in Wales accepted this invitation. A conference followed at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Tuesday, the 24th of March, 1903. The names of those present indicate the character of the conference. The chair was taken by Mr. Frank Edwards, M.P. Among the representatives of the Welsh County Councils were Mr. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P., and leading men from the various Welsh County Councils. The Voluntary schools were represented by Lord Kenyon, Lord Mostyn, the Hon. Laurence Brodrick, the Hon. George Kenyon, M.P., Mr. Stanley Weyman, Archdeacon Wynne-Jones, the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, the Bishop of Menevia (for the Roman Catholic schools), and the Bishop of St. Asaph. The proposals which were eventually, after prolonged discussion and several meetings, agreed to on both sides are instructive. Let me say at once that these proposals, inasmuch as the Concordat failed, bind no one. They are, however, an indication of what might have been done eight months ago, and they may be an encouragement for another attempt in the same direction. It was agreed (1) that a syllabus of religious instruction, on the lines of the London School Board syllabus, be taught in provided schools from 9 to 9.45 A.M. on four days in the week, and that on one day facilities be given for unrestricted religious teaching to the children of those parents who desired it.

It was agreed (2) that a syllabus of religious instruction, on the lines of the London School Board syllabus, be taught in non-provided schools from 9 to 9.45 A.M. on three days in the week, and that on two days facilities be given for unrestricted religious teaching.

It was agreed (3) that there should be an annual examination in the general religious syllabus, and that the diocesan examiner might examine in the unrestricted religious instruction.

It was agreed, but in this case only as an experiment, (4) that the teachers may, if willing, give the unrestricted religious teaching in provided as well as in non-provided schools.

It is my belief that these conditions would have been accepted by the Voluntary school managers if there had been legal or permanent security for their fulfilment. I leave for the moment the question of how far these conditions ought to satisfy the requirements of those who represent the Voluntary schools, in order to state fully the grievances of which Nonconformists complain. Our conferences, conducted in the most friendly spirit, and with an earnest desire to conciliate and to co-operate, yielded abundant evidence of the reality of these grievances.

Fully to appreciate the Nonconformists' point of view, we must remember that they acquiesced with comparative tranquillity in the Act of 1870, believing, as one of their leaders stated, that in five years from that time School Boards would be universal in Wales. Prominent among the causes that falsified this anticipation was the growth of the School Board rate, which soon and largely exceeded the promised limit of threepence. Under the influence of the rate-terror the Nonconformist bore patiently the grievance of being compelled to send his children to the National school. The present Act intensifies that grievance by making the Voluntary schools rate-aided. It may be said that only the Nonconformist conscience could find a greater hardship in rate-aided than in tax-aided schools. But, after all, taxes are largely indirect, and therefore impersonal, miscellaneous in purpose, and centrally administered. The tax is paid so unconsciously that the sense of responsibility for its administration hardly touches the individual. Hence rate-aid revived the old grievance in an acute form. Two grievances, however, surpass all others in their magnitude and prominence in every Nonconformist discussion on the Education Act. The first is the retention of a religious test for head-teachers; the second is the question of public control. I desire to state the facts fully and frankly on both these points. There are 31,026 certificated head-teachers in the public elementary schools of England and Wales. Of that number 10,919 are employed in Board schools, 16,144 in Church of England schools, and 3,963 in other denominational schools.

Now the broad fact stands out that 20,107 certificated head-teachers out of a total number of 31,026 are employed in denominational schools. Putting the case in another way, the head-teachers in our elementary schools are now for all practical purposes Civil servants, and the Act of 1902 leaves unaltered the fact that two out of every three head-teacherships are subject to a religious test. I only wish to state this fact without comment. Then there is the second and the greatest grievance of all. The demand for public control in the non-provided or Voluntary schools is urged upon the principle that the measure of public control must be commensurate

with the contributions made from public funds. Stated briefly and in decads the facts are as follows :

Of the total cost of maintenance for each child in average attendance in the Voluntary schools 37·7 per cent. came from public funds in the year 1869. This had risen in 1879 to 44·2 per cent., in 1889 to 47·7, in 1899 to 77·6 per cent. In the year 1904 the contribution will be over 90 per cent. It must be at once granted in the face of these facts that the control cannot remain where it was in 1869. While we accept at once the principle upon which public control is demanded, it must in all fairness be pointed out that a just and precise application of that principle would not logically, and as a matter of course, give that form of public control which is now demanded in non-provided schools. A concrete illustration will make this point clear. We will take the case of a non-provided school, where the cost of maintenance is, as at present, 2*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* per head; to this must be added for rent of buildings 17*s.* 3*d.* per head. This sum will be made up in this way—viz. 1*l.* 19*s.* from the Government grants, 18*s.* 11*d.* from the owners of the non-provided school, and 5*s.* 7*d.* from the rates. In this calculation I leave out the endowments, which are valued at 1*s.* 2*d.* per head in the Blue-book, and, on the other hand, I do not allow for the probable increase in the cost of maintenance under the new conditions. Put in another way, it appears that out of every 1*l.* the State will contribute 12*s.* 3*d.*, the owners of the non-provided school 5*s.* 11*d.*, and the rates 1*s.* 10*d.* I simply take things as they are. In this balance-sheet we find that the State contributes almost two-thirds of the total cost, the owners of the school more than one-fourth, and the rates slightly more than one-twelfth. Applying the principle with which we started, we find that the predominant control must rest with the representative of the taxpayer. Now the grants from the Imperial Exchequer depend upon the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the Board of Education, and that fulfilment must be certified by his Majesty's Inspectors. These conditions cover the course of instruction, the qualification of teachers, the number of the staff, the fitness of the structure, the adequacy of its equipment. In fact, if religious instruction and the appointment of the teachers are excluded, there is scarcely a detail left upon which his Majesty's Inspector cannot claim the last word.

For nine-tenths of the school-day the school is under the supreme control of his Majesty's Inspector. What is there left to quarrel about? The one-tenth of the school-time, and the appointment of the teachers. There is already public control, of which none complain, but the present demand is that the local management should be local public control. I do not desire to oppose this contention; but it may be reasonably asked why, for the purposes of control, the difference between rates and taxes should be obliterated in this connection and emphasised in another, and the ratepayer

claim for his representatives what in many cases may be a disproportionate share of control? But let this point be waived, and, for the sake of peace, let it be granted that there must be public control through and through, and that theoretically private management is indefensible, and that public control, locally and imperially, is symmetrical and less open to criticism. Only let it be remembered that it is on these general grounds, and not always on that of financial equity, that the ratepayers can claim to be the predominant partner.

This brings us to the subject of the nature of the public control demanded for the ratepayer. His representatives are to appoint the teachers, and there are to be no religious tests. So far, all is clear, complete freedom is to be given to the local body in the appointment of teachers, but where religious instruction is concerned, this freedom is to be severely restricted. The moment religion is named, the vehement champions of public control produce the Parliamentary fetters. Like their prototypes in 1649 they have 'no intention of countenancing a universal toleration.' The religion taught in all the elementary schools must be rigidly pruned by the Cowper-Temple clause, and kept bare of any leaf or twig of dogma. This section of the opponents of the Act interpret that clause in a much narrower and more exclusive spirit than its original framers ever intended it to convey. Be this as it may, we are here face to face with the real cause of the present educational strife. Strong in the belief that this difficulty can be overcome, I desire to state the problem fully and frankly. Having endeavoured to state the grievances of the Nonconformists without any desire to mitigate or to understate them, I wish in the same spirit to put the case of the Voluntary schools.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, in his very able article on 'Elementary Education,' uses words that seem to imply that the Voluntary schools were recognised by the Act of 1870 'as part and parcel of a national system of education, and that then for the first time they were allowed to become public elementary schools.' But what are the facts? Elementary education in this country first began with voluntary effort. This voluntary effort was in 1833 aided by building grants from Parliament, to be followed in 1839 and 1846 by training-college and augmentation grants, then came in 1862 Mr. Lowe's payment by results. The Act of 1870 was passed not to recognise but to supplement this voluntary effort, and to establish a locally elected body for providing where necessary public elementary schools. The voluntary system has its root deep in the past. Up to 1870 the Voluntary schools held the whole field. Relying upon the honour of Parliament, the Voluntary schools have largely developed. Since 1870 additional accommodation has been provided by voluntary effort for 1,844,745 children, at a cost of at least 12,000,000*l*. (Report of Education 1903, p. 21-22.)

The Voluntary schools claim consideration not on sentimental,

but on these solid and equitable, grounds. The Act of 1870 met the religious difficulty in this way. It practically said to the Nonconformists, 'We give you the Board schools, from which we shut out any dogmatic and distinctive religious teaching, and, if the rate-payers like, all religious teaching.' It allowed the Voluntary schools to teach their children their own religious belief, while it protected the Nonconformist by a conscience clause.

Practically the compromise has worked in this way. The rates and taxes have paid for the teaching of the School Board religion, and the Church schools have paid for their own. For thirty-three years an undogmatic religion approved by the Nonconformists has been taught at the public expense in public elementary schools of this country. The State, in the Cowper-Temple clause, more brief, but not less binding than the Thirty-nine Articles, defined this School Board religion, and established and endowed its teachers. For thirty-three years this compromise—call it, if you like, concurrent endowment—has worked fairly well.

Under the plea of public control, and the grievance of rate-aid, a demand is now being made to force this School Board religion upon all the schools of the country, or to exclude all religion. The Free Churches, we are told, are opposed to any dogmatic teaching whatever. It is, then, abundantly evident that while Churchmen are asked to give up the control of their Voluntary schools, they are not to be offered freedom and toleration; they are not even to be allowed to provide at their own expense for the teaching of their own children in their own faith.

I have endeavoured to state fairly the grievance of the Nonconformists and the claims of the Voluntary schools. In recognising the latter, the Act of 1902 seems to have aggravated the former, and there is a growing conviction that matters cannot be left permanently where they are. What policies or remedies are suggested? The critics who have described the Act as 'shapen in iniquity,' 'bishop-made,' 'priest-endowing,' are now afraid to advocate the secularism which they really believe in. On the other side, there are those who, like the Roman Catholics, will not have the atmosphere of their schools tainted by any breath of public control. The Roman Catholics have been consistent throughout, and, unlike the Secularists, are not afraid to declare their whole policy. It will hardly be maintained that either of these parties is strong enough to dictate the educational policy of the future. Educational peace can only be secured by the co-operation of those on both sides who are ready to give and take. Religious instruction is the cause for which the authorities of the Voluntary schools contend.

From this standpoint let us survey the position and policy of the Church schools. According to the last Blue-book there were 4,890,237 children in average attendance in all our elementary schools; of that number 2,546,217 were in Voluntary schools, and

the rest in Board schools. Again, of the total number in Voluntary schools, 1,882,184 were in Church of England schools. It will hardly be maintained that under the Act of 1902 there is any great prospect or even possibility of extending the Voluntary school system. If that is so, the Church of England will be left with her own non-progressive system, and, as a penalty for this possession, she will be permanently shut out from teaching her own children in the provided schools. The practical question, then, for Churchmen is this: Is it better to retain our own schools, where we can teach some of our children in our own way, or to accept a compromise which would give us the right (I assume that no other compromise has any chance of acceptance in this country) of providing religious instruction for our own children in our own faith in every public elementary school in the country? The acceptance of the latter alternative would, I believe, greatly promote the cause of religious instruction in what are now provided schools, where the adoption of such a syllabus as that of the London School Board would under the new conditions probably meet with no opposition. The practical working of such a compromise does not seem beset with great difficulties. The general syllabus of religious instruction would be taught in all schools on four days, and on one day there would be facilities for unrestricted religious teaching. Under this plan every denomination would have the right to provide for the religious instruction of their own children, in their own faith, at their own cost. All the Voluntary schools would then become provided schools, either by sale or lease. What is the great obstacle to such a plan as this? As the law now stands, facilities for definite religious instruction cannot be given in provided schools within the school hours. It is obvious that if we are to start afresh, this survival of the compromise of 1870 must go. The vehement party who denounce the present Act closely resemble those preachers of toleration to whom Cromwell in 1655 said, 'Is there not yet a strange itch upon the spirits of men; nothing can satisfy them, unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there.' But it can hardly be possible that the great majority of the Nonconformists would commit themselves to a position so unreasonable and so harsh. They cannot in common justice ask the Church of England to give up all her schools and the right, for which she has made such splendid sacrifices in the past, to teach her own children in these schools, while the Nonconformists would then have in all the schools of the country the Board school religion of which they approve, taught by teachers paid by the rates. Churchmen have borne patiently this injustice for thirty-three years in the Board schools; they can hardly be expected to bear patiently its extension now to all schools. If counsels of moderation do not prevail the wrangle will go on, and education will suffer much, but religion most of all.

A. G. ASAPH.

HOW LONG WILL THE EDUCATION ACT LAST?

A YEAR ago I was permitted to give in this Review what seemed to me to be good reasons why the Education Act of 1902 ought not to be regarded by Churchmen as a permanent settlement of the religious difficulty. Those reasons were (1) that the acceptance of the Act implied that Church schools are an effective means of teaching the religion of the Church of England—which is true only of some of them; (2) that even if they had been this in the past they would not remain effective for that purpose under a system of rate aid; and (3) that the exclusive reliance on Church schools, even if better justified than it seemed to me to be, left out of sight the great and growing multitude of Church children who attend schools where the only religious teaching is undenominational.

I have no intention of reopening the controversy on these positions. I am quite willing to allow, for argument's sake, that I was wrong as to every one of them. I will concede that Church schools, as they are, are the best possible instrument for teaching religion as the Church of England understands it; that their efficacy in this respect will be in no wise impaired by the action of rate aid—including the Kenyon-Slaney clause; and that the importance of training the children at present in Church schools justifies the entire neglect of a larger number of children in the schools of the local authority. But when I have cleared the ground for the moment by these provisional admissions, I have still a question in reserve. What is the probable life of the Education Act? Or rather, since a great part of the Act will, as I believe, outlast any amount of amending legislation, what is the probable life of the management clauses? Will the present preponderance of denominational over representative managers be maintained? Will the head-teacher in rate-aided Church schools continue to be appointed by the Church managers and to be of necessity a Churchman? Those of the clergy who advise us to make the best of the Act must sometimes put these questions to themselves. How do they answer them?

On the whole, I suppose, they answer them pretty much to their own satisfaction. They cling to the assurance, so often given them, that it is not the habit of English legislation to repeal a great

measure within a session or two of its passing. The Education Act of 1870, it is argued, lasted for a generation, and would not have been replaced then had not the clergy themselves asked for further help. This, therefore, is what may be expected to happen in the present instance. The Act of 1902 will not last for ever, any more than the Act of 1870 did, but it will last our time. To reason in this way is to forget an exceptional and essential feature of the case. 'The proceeding,' says Sir George Trevelyan, speaking of the repeal of the American Stamp Act, 'was intensely English: but unfortunately it lacked the most important condition of a great English compromise, for it was not accepted by the beaten party.' It is needless, however, to inquire what the real value of the parallel with 1870 is, because it assumes that Church schools are safe unless the Act is repealed. But all that the assailants of the Act really insist on is its amendment in one or two particulars. The management clauses are only one feature in a measure of great length and complexity, and they might be removed without interfering in the slightest degree with the educational machinery set up. The control of elementary and secondary education would still be vested in a single authority, that authority would still be the county council, and provided and non-provided schools would still be alike supported out of the rates. The only difference would be that in non-provided schools a majority of the managers would be appointed by the local authority, and the head-teacher would no longer be required to be a member of the Church of England. Hardly a word would have to be omitted from the Act; a mere transposition of certain figures in the management clauses would do all that is wanted.

It may fairly be objected, indeed, that since these management clauses were the most fiercely contested part of the Bill, and since even this seemingly trifling alteration in them would reverse a policy which the Prime Minister has specially and repeatedly made his own, they are perfectly safe so long as the present Parliament exists. As, however, the life of the present Parliament is exceedingly uncertain, the value of this respite must depend on the degree of probability that the next election will renew Mr. Balfour's tenure of power. The appearance of the fiscal controversy has made this very much less likely than it was a year ago. Whatever other consequences this controversy may have, there is one which is already visible. The divisions in the Liberal party, if they are not yet healed, are in a fair way to be healed. The Education Act itself has done much to bring this about, and the attack upon free trade has given the last touch to the process. Moreover, the party will be strengthened as well as reunited. Numbers of people who, before the disclosure of Mr. Chamberlain's intentions, would have hesitated to call themselves Liberals, have not the slightest scruple about doing so to-day. They may have no very strong feeling against the

Government; they may have something more than good will to Mr. Balfour himself. But the issue now presented to them leaves them no choice. They are convinced believers in free trade, and, except in a few isolated cases, the only way in which they can show their faith by their works will be to vote for the Liberal candidates. How large a transfer of votes this change will bring about only the result can show; but when, to the Nonconformist dislike of the Education Act, the mismanagement, real or alleged, of the war in South Africa, and the reaction which invariably follows a long term of power, is added the danger which now threatens free trade, the most ardent Ministerialist will hardly deny that the prospect of another Unionist victory at the polls is nothing like as bright as it was.

Even if it were, it would not necessarily give any longer life to the management clauses. To them a Unionist victory will be only one degree less damaging than a Liberal victory. For a Unionist victory promises more and more to be a victory for Mr. Chamberlain. Two rival policies are now before the Unionist party, and upon the choice made between them must depend the choice of a leader. It is conceivable, no doubt, that the general election will reveal such a general preference of Mr. Balfour's limited scheme of fiscal reform that the larger plans associated with Mr. Chamberlain's name will fade from our view, and a united party will enthusiastically undertake the search after articles on which to levy retaliatory duties. But though this is conceivable it is nothing more. If we come to probabilities, they are all in favour of Mr. Chamberlain. The whole drift of Unionist speeches tends in this direction. Here and there, no doubt, a Unionist member addressing his constituents, or a Unionist candidate in search of a seat, may declare his preference for Mr. Balfour's policy over Mr. Chamberlain's. But in almost every case, unless the speaker happens to be a free-fooder, he does this because he thinks it more prudent to take the Protectionist cherry at two bites. If the course of the controversy shows, as I believe it will, that the enthusiasm, the determination, the thoroughness which go to make a policy popular are all on the side of Mr. Chamberlain, a Unionist victory at the polls must place him at the head of the Unionist Government. In that case what motive will he have for keeping the Education Act as it is? He is not himself an admirer of it. On the contrary, he has said plainly that it is not of his making. He would have disposed of the education difficulty in a way that has nothing in common with denominational management. He acquiesced in the Bill because his leader had framed it, because his party had accepted it, because he had other objects in view that claimed his whole attention. But when he himself takes the reins he will naturally be disposed to give effect to his own ideas of an educational settlement, and he will find a section, probably a

large section, of the Unionist party quite willing to give him a free hand in the matter. They are anti-clerical in feeling; they have no objection to undenominational teaching; if they have any passive resisters among their constituents they will not be anxious to be associated with restraints for the education rate. And if Mr. Chamberlain does get a free hand he will naturally wish to bring back to his side those Nonconformist Liberal Unionists from whom there might by that time be nothing to part him if once the management clauses were out of the way. In circumstances such as these, what possible reason could Mr. Chamberlain have for resisting an amendment with which he himself is in complete sympathy?

Let us suppose, however, that in spite of appearances it is Mr. Balfour, not Mr. Chamberlain, who wins the election, will the management clauses be safe then? I greatly doubt it. Mr. Balfour, indeed, defended them sentence by sentence and word by word. But a Minister—he, perhaps, more than most Ministers—has to think of his party, and from this point of view Mr. Balfour will hardly welcome a continuance of the present conflict. Had the Nonconformist hostility to the Act been foreseen, we may be quite sure that the Government would never have provoked it. Passive resistance may be illegal, or illogical, or unreasonable, or anything else we like to call it, but it has to be dealt with all the same, and I do not think that Mr. Balfour is the man to disregard it, or that he would long remain the leader of the Unionist party if he did disregard it. Why, indeed, should he be expected to die in the last ditch in defence of the management clauses? He framed them to give effect to the wishes, real or imaginary, of the clergy. He honourably stood by his agreement, and he has earned no gratitude by doing so. To suppose that he is going to risk further unpopularity in order to maintain a settlement which is repudiated by a growing minority of those it was meant to please argues a strange ignorance of the methods of popular government.

But passive resistance is not the only thing that a Minister determined to maintain the Education Act in its integrity would have to reckon with. In the questions for candidates at the March election of the London County Council suggested by the Executive of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation there is one which has an ominous sound. ‘Will you support a proposal that the London County Council should make a representation to his Majesty’s Government that before the Education Act for London is put into operation it should be so amended as to give complete control [to the Council] in the case of all schools maintained out of the public funds?’ It is not impossible that a majority of the members returned about two months hence may have taken this pledge, and in that case the representation in question will at once be made, and the Government will have to consider what answer to give to it. If they content

themselves with a simple intimation that the law must be obeyed, they will run the risk of the London County Council following the example of certain Welsh Councils and refusing to devote any part of the rate to the maintenance of Voluntary Schools. If the London County Council—if any County Council, for the matter of that—takes this course, what is to happen next? Even if we imagine the Government to have applied for and obtained a *mandamus*, the only ways in which it can be enforced are imprisonment or fine. When things come to this point, a bill to amend the Education Acts of 1902–3 will not be far off. Indeed, I doubt whether the intervention of so great a Council as that of London will be needed. It seems to me far more likely that Ministers will shrink from imprisoning or fining even a Welsh County Council. How little any Government cares to quarrel with a local authority may be inferred from the relations of the Local Government Board with Boards of Guardians. By law every workhouse must have a chaplain, but this provision is frequently disobeyed without, so far as I know, any harm coming to the refractory guardians.

One possible bulwark remains. There are those who fix their hopes on the House of Lords. But the House of Lords is rightly chary of provoking a conflict with the House of Commons unless it has good ground for thinking that it has the country behind it. In the case of the management clauses it will not even have the whole Unionist party behind it. To prove this I need only repeat some words of Mr. Balfour's which I quoted in these pages a year ago. He was defending his acceptance of the Kenyon-Slaney clause—a clause which had caused great and just offence to many of the clergy—and the reason he gave was the impossibility of passing the bill without it. 'I had difficulty enough,' he said, 'in passing it as it was . . . difficulty among those who are my most constant and loyal friends on this side of the House.' The course of the debate had shown that there were some among the Ministerialists who would willingly have left the appointment of all the managers in the hands of the local authority, and were only prevented from voting for amendments conceived in that sense by the knowledge that Mr. Balfour felt bound by his understanding with the clergy to retain a majority of the denominational managers. But they only consented to keep the clause in the form in which it had been introduced on condition that 'the sting which lay hid in it'—I am quoting the words of the Bishop of Rochester in the House of Lords—was made evident by the Kenyon-Slaney amendment. Is this a party to which the Lords can look for support in the event of a dissolution caused by the rejection of a Government bill to amend the Education Acts?

If these speculations are well founded, changes in the management clauses which will make the existence of Church schools a matter of pure accident cannot be very long delayed, and their

arrival may possibly be only a matter of months. Doubtless it is open to Churchmen to reply in some such fashion as this: 'All this may be quite true and yet make no difference to our reading of our duty. What we have to do is to fight for the management clauses so long as they are there to be fought for, and to regret them when they are gone. After all, there is still the chapter of accidents in reserve. None of these alternative predictions may come to pass, and if some one of them does come to pass, its results may be less harmful in fact than they are in prospect.' This would be a very reasonable way of looking at the matter if Churchmen had no power of influencing what is to follow upon the abolition of the management clauses. As a matter of fact, however, they have a very real power of doing this. A compromise of some sort is certain to be effected, and the character of the religious instruction given in elementary schools will depend on what the terms of that compromise are. What we want to know, then, is what Nonconformists ask from Churchmen, and what Churchmen ought to ask from Nonconformists. If we ask too much, we wreck the prospects of an educational settlement. If we ask too little, we make that settlement worthless when gained. We are already in possession of the minimum and maximum of the Nonconformist demand. The minimum is to be found in Dr. Horton's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the maximum in the 'Scheme of a National System of Education' unanimously adopted by the General Committee of the Free Church National Council at their meeting on the 30th of November. The minimum demand appears, with a slight but not unimportant variation, in both documents. Dr. Horton embodies it in two fundamental positions: (1) 'That all schools maintained by public money must be absolutely under public control; (2) that in all schools maintained by public money all teachers must be appointed by public authority without reference to denominational distinction.' The Committee of the Free Church Council add a third position: 'That no distinctively denominational teaching or formulary shall be given or used in public schools in school hours, but simple Biblical instruction may be given according to a syllabus, as is general at present in provided schools.' Here, then, we have the two forms of the Nonconformist demand, and the issue, which of the two shall be the form ultimately embodied in an Act of Parliament, will depend in a great measure upon the time and nature of the action which Churchmen take in regard to them.

The first condition of any permanent and friendly settlement of the controversy must be the full acceptance by Churchmen of the principle of public control. It may be hard to demand it of them, but unless they are prepared to go this length they must dismiss all thought of coming to terms with their opponents. It would have been well if they had recognised this necessity in the first

instance. There was a time, indeed, when they saw the inevitable consequences of accepting rate aid much more clearly than they have done of late. Their change of mind is mainly due to the growing difficulty of maintaining Church schools on any other footing. This must be supposed to have been the reason of Archbishop Temple's remarkable change of front. So long as he thought that Church schools could be maintained out of the Parliamentary grant supplemented by voluntary subscriptions, he saw as plainly as anyone the danger of rate aid. It was only when these two sources became inadequate to the work that had to be done that he came to regard rate aid as, at all events, a lesser evil than the abandonment of separate Church schools. There is no need, however, to dwell on the incompatibility of rate aid and denominational teaching. The next Parliament, if not the present, may be trusted to make this clear. The question for Churchmen to ask themselves is not, How shall we keep Church schools? It is rather, How shall we give them up with the least injury to the one object for which Church schools ought to be maintained?

It is strange that it should be necessary at this date to remind people that Church schools exist for a special object, and that in so far as this object is not attained the reason for their existence ceases. The object of Church schools is not to teach children the three R's, or to give them instruction in special subjects, or to qualify them for passing into secondary schools—these things are done, and done better, in provided schools. Neither is it to give children 'simple Biblical instruction,' to lead them upward, as has been well said, 'from *Stories from the Book of Genesis* in Standard I. to *Stories from the Book of Joshua* in Standard V.'—that also is done, and done as well, in provided schools. It is not for these purposes, good as they are in themselves, that Churchmen are asked to find money when a hundred more pressing needs are staring them in the face. No, the object of Church schools is to teach the children who attend them the religion of the Church of England. I will leave on one side the consideration how far they fulfil this object—in how many Church schools the teaching is radically different from that given in a well-managed provided school, or what religious impression is likely to be made on the scholars by teachers whose connection with the Church is limited to the accident that they find themselves in a Church school. I will assume that the teaching in these schools is in all respects what it claims to be, and insist only on the fact that it cannot remain what it claims to be under that popular management which is bound to come, and probably will come very soon. But, with Church schools gone, can the religion of the Church of England be taught in elementary schools? I believe that it can, if only Churchmen will look at the substance and not at the shadow. The danger is that the Nonconformists, and through the Nonconformists

the Liberal party, may be committed before we know where we are to the larger of the two demands I mentioned just now. The form which this larger demand commonly takes may be seen in the resolutions adopted by the Education Committee of the Free Church Council, and in the questions which the Executive of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation recommend should be put to candidates at the next County Council election. In the former the sixth resolution runs thus: 'That no distinctively denominational teaching or formulary shall be given or used in public schools in school hours, but simple Biblical instruction may be given according to a syllabus, as is general at present in provided schools.' In the latter the fourth question runs: 'Will you maintain the existing system of Biblical instruction carried on under the London School Board and resist all attempts to introduce denominational teaching into provided schools?' The two formulas differ somewhat in wording, but they mean the same thing. Undenominational teaching is to be given to all children not expressly withdrawn from it, by the regular teachers, as part of the school curriculum, and at the cost of the ratepayers; denominational teaching is to be given to those children whose parents expressly ask for it, by outside teachers, out of school hours, and at the cost of the persons providing it.

It will not be difficult to show that this scheme is fatal to the giving of denominational teaching in elementary schools; that it will probably be adopted unless Churchmen bestir themselves; and that the only way in which they can usefully bestir themselves is by coming forward with an alternative proposal.

The fact that so many people who really value denominational teaching are yet blind to the worthlessness of what are called 'outside facilities' can only be set down to an entire misreading of the average parent. I believe that the vast majority of the class whose children attend elementary schools wish them to have some kind of religious instruction. That, however, is quite compatible with an equally general indifference to the particular kind of teaching. The parent has played a very prominent part—on paper—in the educational controversy. But he has played it only on paper. Both sides have suffered from the impossibility of getting him either to protest or to vote against the treatment his children receive, whether in Board schools or in Church schools. The Nonconformist can point triumphantly to the entire acquiescence of parents who call themselves Churchmen in the teaching given under the Cowper-Temple clause. There have been moments when to show that even a few thousand Churchmen had used their right of withdrawing their children from the religious lesson in Board schools would have been an invaluable controversial weapon. But no such expression of distaste to undenominational teaching has ever been produced. The Nonconformists, however, can make no capital out of this fact, because they find it equally impos-

sible to bring forward any appreciable number of Nonconformist parents who have withdrawn their children from the religious lesson in Church schools. There are thousands of parishes all over the country in which the Church school is the only school that the children of Nonconformists can attend. But the Nonconformist parent is not in the least disturbed. Though he might, if he liked, forbid his child to be present at the religious lesson, he is apparently of opinion that the wholesome medicine of the Sunday chapel will be a sufficient antidote to the poison of the weekday school. The effect of this indifference will be that if there be one religion taught in school hours by the regular teachers and as part of the school course, and another religion taught in the school buildings indeed, but out of school hours, as something extra and optional, and by outside teachers, the former will be the religion in which 99 per cent. of the children in every school will be brought up. Yes, it may be said, this is what would happen if the choice of the parent lay between the religion taught in the school and none at all. But it will be different if the opportunity is given him of having his child taught the religion he himself professes after school is over. He may not think it worth while to withdraw his child from the undenominational religious lesson, but he will welcome the opportunity of having his child taught by the clergyman of the parish or by his own minister when the other children have gone home. But there will be three influences steadily making against any such arrangement, and any one of the three, as I believe, and certainly all three in combination, will be fatal to its success. There is the influence of the child, who naturally prefers getting out of school at the same time as the others to being 'kept in' for an additional lesson. There is the influence of the mother, who wants something done in the house or fetched from outside, and thinks that it is quite enough to forego these services during the hours when attendance is compulsory. There is the influence of the father, who knows that when the child comes out of school he may earn a few pence, and has no wish to see the time in which he can do this shortened. If any one thinks that the parents' regard for the real interest of their children will stand in the way of their being put to these base uses, how does he explain the necessity for a law making school attendance compulsory? If a parent cannot be trusted to send his child to school in order to get that secular education without which he can hardly hope to earn his living, why should he be more unselfish when the attendance is optional and the subject taught is religion?

Thus, if *all* religious teaching is given out of school hours, it will be given to empty benches. If denominational teaching is given out of school hours and undenominational teaching in school hours, the only religion taught will be undenominationalism. The first result will be tantamount to banishing religion from the school,

the second to the establishment of a particular religion in the school and to its endowment out of the rates.

Yet, although one of these two solutions of the educational problem is not desired by the nation, and the other directly conflicts with the principle of religious equality, one or other of them stands a good chance of being adopted if Churchmen continue to think that their strength is only to sit still. A large part of the people of England, including a number of Nonconformists, seem to have persuaded themselves that it is possible to draw a distinction between 'simple Biblical teaching' and denominational teaching. Their idea appears to be that all religions are alike up to a certain point. Undenominationalism is the stock which serves as the common foundation of all soups. Denominationalism is only the flavouring which differentiates one soup from another. I do not wonder that undenominationalism finds favour with the mass of the Anglican laity. In their eyes the Church is little more than an institution founded to teach such parts of the Bible as do not contain any disputed statements of doctrine. Anything beyond this is variously set down as 'narrow,' or 'extreme,' or 'partisan,' or 'beyond the comprehension of children.' If this 'simple Biblical teaching' were given in Church schools as well as in provided schools, the mass of the laity would be quite satisfied. They would think that the clergy were doing their duty by the children as much in what they withheld as in what they imparted. What is surprising is that Nonconformists should equally desire to see this sort of teaching made universal and provided at the cost of the ratepayers. What has become of all their protests against establishment and endowment? What has become of their insistence on the inalienable right of every man to shape his religion on the pattern which his own conscience prescribes to him? They are shocked at the notion that a school in which the authorised teaching is that of the Church of England should be supported out of the rates. But that a school in which the authorised teaching is founded on a principle which directly contradicts that of the Church of England should be supported out of the rates seems to them an arrangement that can offend no one. It should be a sufficient answer to Nonconformists of this type that it does offend a great many. The dislike of Churchmen to the Cowper-Temple clause is identical in principle with the Nonconformist dislike to the management clauses. These objections may be exaggerated, or illogical, or politically inconvenient, but so long as they feel them and are resolved to act upon them this does not matter. The line that politicians love to follow is the line of least resistance, and that is not the line that leads straight up to a fortified position, whether that position be held by Churchmen or by Nonconformists.

Fortunately, the view I have been combating is not taken by all

Nonconformists. A Nonconformist journal of high character and great influence has lately said: 'High Churchmen have just the same right to protest against the teaching of the Bible apart from the interpretation of the Church as we have to protest against the teaching of the Bible under the interpretation of the Church.' With this acknowledgment the way to an educational settlement ought to be easily found. I am quite willing that all religions should be taught in elementary schools at the cost of the ratepayers provided that my religion finds a place in the list. I am equally willing that no religion shall be taught in elementary schools at the cost of the ratepayers provided that an exception is not made in favour of what I regard as the worst religion of the lot. But though the best Nonconformist opinion goes, as I believe, with the *British Weekly*, the mass of religious indifferentism in and out of the Church of England clings to the Cowper-Temple clause. It is in possession, it falls in with the general trend of popular opinion, it satisfies the teachers, who do not wish to see their province invaded by volunteers, it has an air of rough common-sense about it which pleases the practical man, who does not mind riding over a religious conviction provided that he can do it without any risk of subsequent trouble. The opponents of Established Undenominationalism—as a voluntary religion it has the same right to exist that every other religion has—have therefore to convince politicians first that they are in earnest, and next that they are prepared with a proposal which saves their conscience without hurting anyone else's.

Such a proposal has often been put forward, but not as yet by those to whom governments and politicians naturally listen. It starts with accepting the two conditions laid down by Dr. Horton in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: the subjection to representative public control of all rate-supported schools; and the appointment of all the teachers without reference to their religious belief. I do not myself attach any importance to this latter point. Religious equality would be just as well attained by the German system, under which the teachers are taken from the several Confessions in proportion to the number of children belonging to each. But this plan would certainly be disliked by Nonconformists and by the teachers, and it would probably wreck any compromise of which it formed part. (I can see no reason, however, against allowing the regular teachers to give religious instruction as the paid servants of the denomination employing them.) The prudent course, therefore, is to accept these two conditions frankly and fully. Churchmen should say in effect: 'We resign all claim to the control of the secular education in our own schools. The management of the schools and the appointment of teachers shall be wholly in your hands; you shall have the use of the school buildings during school hours on any terms that may be adjudged fair. These are the concessions

we are willing to make, and in return for them we ask that all denominations—including the Undenominationalists—shall have the statutory right of providing and paying teachers to give religious instruction in school hours to the children of their own members.' In practice this would resolve itself in a great number of schools to a class receiving Church teaching and a class receiving undenominational teaching. In the opinion of those best qualified to speak, the majority of Nonconformists would be satisfied with such teaching as is now given under the Cowper-Temple clause. The only difference would be that the teacher giving it would be paid, as the Church teacher would be paid, by those who valued the teaching and were anxious that it should be given. If it turned out that the Wesleyans, Congregationalists, or Baptists desired to give separate religious instruction to their own children, they would of course do so. The parent would only have to send with each child on its first coming to school a written statement showing what religion he wished the child to be taught. It would be the duty of the managers of the school to give notice to the recognised authorities of each denomination, or in the case of Undenominationalists to the Committees that would probably be formed to provide 'simple Biblical instruction,' that so many children were awaiting religious instruction at the time devoted to the religious lesson. That time might, as now, be the first three-quarters of an hour in the school day. Attendance would be called before the religious lessons began, and then the children would file off to their several classes. Where a parent wished his child to receive no religious instruction he would be set to some secular lesson. Where a denomination had made no provision for religious instruction, the parent might be given his choice whether his child should go to the religious lesson of another denomination, or take a secular lesson instead.

All kinds of practical objections may be taken to this plan. But against what plan may they not be taken? What I have to say in mitigation of them is simply this—that the difficulties that stand in the way of its adoption are objections of practice and detail, whereas the difficulties in the way of any other plan go deeper, and touch upon matters of principle and conscience. I believe that if this plan were tried it might be worked with only a reasonable amount of concession. But the end of an article is not the place for indicating what these concessions should be, nor have I the knowledge required for suggesting or criticising them. I have only sought to establish three things: that the management clauses are doomed; that if Churchmen do not move, and move soon, there is a real danger that undenominational religion, and undenominational religion alone, will be taught in elementary schools; and that the only way of preventing this is to come forward at once with a proposal such as I have described. The next two months may

be of inestimable importance to the place of religion in elementary education. If they go by unimproved, we may in the end have to choose between the entire secularisation of the schools and the exclusive establishment in them of a type of religion which we regard as worse than none at all.

D. C. LATHBURY.

P.S.—I had written this before the publication of the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to Lord Ashcombe. But his Grace's argument does not touch the aspect of the question with which I have tried to deal. He gives reasons why the Education Act ought not to be attacked in Parliament; I give reasons why it certainly will be attacked in Parliament, and probably be attacked with success. He believes that to maintain existing Church schools is the only, or at all events the best, way of maintaining Church teaching; I believe that it is the existence of Church schools that blinds Churchmen to the fact that a yearly increasing number of children who ought to be, but are not and never can be, in a Church school get no Church teaching at all. More than this, the Archbishop is prepared to make a concession which would very soon be fatal to Church teaching even in Church schools. He proposes, in 'single school areas,' to draw a distinction between 'denominational instruction' and 'simple Scripture teaching,' and to give the parent the choice which his child should attend. This seems to imply that denominational teaching and Scripture teaching are different things, whereas, as every consistent denominationalist believes, denominational teaching is simply right Scripture teaching. A Churchman can no more teach the Bible undenominationally than he can teach the Church Catechism undenominationally. But to pursue this argument would lead me on to a wholly different ground from that covered by the present article.

SOME NOTES AS TO LONDON THEATRES PAST AND PRESENT

LORD ROSEBERY, in one of his delightful speeches at an annual dinner of the chairman of the London County Council, gave, as one of the proofs of the growing popularity of that body, the demands that were daily made by the public for endowing them with increased powers—great though those powers were at that time.

Personally, in the increasing mass of business undertaken gratuitously and successfully by men who devote their abilities, their energies, and time for the public good, I play an infinitesimal part. That part is in connection with the licensing and management of the theatres and places of amusement in the County of London.

This business has happily brought me into close and intimate relations not only with the daily increasing numbers of theatrical proprietors and managers, but with the professional and able advisers of the Council, from whom I have gathered much information connected with the history of theatres, which I have found of great interest and which may afford some amusement to others.

Going back to times preceding those of Shakespeare I find that no theatres existed in any part of the country, and performances took place in barns or yards of inns, where the overhanging galleries, which some few of us remember and all of us have seen in old prints, afforded the only shelter to the spectators. Churches gave a temporary home to what were called 'morality plays,' and we of this generation have learnt how pathetic and touching these plays could be by seeing the simple story of *Everyman*, which has been shown to us with an art probably eclipsing that of old days. Sometimes the plays were performed in amphitheatres, which had been used for bull and bear baiting, and were constructed in the form of an arena surrounded by galleries, which, when these were not required for more brutal sports, were occasionally devoted to the more refined uses of the histrionic art.

The first building appropriated solely for stage plays was known as 'The Theatre,' which was erected in 1575 in Shoreditch. In 1599, the Globe, where Shakespeare often appeared, was erected in

Bankside. Between the first date and the Restoration, a dozen other theatres sprang into existence; but how different from the present luxurious theatres with their gorgeous scenic effects and furniture!

Although the French word *matinée*, to which we have become accustomed, had never been heard of, the plays began at three o'clock exactly, and the prices of admission ranged from 1*d.* to 1*s.* Think of that, ye managers of to-day!

These theatres, as they appear in old prints of London, before county councils were even dreamt of, were octagonal or circular, with tiers at different levels, the topmost row only being covered with a roof, while the enclosed ground in front corresponded to a space which in the theatres of to-day would be occupied by stalls and pit. These were open to the air, and it is to be hoped that the heavens were more propitious to outdoor amusements in those days than they are in the year of grace 1903.

The buildings being circular, it of necessity arose that the actors were obliged to turn their backs on some portion of the spectators, a habit which, curiously enough, seems now to be a growing fashion.

The position of actors in Queen Elizabeth's time well illustrated the feudal principles in force in those days, for by the Act of 1547 great noblemen and landowners gave their patronage and licences to companies of play-actors, who by their permission only were allowed to give performances in the neighbourhood. Queen Elizabeth, however, at the beginning of her reign appointed Justices, Mayors, and Lieutenants of Shires to act as Censors of plays; but there evidently existed at that time in many quarters an antagonistic feeling against play-actors, who were driven in their own defence to appeal to a higher authority, with the result that a Master of the Revels was appointed by the Crown, who exercised his authority throughout the country until his office was merged in that of the Lord Chamberlain.

In 1642 all plays were forbidden by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, and many of the old theatres were pulled down by the Puritan soldiery, and the magistrates were enjoined to have apprehended all actors as rogues and vagabonds.

Up to the time of the Restoration no woman had ever ventured on the stage, but now great changes took place, and actresses were not only tolerated but were welcomed. The first English actress appeared in the character of Desdemona on the 8th of December, 1660, at the Tennis Court Theatre, Vere Street, Clare Market. The patent to Killigrew granted in 1662 runs:

'We do likewise permit and give leave that all the women's parts to be acted in either of the said two companies, the King's and the Duke's, for the time to come may be performed by women.'

We who have hung entranced with the acting of Rachel, Ristori, and Sarah Bernhardt, and have listened with rapture to the exquisite

songs of Grisi and Jenny Lind, have been moved to tears by the impersonations of Ellen Terry, and laughed till our sides ached over Mrs. Keeley and Mrs. John Wood, are beginning at last to realise that we owe some debt of gratitude to the more elastic times of the Restoration.

With the Restoration, the policy of the persecution of actors came to an end, Sir William D'Avenant and Killigrew each obtaining perpetual patents for the representation of stage plays, by which all the competing theatres were extinguished, and play-acting became a monopoly in their hands.

Killigrew was born in 1611-12, and at an early age began writing plays, which were acted at the 'Cock-pit' in Drury Lane. After a stormy political youth, much of which was spent of necessity on the Continent, he returned to England at the Restoration, and after several minor Court appointments he was, with Sir W. D'Avenant, granted Royal patents to erect two new playhouses, much to the disgust of King Charles's Master of the Revels, whose authority was thus overruled.

Drury Lane was opened as the Theatre Royal in 1663. In 1672 it was burnt down, for there were no County Council inspectors in those days, and the company played, till it was rebuilt, in the abandoned Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where his Majesty's company of comedians were advertised to play *The Lady's Last Stake, or The Wife's Resentment*, to be followed by *The Devil of a Wife*.

Killigrew himself subsequently became the King's Master of the Revels, and died in 1683.

Sir W. D'Avenant, the partner of Killigrew, was said by the scandal-mongers of his day to be an illegitimate son of Shakespeare. Meeting an old townsman on his way to Stratford and being asked where he was hurrying, he replied that he was going to see his godfather, Shakespeare, and was met by the retort: 'Have a care that you do not take God's name in vain.' The same Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, who had protested against the patent given to Killigrew, also accused Sir William of disloyalty and said he had been a Master of the Revels to Oliver the Tyrant—an office which I should have thought would have been a sinecure in those days. In spite of Sir Henry Herbert's opposition he not only obtained his licence, but was appointed Poet Laureate. The number of his plays was prodigious. He had lodgings in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he died in 1668, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where on his grave is written in silly imitation of Ben Jonson's epitaph:

O rare Sir William D'Avenant.

Killigrew's company was named 'The King's Theatre,' and D'Avenant's 'The Duke's,' in honour of the Duke of York. After

many vicissitudes the lessees of Covent Garden and Drury Lane claim that these patents are in force to the present day.

Playbills of performances in 1753 contain footnotes which still appear strange to us. One runs 'As any obstruction in the movement of the machinery will prejudice the performance of the entertainment, it is to be hoped no person will be displeased at their being refused admittance behind the scenes.' Another runs '*The Provoked Husband* will be given at the particular desire of several persons of quality.' I wonder if the husbands were anxious to provide a lesson to their wives and to teach them a moral. Another note says: 'Ladies are desired to send their servants by 3 o'clock.' I suppose that they were to preserve their seats. This was nothing to what happened at the opening of the Gaiety Theatre the other night, when I am informed a *queue* was formed at 5 o'clock A.M.

Before permanently moving to Drury Lane and the Duke's Theatre, Killigrew and D'Avenant exercised their patents temporarily at other premises.

Christopher Rich purchased in 1688 a share in the management of Drury Lane, the patents of which had been combined in 1682 with that granted to Davenant, and notwithstanding endless quarrels involving many lawsuits, he succeeded for a long time in holding undisputed sway over his Majesty's theatre of Drury Lane, and on his ultimate expulsion from the theatre he took with him the patents and in 1714 established the Lincoln's Inn Theatre. Drury Lane, thus deprived of its privileges, was forced to depend upon temporary patents until the year 1837, when the owners produced the original patent granted to Killigrew, having previously purchased it of Covent Garden, where it had been secreted.

Although the patentees had the exclusive right of stage-playing, yet many theatres, by methods more or less legitimate, contrived to encroach on their vested interests.

Some of these minor theatres founded their claim to this right upon the Act relating to grants of licences for music, dancing, and other entertainments of a like nature. Others maintained that public stage plays were not being acted, the playbills inviting patrons to have tea, during the supposed service of which performances took place.

A curious case of a like nature has recently occupied our Law Courts, where the Theatrical Managers' Association sued the Palace Theatre for producing a part of a stage play known as *La Toledad*, and the magistrate decided against the Palace Company and fined them 10*l.*, the Palace only being licensed by the County Council for music and dancing.

The exclusive privileges of the patent theatres were being brought, by the public demand for more places of amusement, to an end, with the result that the Theatres Act of 1843 was passed, by which the

Lord Chamberlain was allowed to grant full stage play licences in London, and magistrates were given similar powers in the country.

This Act is still in force, but in such parts as are included in the County of London the County Council have taken the place of the justices, the Lord Chamberlain remaining the sole authority in Great Britain with respect to the censorship of plays, which are submitted to him before they are presented to the public; but the morals of theatrical performances have improved, and there would now be no need, as there appears to have been in old days, for one of the audience to complain at a benefit of Mrs. Gardner's that she will soon announce her intention of standing on her head, for the amusement of the *savoir vivre* and the Macaroni Club.

In the time when George the Second was king, however, places of entertainment were still the scenes of every kind of disorder, as is shown by the preamble to the Act 25 Geo. II., which says:

Whereas the multitude of places of entertainment for the lower sort of people is another great cause of thefts and robberies, as they are thereby tempted to spend their small substance in riotous pleasures, and in consequence are put on unlawful methods of supplying their wants and renewing their pleasures.

This Act made it incumbent on the lessees of such places to obtain a licence from the Justices, and is the source from which the jurisdiction of the County Council in respect of music and dancing is derived.

In 1855 the number of places licensed for music and dancing was 305, against 67 in 1845. Five-sixths of the licences were for music only, and three-fourths of them were granted to public-houses.

About the middle of the last century the Sacred Harmonic Society and Exeter Hall gave a taste for oratorio, and great singers such as Sims Reeves and Santley, in the zenith of their careers, appeared on the scene, and these places became the home of very high-class entertainments. To a great extent these halls, which had been the outcome of small rooms connected with public-houses, have been supplanted by the modern theatres of varieties.

In 1878 there were in London at least 300 public-houses licensed for music, while at the present time there are only about twenty.

The restaurants where music is allowed during meals, and the efforts of religious bodies in establishing mission-halls and institutes, have contributed to overwhelm the licensed victuallers in this direction.

For the first few years of the authority of the County Council the sale of intoxicating drinks was allowed in these places of entertainment; but the Council have since that time, while not interfering with existing licences, decided with regard to new establishments to prohibit the sale or consumption of intoxicating drinks on their premises; and this policy has resulted in a great success, for

the places holding licences with this restriction have been among the most popular.

They have drawn a distinction at present between theatres and music-halls, and it appears to me with reason, for while in the former people would only seek refreshment in the limited time between the acts, in the other there would be constant opportunities of hanging about the bars, and thus causing a temptation to unnecessary drinking.

It is fair to say that few if any cases of misconduct arising from drink have ever been reported.

The Licensing Committee of the London County Council, in the past year, licensed 331 places for music, stage plays, and dancing, or music only, twenty-three of these being for stage plays.

The responsibility imposed on this Committee is considerable as regards new places of entertainment, but the difficulties in cases of old theatres are still graver.

All these theatres are inspected from time to time by the officials of the departments of the superintending architect, chief officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, and other departments. And now, as the development of electric light increases, a new difficulty has arisen and great care is necessary in its application.

It is unnecessary to call attention to the fact of the enormous advance in fireproof materials which has tended so much to the safety of the public. Every theatre and music-hall in London has, or will shortly have, a fire curtain separating the stage from the auditorium. Chemical science has now provided a substance which for some time has been used at bazaars, to render muslin and canvas unflammable, and this has already been taken advantage of for scenery, and it is to be hoped that it will be soon adapted for use in the more inflammable dresses used by actresses.

In 1100 selected cases occurring between 1797 and 1897 at home and abroad, the number of fatalities, according to some authorities, is fixed at not fewer than 10,000, and the loss of valuable property has been enormous. In this generation there have been fires at Brooklyn in 1876, when 400 people lost their lives. In 1881, at the Municipal Theatre at Nice 150 to 200 were killed, and in the same year 450 perished at the Ring Theatre, Vienna. In 1887, 115 perished at the Opéra Comique, Paris, and in the same year at the Exeter Theatre 127 persons were burned. In 1891, thirteen lost their lives at the Theatre Royal, Gateshead; and the fire at the Paris Bazaar, which should not perhaps be classed in the same category as the buildings with which this article deals, is fresh in all minds, as is also the fire at the Comédie Française in 1900, which occasioned the death of the artist Mlle. Henriot.

In London, in a properly licensed building, no life has been lost (except that of a fireman in the performance of his duty at the fire

at the Alhambra in December 1882) since 1858, when at the Cobourg Theatre, now Royal Victoria Coffee Music-hall, sixteen persons were killed in a panic resulting from a *false alarm* of fire. Previous to that, the fire at Covent Garden in 1808 was responsible for from fifteen to twenty victims, and they were not from among the audience, but persons who lost their lives by trying to get into the theatre to extinguish the fire. In 1807 twenty-three lives were lost through a *false alarm* of fire at Sadler's Wells Theatre.

One case has occurred, however, at premises which were not licensed, in 1887 in the Hebrew Dramatic Club, Spitalfields, where seventeen lives were lost during the performance of a stage play. In 1892 five children were injured at the St. Pancras Liberal Unionist Club during a magic-lantern entertainment.

The importance of taking precautions to prevent and allay fire is further illustrated by the fact that since 1866, 410 *incidents of fire* have been reported at places of public entertainment, including thirty-one cases where the building has been totally destroyed, and nineteen cases where persons have been injured. In this connection a question has been raised in the Press, which has never, so far as I am aware, been publicly answered. It is argued, and rightly, that the majority of fires in theatres originate on the stage, and that therefore it is unnecessary to take a great deal of care to make the auditorium fire-resisting. Perhaps those who raised this question will be interested in the following facts.

In London since 1866, eighteen fires have originated in the auditoria of theatres, of which ten occurred during performance; and seventeen fires have occurred in the same localities of large music-halls, four of which were during performance. In 1865 the Surrey Theatre, and in 1896 the Cambridge Music-hall, were destroyed by fires which commenced in the front of these houses, while from 1811 to 1897 there are records of twenty-seven other theatres in the provinces and abroad at which fires have commenced in the auditoria, the most notable of which were:

On the 26th of December, 1811, Richmond, U.S.A., where seventy-two were killed and many were injured.

On the 28th of February, 1847, at Carlsruhe, sixty-three killed and 203 injured.

On the 23rd of March, 1881, at Nice, 200 killed and some injured.

On the 28th of December, 1891, at Gateshead, thirteen killed and many injured.

On the 27th of December, 1895, at Baltimore, U.S.A., twenty-four killed.

In July 1901, regulations founded on twelve years' experience, and guided to some extent by the practice of other countries, were after long and careful consideration issued by the Council, and it is

hoped that they will have the effect of bringing the various premises, as far as possible, up to the standard of safety justly demanded by the public, and will be of great use to the licensees themselves, as well as to architects engaged on new theatres.

Great progress has been made in this direction with the co-operation of architects, owners, and lessees, who are well aware that the greater the proved safety of the theatres is, the larger will be their audiences.

The committee strive hard, with the skilful co-operation of their permanent officials, to mitigate the necessary inconvenience caused to licensees and proprietors by alterations which are deemed necessary for the protection of the public; and all their endeavours are responded to and assisted by the co-operation of the Lord Chamberlain, who declines to issue any licences to places not sanctioned by the London County Council.

At the present time the chief difference of opinion that has arisen between the committee and a minority of the Council has been on the application of temperance legislation.

We are all at one, of course, in our desire to do what is in our power to prevent excessive drinking, but I am always in fear that the extreme portion of teetotalers may damage the cause we all have at heart, by pushing too fast and too far their principles of total abstinence.

An old friend of mine, a witty and Liberal lady, passed a few days in a country house where Radical and teetotal views were pushed to extremes. On leaving it, she exclaimed: 'It is only by God's mercy that I have not become a confirmed Tory and an habitual drunkard.'

When I was Vice-Chairman of the Royal Commission on Licensing, I asked Lady Henry Somerset, who has done more for the cause of temperance than any woman living, whether, if there were no such thing as excessive drinking, there would be any necessity for any of her societies or efforts. Her answer was, 'None whatever.'

It is in a spirit of moderation and reform, not giving occasion to our enemies to blaspheme, that I hope the Council will proceed, removing, where and when it is possible, temptation to drink, and, above all, setting their faces like flints against all excess.

Readers of the *Creevey Papers*, which have been lately published, will see with pain how common, and almost universal, drunkenness was in the days when the Georges reigned. Such sights, familiar in the times of our ancestors, are unknown among gentlemen of the present generation. This should give us hope that education may step in and accomplish the good work, and remove the shame that still hangs over us of spending millions of our annual income on strong drink.

There is another point on which feeling runs high, and that is

the question of the employment of women at bars where intoxicating liquors are sold. Miss Orme, whose experience is unrivalled, was appointed by the Labour Commission to inquire into the question. She gives many arguments from a moral and physical point of view against such employment, and many good women whose noble efforts on behalf of their sex appeal strongly to the sympathies of men agree with her; on the other hand, it is said it would be cruel to circumscribe the already narrow field in which women can gain a livelihood. In the face of such conflicting opinions, and taking into consideration the comparatively small number of barmaids employed in the music-hall bars under the Council's control, I think that public opinion must be brought to bear on the hardships of their lot, with a view to their amelioration, and that the Council exercised a wise discretion in saying that they would lay down no law on the subject, but that they would view with satisfaction any diminution in the number of young women employed in bars where alcoholic drinks are sold.

ALGERNON WEST.

LENDING LIBRARIES AND CHEAP BOOKS

MUCH has been written lately in condemnation of the free libraries, on the ground that they were chiefly used by those who cared only for light reading, and that the more serious books were rarely in demand. It is quite true that out of each six books taken during the year from a free library five will be novels. But it would be quite unfair to take no notice of the considerable number of more serious books that are read as well. Taking, for instance, the annual report of our Bromley Library, I see that during the last twelve months more than seven thousand books have been borrowed from the departments of 'theology and philosophy,' 'biography and history,' 'travels and topography,' and 'laws, commerce, politics, &c.' This is certainly a quite respectable figure, the more so as our library contains, all taken, only 5875 volumes in all these departments, to which 120 volumes only were added during the last twelve months. It must also be said that the very wide division of 'laws, commerce, politics, &c.,' which surely would have been in great demand during the last few years, is represented in the library by 260 odd volumes, and that only *five* new books have found their way to the shelves of this department during the last twelve months (as against 280 in the branch of 'prose fiction').

Besides, it seems to me that the *rôle* of the free libraries has not been quite understood in these discussions, and that the poor reader has been unjustly censured. It would be perhaps more correct to say that the free libraries have fulfilled their function admirably, as they have developed a taste for reading, and have powerfully contributed to create a quite new class of readers, especially in the young generation. No very deep investigation is required, indeed, to show that the love of reading has greatly increased wherever free lending libraries have been opened—one has only to look attentively at the scores and hundreds of people who come every day to the libraries to take books. And if these readers have a decided taste for novels, these novels are certainly of a better sort than the penny dreadfuls or the *Police News*, which were formerly so widely read amidst this class of readers. Busy people, who have little time for reading after a day's work, must

first be brought into the habit of caring for a book in their spare time, and this is generally done by light reading. Besides, let us not forget what quantities of novels have been absorbed in youth by every one of us. Nowadays the novel is the young people's way of learning something about the world and its ways.

To create in the reading public a love for a higher order of books is certainly an urgent necessity; but for this purpose something else besides the lending library is necessary—I mean cheap editions of serious books. It is a fact that books of a serious character cannot be read quickly, and a volume borrowed from a lending library cannot be kept for months. If it takes a philosophically trained man more than a month to read a volume of Spencer or Darwin, in order that he may properly understand and assimilate to some extent the teaching, how much more necessary is it for the average reader of the free lending library to have plenty of time for the comprehension of such books?

I have often heard French working men say: 'I cannot read a serious book from a public library; I must pick it up second-hand. Then I read it at my leisure, which is generally at night only, when all is quiet, when the family is asleep; and even that I cannot do every day. Very often when I am reading a borrowed book, part of it leads me to consult another book; so I try to get this second book from the library. Sometimes I can get it, sometimes not. If I succeed in getting it, and have read what I want, I then go back to the library for the first book, and as often as not it is out. No, I must have the book upon my own shelf.' That is really how it ought to be.

Books of serious matter must be the property of the reader. Even to a good novel we all like to refer occasionally, and it is the same with a book of poems; but still more is this the case with a book more or less scientific. To such a book we should have the facility to refer constantly and on all sorts of occasions. It may be that we want to read a passage from it to a friend with whom we have a discussion, or we may look in the book for a point to be used in argument at a meeting, or else we are anxious to get a general idea before going to hear a lecture, or we may want to compare the ideas of one writer with those of some other writer on the same subject. Only in this way we learn to fully understand an author and to appreciate books. Good books must be a possession, if it be only to open one of them in some idle moment, to read a few lines at random, to pencil upon the margin our own observation, even though it be only the remark 'How beautiful!' or a mere sign of interrogation.

The free lending libraries are undoubtedly developing the taste for books; but are English books cheap enough for the reader with small means to buy them? The stream of good books in cheap editions, published of late in this country, has been a most

encouraging symptom, and the appearance of any good book in a shilling or a sixpenny edition has been greeted with delight by all serious readers. But we claim more from the publishers. First, the price of some of these books must be still further reduced, and we welcome the pretty shilling edition of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, even though we have had (since 1901 only!) a half-crown edition of the same work; secondly, the cheap books should be of a library shape; thirdly, the cheap edition should not be kept until years and years after the more expensive one has been in circulation, as is now the case. This last is a most important point, for every keen reader wishes to have the book while it is spoken about, and while the reviews are calling attention to its merits. Furthermore, there should be the means for circulating cheap editions of serious books in the country, so that even in small provincial towns new books should be brought under the eyes of the would-be buyers.

The high price of most serious books has been until lately the chief obstacle in the way of spreading good educational literature in England, and the great majority of excellent works that came out during the last half-century still remains very expensive. The English publisher seldom realises how unjust he is, not only to the reader and the writer, but to himself, in bringing out only expensive editions of such books, which in a cheap form could be sold by the thousand instead of by the hundred. It would be extremely interesting to know the exact number of copies of the half-crown edition of Darwin's more popular works, and especially the shilling edition, that have been sold lately, as compared with the previous editions; but, failing these figures, we may perhaps take as a striking example in point the sixpenny edition of Tolstoy's *Resurrection*: 130,000 copies of it were sold last winter, while of the beautifully illustrated six-shilling edition only a few thousand copies have been sold in the course of two years.

In France, in Germany, but especially in Russia, the publishers understand perfectly well the advantage of cheap publications, and a vast amount of books, marvellously cheap and well printed, crowd the Continental book market. The result is that such books not only satisfy the need of the reader who is looking out for them, but they also attract those who otherwise would not have thought of buying books and of starting a little library of their own. Perhaps the greatest successes in this direction have been attained in Russia. Cheap editions of good books, both by Russian authors and as translations, began to come out in that country about forty-five years ago; and I must here say that this excellent tendency was due to a great extent to the Russian women. At present Russian classics are circulating in numbers of cheap editions. The whole of Poushkin's prose and verse costs only three shillings in a quite decent ten-volume edition, while his separate poems and stories can be obtained

at all prices beginning at one farthing. The same is true of the works of another great poet, Lermontoff. Some of these popular editions are illustrated by first-rate artists. As early as 1858, a large publishing firm, Kozhántchikoff's, began to publish at low prices very good editions of the works of the various modern authors, such as the historian Kostomároff, the dramatist Ostróvsky, the novelist Gontcharóff, and some other well-known writers. It may be added that on all these books the firm made profits, and prospered, until they undertook to publish cheap editions of nonconformist (*raskolnik*) literature; whereupon the terrible censorship ruined the firm by seizing most of their editions. Kozhántchikoff's ambition was to create readers of national history by giving them Kostomároff's *Monographs* in a cheap and nicely published edition, and in this he succeeded wonderfully: from that time Kostomároff has been widely read in Russia. The bulky history of Solovióff, a rather dry work, originally in twenty-seven volumes, has also been republished lately in a marvellously cheap edition in eight volumes. As to the 'critics,' both dead and living—Byelinsky, Dobroluboff, Pissareff, Mikhailovsky—sufficient to say that every volume of these splendid writers, containing a matter of more than 420 pages, can be had for the modest price of two shillings! And of Byelinsky, for whose works the copyright has expired, there are two editions, of which the volume, same size, costs only one shilling.

Other publishers have made it their ambition to circulate cheap books of science. The Russian student can have, therefore, for a surprisingly small sum, the gems of the most recent works of all countries upon his bookshelf. Long ago he had a collection of the chief works of Charles Darwin for nine shillings. Just now a still cheaper edition has been brought out; and to judge of the value of the translation, made anew from the latest edition, it is sufficient to say that the best professors have done the work. Many years ago Buckle's *History of Civilisation* was published at three shillings, and an abridged edition at one shilling, of which more than 15,000 copies were circulated. Flammarion's *Astronomy*, with 382 illustrations and three chromo-lithographs, costs only six shillings. That splendid monumental work by Elisée Reclus, his *Universal Geography*, which reads like a first-rate romance but is at the same time a great scientific work, was published in Russia as the volumes were coming out in France, at an incomparably lower price than in England, and it is now being republished in five- and six-shilling volumes. This is, of course, a work that every cultured household ought to possess, but the price of the English edition makes it inaccessible in this country. The same can be said about the chief historical works, (Schlosser, Gervinus, &c.), which, with but a few exceptions, are little known in England, while they are quite familiar in Russia.

The sad conditions of a severe censorship in Russia have ruined many publishers, and hinder a good many original works from seeing

the light. Publishing firms have therefore to rely a good deal upon translations, and it is really wonderful to see the number of good books, well translated and well published at an extremely modest price, that circulate in Russia. The absence of literary treaties, which permits books to be translated free into Russian, certainly cannot explain this fact, because nowhere are the author's rights costly upon translations of serious books, nor is the remuneration which is paid to the translators in Russia lower than it is here. It is simply the taste for reading the best works of all European literature which has been developed in the country, to a great extent, by the cheap editions, and is maintained by the reviews. The result is that there is certainly a great deal of truth in the saying which we often hear, namely, that the Russian reader knows the literature and science of other countries better than the readers of those countries themselves.

Another important feature of the Russian publishing activity is the attention that has been given to the country labourer, the peasant. Some publishers, inspired with the desire of spreading knowledge among the peasant masses, as well as several others who are merely guided by commercial calculations, publish a mass of excellent literature and popular science in editions of hundreds of thousands of copies, on good paper, well printed, the books ranging from one to thirty kopeks (*i.e.* from one farthing to sevenpence) in price. So that for a few shillings a poor family living in the country can have a shelf of books upon various subjects, corresponding to a popular encyclopædia, and another shelf of lighter reading for the same price. There are, of course, both at Moscow and at St. Petersburg, a number of very unscrupulous publishers who send to the villages the most objectionable publications—partly reproductions of the oldest absurd romances, and partly of the modern music-hall type. Tons of that sort of literature and cheap pictures are hurled down upon the country, and are spread there by special pedlars, who go from village to village with their loads of farthing books and pictures. But a considerable improvement has taken place lately in that sort of literature, owing to the efforts partly of the women pioneers of primary education, who have started cheap editions of better literature, and partly of Tolstoy and his friends (the firm 'The Intermediary'). This last firm alone spreads every year from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 copies of very well chosen popular literature; so that at the present moment there is a large literature of good popular publications, which would do honour to any West European country. One finds now among these farthing and half-penny publications all sorts of admirable abridgments of the works of the best writers of all nations—in natural science, economics, geography, agriculture, hygiene, folklore, fiction, poetry, calendars full of reliable encyclopædic information and yet costing only five farthings, and so on. Only history is poorly represented, on account of

the rigours of censorship. In short, looking through the catalogues of different publishing firms, it is impossible not to feel gratitude to those publishers who bring out such a mass of cheap good books in all branches of knowledge, and give every facility for the purchase of them by the country readers.

Great attention is also given to the children's literature. The thinking Russian attaches the highest importance to the educational question; and both educators and publishers do their best to supply youthful readers with good books at the lowest possible price. I can well remember Paul Bert's delightful little books coming out in Russia as soon as they appeared in France, books that lead a child in a most fascinating way through the whole range of natural science—physics, chemistry, geology, and biology. Some of these books have from 150 to 400 engravings, and they are sold at prices varying from fourpence to tenpence. And I see now that scores of similar books of popular science for the youth have been lately translated from all European languages. Quite a number of men and women in Russia make their living by such translations, or by compiling or adapting more serious works—even the most profound philosophical ones—for the young. Kant's *Philosophy*, for instance, is summed up very simply and published at ninepence. As to the European classics, they circulate in Russia as widely as the Russian classics, and separate poems, plays, and novels can be had at all prices, beginning with one farthing. Of course, there are plenty of expensive editions as well, but these too are much below the English prices.

The Russian monthly review also deserves to be mentioned. It is of the same educational character as the English *Quarterly Review* and the *Westminster Review* used to be in years past. It is generally a large octavo book of from four to five hundred closely printed pages, and the reader finds there for his two shillings or half-a-crown a great variety of most valuable information. There is always one novel or two by some of the best Russian writers—all novels of Turgeneff and Tolstoy having appeared first in some review. Besides the original works, there is usually a novel translated from some European language, running serially. Then comes a succession of serious articles on all manner of subjects, but chiefly philosophical, historical, and economical—the size of the review permitting it to take in elaborate articles of from thirty to forty pages. After these comes the most important portion of every Russian review, the literary criticism, in which the critic, *à propos* of a new novel or drama, discusses at some length and in an attractive style all sorts of matters pertaining to social and domestic life. The greatest educators of intellectual Russia have always been her art critics—Byelinsky, Dobroluboff, Pissareff, Mikhailovsky, and so on—each of them a philosopher and an artist himself. Finally, each review contains a detailed survey of political, social, and literary life at home and abroad. Notwithstanding all obstacles offered by censorship, the

'Review of Inner Life,' which was always conducted in the best periodicals by first-rate writers, has been for the last forty years an inexhaustible mine of information about all vital questions in the country. As to the 'Foreign Review,' the letters from Paris (once written by Elie Reclus) or the letters from England, which have now run from month to month for some years already in a certain review, reminding one of the well-known London letters of Louis Blanc—these letters give to the Russians a knowledge of life, as it is in these two countries, such as is seldom found in France or in England themselves. It may seem paradoxical to say so, but the rich mines of information contained in British Blue-books are nearly always better known in Russia, through our reviews, than in England. Some of the reviews have lately introduced the system of publishing the works of their contributors in book form, charging the author with the bare cost of printing, and giving him all the advantages of advertisement by the review. An extremely interesting book on English politics and social life was thus published a few months ago by the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* at the remarkably low price of three shillings for a large octavo book of 560 pages, with the result that three thousand copies of the book were sold immediately. The author was well remunerated for his work, and the review has had the best of advertisements.

But where the Russian publishers excel is in the supplements which they give with the illustrated weekly papers. There is one publisher who is especially noted for that. He publishes a weekly illustrated paper, something like the German *Gartenlaube*, for which the annual subscription is six roubles and fifty kopeks, or thirteen shillings, which can be paid, if required, in three or four instalments. For this modest sum the subscriber receives not only the weekly illustrated, of which each number consists of twenty quarto pages, and a monthly fashion-book with all sorts of dress and fancy needle-work patterns, but also a monthly magazine of about two hundred pages, in each number, in which there are novels, poems, and popular science articles; and in addition to all that, the publisher gives the complete works of some popular writer, like Turguéneff, Gógol, Gontcharóff, or Ostróvsky. This year, for instance, the subscribers receive in instalments the complete works of Tchékhoff in sixteen small octavo volumes of 200 pages each, and twenty-four volumes of another less popular novelist, Lyeskóff. This latter, although not a writer of the first order, is still worth having in a library. As to Tchékhoff, he is, after Tolstoy, one of our best living writers, and to buy his works alone would cost twice as much as the yearly subscription to the weekly paper. In short, in the course of the year the subscriber will receive more than nine thousand printed pages of good reading, besides a thousand pages of the illustrated weekly itself.

It may, of course, be asked, How is it possible to give all that

printed matter for thirteen shillings? But the secret is in the enormous circulation of the paper, which has had nearly 200,000 subscribers ever since it gave, one year, the works of Turguéneff as a supplement, and in the fact that the subscription is paid in advance. It must also be added that the authors of the works given as a supplement are well paid, I am told, and the publisher of the weekly does not reserve exclusive rights on the works of these authors. All taken, this system seems to have given such excellent results that there are now quite a number of weeklies which give similarly rich supplements. Some weeklies devoted to education achieve wonders in this line.

One more example of cheap publications is the series entitled *The Library of the Primary School*. It is a series of novels, geographical descriptions, historical and natural history reading, and so on, mostly suited for young people who have only received or are receiving primary education. The books are small and nicely illustrated, and so arranged that the subscribers receive them as they would receive a monthly magazine, but in batches of from two to five books at a time. This enables several families in a village to club together for one subscription, and they receive each month about three hundred pages of printed matter for sixpence. The books are really very pretty, with an elegantly illustrated cover, and contain no advertisements excepting one on the back of the cover, to notify that all these publications will be sent to subscribers in any part of the Empire for six shillings yearly, or three shillings the half-year, paid in advance.

There is scarcely any branch of science and art, as well as any sort of odd subject useful in life, which has not been utilised for these cheap popular editions; and this can be said too about the classics of all nations. In the Russian high schools for both girls and boys the history of foreign literature forms part of the education, and the pupils of these schools, being guided by the teacher's advice, read excellent translations of the best European literature. But, thanks to the very cheap editions, even the poorest pupil of a country primary school can have a correct notion of what Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Victor Hugo, and other men of genius have written, always provided that the priest is not the schoolmaster of the village.

Students' books and school books are also very cheap in Russia, as compared with the prices in this country. Sometimes I am asked to recommend a good text-book on botany, biology, or chemistry, and I hesitate about recommending Mendeléeff's book, which costs here a guinea, or an equally good book on botany, by an English author, which costs as much. In Russia, Mendeléeff's Chemistry, in two volumes, was published twenty-five years ago at the price of twelve shillings, and now it is still cheaper. It is the same with all students'

books in Russia; they are from one-half to a third of the price at which they are sold in England.

The English reader will probably say to this, 'No wonder! Your writers and translators are poorly paid, and altogether work is so much cheaper in Russia than it is in England'; but this would not be quite true. As far as the printers are concerned, the money wages in the printing trade are lower in Russia than they are here—at least in London and the great cities—although the difference becomes much smaller if we take the wages paid in the country towns of England. Printing, as a rule, is slightly cheaper in Russia, and therefore some English publishers have now part of their artistic printing done at St. Petersburg. But it must not be forgotten either that the machinery which is used by the large printing houses at St. Petersburg and Moscow is of the latest improved type and of the very first quality. It requires some good machinery to bring out the above-mentioned illustrated weekly, with all its supplements, admirably printed, in 200,000 copies every week; and everyone, however slightly acquainted with printing matters, will understand that no reduction in the wages would effect on the printing the economies which are effected by driving all the year round the most perfect machinery, and by issuing editions in hundreds of thousands of copies. Besides, are not the pretty shilling editions of the *World's Classics* (even without the usual soap and corn-flour advertisements to spoil them) the best proof that printing, paper, and bookbinding are not so awfully expensive in England, provided the proper style of publishing be chosen, the proper machinery be used—and the intention of having cheap books be there?

As to the authors and the translators, they are not, as a rule, paid less than here, and they are often paid better. In England, occasionally, a popular novelist or an explorer—someone who makes a sensation—may get a large sum for his book; but the majority, we find, are paid less than the average Russian writer gets for his work. So that in this case the question of cheap labour may be left out. The secret of success in this kind of enterprise has lain in the demand for cheap books on behalf of a wide class of educated people possessed of but modest means, but chiefly in the initiative of a few publishers who really wanted to spread education broadcast amidst the masses, and, having begun to bring out cheap editions of favourite authors, compelled the other publishers to adopt the same system. I have named one of them, Kozhántchikoff, but I ought to name quite a number of men and women publishers, as well as publishing societies, who have worked in the same direction with the same intention.

These few, who began their publishing activity with the desire of spreading knowledge, and whose publishing business was increased from year to year as they saw what a rich mine they had struck

by offering good, varied, and serious reading to the great public—these few have compelled the others to follow suit, and at the present time a Russian publisher is bound to ask himself, first of all, to what public he means to appeal; and if he is going to publish a book of popular science, sociology, or ethnography which can appeal to a wide circle of readers, he knows that he must publish it at a price of two or three shillings—never higher than five shillings—but that he also can reckon in return upon a sale of about ten thousand copies or more.

I know that there are now a few publishers and publishing associations which do excellent work in this direction in this country as well; but there is no reason why the same should not be done on a much larger scale, not for old books only, but for new books as well, and why all the treasures of knowledge which have been accumulated in other countries within the last fifty years should not be brought out, so as to render them accessible to the great mass of the English people—why the little country towns and villages of England should not be flooded, just as the German villages are, and the Russian villages begin to be, with a specially written popular literature dealing with all possible branches of human knowledge, and sold—perhaps by special pedlars—at the price of a very few pence—not more than two or three. No amount of laws for the protection of birds and their nests could do so much as an attractively published book about birds and their habits on the cottager's bookshelf. It is not in the nature of a child to be cruel to creatures with whom he is familiar. And most certainly many branches of land culture, and small industries too, would not have been in the precarious state in which they are now if the needs of the cottagers had been approached by disinterested publishers—not merely in a mercantile or narrow chapel spirit, but with an intelligently sympathetic mind.

And now some readers of this article will surely make an ironical remark, somewhat in these words: 'Well, according to what we are told, Russia ought to be the most enlightened country in Europe, but to us it seems just the contrary.' To this quite natural remark I can only reply by referring the reader to what he may find in the Russian free press abroad. He will see then that all the educational movement in Russia is very young—it dates from the abolition of serfdom only; and he will notice, perhaps even with some admiration, what a struggle the initiators of education, of libraries, and of everything that tends to progress, have had to maintain during these last forty years against the regressive tendencies of an autocratic government. Government prosecutions in matters pertaining to education and the press have been a long and great tragedy in Russian life.

SOPHIE KROPOTKIN.

THE NEW DISCOVERIES IN ELECTRICITY

THE recent discoveries in this branch of science may be grouped under two heads: those tending to render more certain the belief that electricity and light are essentially one; and those which are revealing the hitherto entirely unknown phenomena at present grouped together under the general name of *radio-activity*. All the discoveries point to one conclusion; namely, that electricity is a far more important factor in the material universe, as known to men, than has ever been dreamt of before. Many believe that a recognition of this truth will lead to a great extension of knowledge, and at the same time to a unification of the different branches of physical science, which will probably modify all existent theories.

The connection between electricity and light was suspected by Faraday, who could give no reasons for the strong conviction which led him to try many different combinations in the hope of discovering some interaction between electricity or magnetism and light. He succeeded in showing that if a ray of polarised light traverses a strong magnetic field, the plane of polarisation is changed. He failed to find that which he principally sought, an alteration in the period of the emitted light by electro-magnetic means. Where Faraday failed, Zeeman, working with the far more sensitive instruments of the present day, succeeded in 1896.

What Faraday found was sufficient to prove that there is some interaction between the forces which traverse a magnetic field and the 'ether' waves of light. The ether is assumed to exist throughout all the material universe, and to be the medium which conveys light and radiant heat. When it was proved that light must be a wave-motion, and not, as Newton had supposed, an imponderable emanation, it was necessary to conceive of something which could be thrown into wave-motion. Obviously this something could not be, as in the case of sound, the air. Yet, though in one sense the ether is a pure assumption, endowed with properties as required for the functions it is maintained to fulfil, yet, inasmuch as this assumption is found to be a satisfactory explanation of many phenomena, it is held by most scientific men that the ether is quite as real as matter or energy; in other words, that like matter and energy it is that expression of unknown realities which the limitations of our intellect

and of our senses enable us to conceive. In ultimate essence we know absolutely nothing.

Faraday believed that the electric and magnetic forces of attraction and repulsion act by means of stresses and strains in the ether, and Clerk Maxwell worked out an elaborate mathematical theory to show how all the then known phenomena of electricity might be explained as mechanical disturbances of the ether, and how light might be considered a special case of such disturbances. The present belief of many physicists is that Maxwell's theory is too artificial, but that it certainly contained elements of truth, for it foreshadowed the existence of electro-magnetic waves similar in nature to the waves of light. Of these waves there was in Maxwell's day not the slightest experimental evidence. Helmholtz tried to find them, but without success. The problem was solved by Hertz in 1889.

Given the velocity with which a periodic disturbance of any sort traverses a medium, then the wave-length can be calculated if the period of vibration of the disturbing cause is known. The velocity of electricity had been experimentally proved to be equal to the velocity of light. An oscillatory movement of electricity which, if the theory was correct, ought to produce ether waves, was given by an electric spark. For, if the light of an electric spark is thrown by means of a rapidly rotating mirror upon a photographic plate, it is found to produce bands of light and darkness, showing that what to our eyes appears as a single spark really consists of several moving to and fro. The period of this vibration can be calculated in any given case, and thence follows the length of the ether waves it would produce. Hertz recognised that it was not possible with the means at his disposal to find waves 300 metres or more in length, such as the spark of an ordinary Leyden jar would produce, and that it was necessary to construct apparatus which should give sparks made up of much more rapid oscillations, and hence producing much shorter waves. He succeeded in obtaining a wave-length of only three metres, and he proved the existence of these ether waves by the phenomena of resonance. When an insulated ring of metal of suitable dimensions was rightly placed, sparks were seen to pass a tiny gap in the ring, showing that a current had been induced in the metal by the impact of the waves. We now have a much more sensitive detector of electric waves in the coherer, an instrument which depends upon the fact that bits of metal in such loose contact that they do not ordinarily allow any current to pass, come into closer contact and form a good conductor if they are traversed by electric waves. Various explanations of this phenomenon have been put forward, but it is not yet satisfactorily understood. Upon the coherer depends the possibility of wireless telegraphy, into the technical details of which it is not necessary to enter here.

While engineers have been utilising these waves for practical purposes, physicists have been studying their properties. Generally speaking, those substances are transparent to electric waves which are bad conductors of electricity, while metals are opaque. For short distances the path of the waves is a straight line, but for long distances it follows the curvature of the earth in some way. Trees, high buildings, and any steep irregularities of the surface hinder the propagation of these waves. Like the waves of light, they can be reflected from metal surfaces, focused by lenses, bent out of their path by prisms. And just as wave-lengths of light and of radiant heat are measured by means of the phenomena of interference, so also can wave-lengths of electricity be experimentally determined. The shortest wave-length yet measured is about 3 millimetres in length. The waves of light are measured in ten thousandths of a millimetre, so that between the longest ultra-red wave-length which has been isolated and measured, and the shortest wave-length produced by spark gap apparatus there is a great unknown region. And yet there is good reason to believe that there is absolute continuity between the short waves, the effects of which are known to us as heat and light and chemical action, and the longer waves of electricity. Theoretically, ether waves may be of any length. We do not know whether different effects are produced by the different wave-lengths of electric waves; neither do we know anything about the waves which lie beyond the shortest ultra-violet that has been isolated and studied. It hardly seems probable that only those wave-lengths produce physical, chemical, or physiological effects, which lie within the narrow limits of the spectrum.

Spark gap apparatus suggests questions respecting lightning, which is a natural electric spark on a gigantic scale, but the whole subject of atmospheric electricity is as yet very little understood. Physicists hope that they will be able to attack these problems more successfully now that within the last ten years something has been learnt about the movement of electricity in gases.

For till quite recently this was unknown ground. The beautiful and varied light effects which are seen when an electric current traverses a vacuum tube were described and classified, but not understood. Hittorf and, a little later, Crookes, experimented with tubes in which the gas was rarefied to a millionth of the normal pressure. At pressures as low as this, the luminous effects almost entirely disappear, the current still traverses the tube, but in darkness, and a new effect appears at the cathode. It becomes the starting point of rays, which, though invisible themselves, cause the glass wall opposite them to fluoresce brilliantly. These cathode rays do not carry the current, for they go absolutely straight forward, wherever the anode may be. They are produced by the current, or

are rendered observable by the current, but they are not the current itself. They cause fluorescence in many substances besides glass; they produce intense heat when they strike a surface, and they can be permanently deflected from their path by a magnet, so that they describe a curve which is the resultant of the original straightforward motion and the motion induced by the magnetic field, and this curve can be rendered visible by means of a fluorescent screen. In 1879 Crookes gave a lecture in which he demonstrated his experiments and stated his explanation. He thought that the cathode rays consist of 'radiant matter,' that is, matter in so exceedingly rarefied a condition that it differs from a gas at ordinary pressure, as a gas differs from a liquid or a liquid from a solid. His views were not accepted by the majority of physicists at the time, but later discoveries have shown that he was right in considering the cathode rays to be streams of *something* and not, as Hertz had supposed, a form of ether disturbance. Hertz was able on his theory to account for the *magnetic* deflection, but when, later on, J. J. Thomson proved that the cathode rays could also be *electrically* deflected, and that they are attracted to a positively electrified plate exactly as negatively charged bodies would be, then it was generally admitted that the cathode rays are streams of electrified particles. Physicists are able to calculate the velocity with which the particles move and the ratio of the electric charge they bear to their mass, and thence to estimate what the electric charge is and what the mass is. The results of many different experiments with various gases and many different calculations substantially agree. The velocity is about a fifth of the velocity of light. The mass is less than a thousandth of the mass of an atom of hydrogen, which had hitherto been thought to be the very smallest particle capable of existing independently. To these far tinier particles, the size of which 'bears the same ratio to the size of a bacillus, as a bacillus to the whole earth,' has now by general consent been given the name *electron*. They are supposed to be portions, as it were, knocked off an atom. Besides the cathode rays, so-called, there are other rays which also start from the cathode, rays consisting of positively electrified particles. But they are much more difficult to detect and study, and very little is known about them as yet. The mass is found by experiment and calculation to be of the same order as that of an atom, and the theory is that they constitute the residue of the chemical atom after a negative electron has been removed. There have been three great theories of electricity. (1) The old fluid theory of Weber, which assumes that electricity is a primarily existent something, distinguishes between positive and negative electricity, and speaks of individual particles of electricity, these particles being the seat of forces which act at a distance through space. (2) The theory of Faraday, Maxwell, and Hertz, that there is no such thing as action at a distance without a

medium of communication, and that the explanation of electromagnetic phenomena is to be sought, not in the particles of electricity, but in the intervening ether. (3) The theory now held, which is an amalgamation of the two former. Electricity is again assumed to be a primarily existent something like matter and energy, and to be probably dual in essence, there being a real difference between positive and negative electricity corresponding to the difference in their manifestations, so that it is not only a question of more or less. The individual particles of electricity are believed to be imbedded in the ether, and connected with it in such a way that every movement of the particles causes disturbances in the ether, and every rearrangement of the particles affects the strains and stresses of the ether. Furthermore, matter and electricity are so related that wherever there is matter there also there is electricity, so that all the different ways of producing electricity are only different ways of separating the positive and negative electricities, and so rendering them manifest.

There is something—what it is we know not—about the distribution of electricity which is exactly analogous to difference of level. We call it difference of potential or electromotive force, and measure it by the work done by it or against it, just as we measure work done by or against gravity. And just as a small amount of water produces great results if it falls from a height, so a small amount of electricity at high potential produces far more striking results than a very much larger amount which flows between points, the difference of potential of which is small. It is the contrast between the waterfall and the sluggish stream. There is not much electricity involved in the electric spark of the friction machine; perhaps not even, relatively speaking, in the lightning flash. Of the three chief artificial methods we possess of producing electricity, the frictional method gives us little electricity at high potential, the chemical method gives us much electricity at low potential, and by the magnetic method, the method of induction, we obtain both much electricity and high potential. Hence the mechanical marvels of the present day.

What is it that really takes place when an electric current passes through a solid, liquid, or gas? The flow of the current through a liquid is accompanied by chemical change, and it is believed that the molecules of an electrolyte are constantly breaking up into positive and negative 'ions' and as constantly reuniting, so that at any given instant a certain number of ions are free. As soon as the circuit is closed the electromotive force directs these free ions towards the negative and positive poles, where, when they strike the metal electrodes, some interchange of electricity takes place, so that the charged ion becomes a neutral molecule. Although in one sense the existence of these ions is purely hypothetical, their velocity can be both calculated and experimentally determined, and it is so extremely low that it is measured in fractions of a millimetre per

second. Yet the current, or amount of electricity which crosses any section in unit of time, is relatively great, because the ions bear a very large charge. The charge carried by an ion is a definite quantity whatever that ion may be. This is a remarkable law, first discovered by Faraday, which in the light of modern research is shown to be of exceeding importance. If it is the motion of the ions which constitutes the current, then, in liquid electrolytes, the current is really a convection stream—moving matter electrically charged.

Nothing is known of the way in which electricity moves in metals, but mathematical physicists are now trying to see how it will work out if they assume that the current is carried in a metal conductor by the actual motion from particle to particle of electrons, and so far the calculations seem to agree with the observed phenomena.

With respect to gases the theory which has proved more fertile than any other, and is therefore believed to be nearer the truth, is that here also the current is of the nature of a convection stream. It is supposed that particles of any of the substances contained in the gas, or of the gas itself, are split up into positive and negative parts or ions; not however of the same nature as the electrolytic ions, because there is not necessarily chemical decomposition involved. If there are a few to begin with in the line of electric stress, these few by their movement break up other particles; but recombination keeps pace with decomposition, until the electromotive force, which increases the velocity, and therefore the power of the ions, has obtained such a value that by rapid impact the numbers increase as an avalanche grows. The ions set towards the poles, the charge is passed on from particle to particle by collisions, and though each individual ion may only have travelled a very little way, electricity passes with the speed of light.

By a most elaborate method J. J. Thomson measured the charge on a gaseous ion and he found 'that the charge on the ion seems to be independent of the agent by which it is produced as well as of the gas from which it originates, and that it is equal to the electrolytic charge on the hydrogen atom.' Furthermore Thomson has found that, 'although at ordinary pressure the ion seems to have a very complex structure and to be the aggregate of many molecules, yet at very low pressures the structure of the ion, and especially of the negative one, becomes very much simpler.'

This theory of discharge through gases does not require that more than one perhaps in a billion particles should be broken into ions, but it does require that before a spark can pass some ions should be there to start the collisions. Hence it would seem to follow that if two paths were equally easy for the discharge, that path would be chosen where, before the electromotive force began to act, there were most ions ready to pass the current on.

There is much, very much, respecting the passage of electricity through gases which is not yet understood, in spite of the great advances of the last ten years. In a vacuum, as perfect as it can now be constructed, the electric current does not pass at all, thus proving that the presence of some gas is necessary, as assumed by the theory of ions. But the meaning of the colours, and the bands of light, and the dark spaces when the current passes through a gas not too highly rarefied, are not understood. Indeed, why should there be any luminous effects at all connected with the gentle discharge through a gas? The light of a spark is accounted for by the heat generated by the violent discharge, but there is very little heat generated in the rarefied gas, certainly not enough to cause incandescence. It is light without heat, like the light of the glow-worm; it is electricity sending out the ether waves which we know as light. There are other noteworthy peculiarities about the electric discharge through gases. In order that a spark should pass even across a very small gap of air, a tolerably high electromotive force is needed; but if cathode rays, Röntgen rays, or Becquerel rays are passing through it, a gas will conduct electricity under very feeble forces. The theory is that these rays in some way 'ionise the gas,' as the phrase is now. There is also a remarkable action due to ultra-violet light. When it shines on a bright metal surface it draws negative electricity out of the metal, so that if the metal is negatively charged it loses its charge under this illumination, and if uncharged it becomes positively charged by subtraction of the negative electricity. By making the experiments with metal enclosed in vacuum tubes, and by very delicate apparatus, it was found that the particles of negative electricity, drawn out of the metal by ultra-violet light, are similar to the electrons of the cathode rays; they are deflected by a magnet in the same way, and their velocity is found to be of the same order. So that here again there is another instance of what the Germans call 'body rays' (*Körperstrahlen*) to distinguish them from ether rays of light or electricity. Moreover here are 'cathode rays' without any electric current to produce them. Another effect of ultra-violet light is that it is able directly to ionise the gas through which it shines in proportion as it is absorbed by that gas. Hence it is supposed that there must be something in the gas which vibrates with the same period—probably the electrons in the atom. By absorbing the energy of the wave of light, the energy of the oscillating electron becomes greater and greater and may become so great that it breaks away from the atom, and so ions are formed. In any case here is another remarkable connection between electricity and light.

The discovery which Zeeman made in 1896 amounts to this. He found that if the source of light which is sending forth a definite colour—that is, wave-length—is placed between the poles of a

powerful electro-magnet, then the spectrum of that light is changed. He experimented first with the bright yellow sodium light, which gives two definite lines in the spectrum, and he found that these lines were altered, which means that the period of vibration of the source of light was affected by the strong magnetic field. And that means again that the vibrating particle which sends out the ether waves is electric in nature, for it is affected by the magnetic field as a charged electric body would be. By most elaborate calculations Zeeman and Lorentz discovered that this electric vibrating particle which produces light is in essentials identical with the electron of the cathode rays. And so, in the words of Professor Kayser of Bonn: 'After electrons had once been recognised in the cathode rays, it was soon found that they exist almost everywhere and that they play a great part in the economy of nature.'

The story of the 'accidental' discovery of the Röntgen rays is too well known to require repetition, and the phenomena are perfectly familiar nowadays; but with respect to the category to which they belong, they are still x rays, as at the time when they were first observed. Wherever cathode rays are checked by a glass or metal surface, they give rise to these marvellous Röntgen rays, which differ from the cathode rays essentially in this: they cannot be deflected by electric or magnetic means. And that is why they are believed not to be 'body-rays,' but to be some disturbance in the ether. The penetrability of the Röntgen rays seems to depend only upon the density, and not upon the material of the substances through which they pass. When the Röntgen rays strike a surface they in their turn give rise to secondary rays of more than one kind, some of which, when the surface is a metal, are 'cathode' rays, such as those drawn out of a metal by ultra-violet light.

The cathode rays may be said to be the foundation stone of the new branch of physics called radio-activity, so that the investigations begun by Hittorf and Crookes a quarter of a century ago into the phenomena connected with the passage of currents through rarefied gases, and which were then considered by many to be a sort of scientific trifling, are leading to vast results. When any substance produces fluorescence, blackens the photographic plate and ionises the air, as the cathode and Röntgen rays do, it is said to possess the property of radio-activity. The discovery of radio-active substances followed on that of the Röntgen rays, which gave a great impetus to research. In the laboratories all over the world experiments were undertaken in order to find rays with the same wonderful penetrating powers, which should be independent of an electric current. It was thought that the rays were connected in some way with the substances that fluoresce, and Becquerel made experiments with fluorescent salts of uranium, to find out whether they also had the power of blackening a photographic plate through an opaque wrapper. He

exposed them for several days to sunlight, then brought them into a dark room, and found that this was indeed the case. He thought that the absorbed energy of the sunlight not only produced the fluorescence, which was a familiar phenomenon, but also these penetrating Röntgen-like rays. But one day, when for some reason the exposure to sunlight had been omitted, it was found to make no difference at all. The rays proceeding from the uranium salts were not dependent upon a previous supply of energy from the sun, nor did time bring any diminution of their power. In 1898 G. C. Schmidt was able to show that compounds of thorium send out similar rays. The minerals, which contain, among many other elements, uranium and thorium, may be called natural radio-active substances. From these natural radio-active substances far more powerful radio-active substances have been extracted by chemical means, and new elements have been discovered, the best known being radium, pure salts of which were first obtained by Professor and Madame Curie from the mineral pitchblende, a uranium ore found in Bohemia.

In the present state of our knowledge, when almost every week brings new facts to light, no generalisation on the subject of radio-activity is possible. Suffice it here to quote the words of the *Times* of the 26th of June of last year: 'Matter in quantities invisible under the microscope, unweighable on the finest balance, and beyond the range of detection even of the spectroscope, can be accurately studied and quantitatively investigated, if it possesses the property of radio-activity.'

Scientists are not agreed as to the source of energy of the Becquerel rays, rays capable of doing 'work' in the scientific sense of that term, without any energy being supplied from without, to our knowledge. Lodge, Crookes, Rutherford, and many others are advocates of the disintegration theory, namely, that the elements in question are disintegrating at an extremely slow rate into other elements, so that the source of energy is the internal energy of the chemical atom. Madame Curie and others think that the energy of the radio-active substances does come to them from without, that they are able to absorb the energy of rays of some sort which pass through other substances unperceived. But on this point all are at one: that the discovery of the radio-active elements is revealing facts hitherto absolutely undreamt of; that, as Professor Grätz says, there apparently is, behind the world of phenomena as we know it, an entirely unknown region the very first coast-lines of which we are only just beginning to perceive.

Such an extension of our knowledge naturally brings with it a shaking of the foundations, and at least one eminent chemist has called attention to the fact that, after all, our chemistry is only the chemistry of the means at our disposal; that our very greatest heat,

the heat of an electric arc, which breaks up all molecules into atoms, is insignificant compared with cosmical heat, and that we have no idea what the effect of other conditions might be.

It has been thought for some time that chemical affinity is really electric in essence, but it has not yet been possible to work out any satisfactory theory. On the electric theory of matter, namely, that atoms are complex—'an aggregate of smaller bodies restrained and coerced into orbits by electrical forces'—chemical affinity should admit of an electric explanation. Experiments with radio-active substances seem about to confirm the electric theory of matter in an astounding way. Of the three principal kinds of rays given off by a radium salt—distinguished by some scientists as α , β , and γ —the α rays are the most easily absorbed. A metal plate will shut them off, and enable the more penetrating rays to be studied alone. These rays will produce a dot of light on a phosphorescent screen. If now electrical and magnetic forces act on the rays, then there appear on the screen a fainter, undeflected dot and a band of light; the band and dot being separated by a space. The fainter dot is caused by the undeflected γ rays and the band of light by β rays of varying velocity. These β rays are found to be streams of electrons, like the cathode rays, but with a velocity approaching one-third that of light. And the result of mathematical calculations based on the experiments was, that at velocities so high as this, the mass of the electron was no longer a constant. Now mass, if it really is mass, cannot become a function of the velocity, so it was evident that part at least of the mass was apparent and due to the inertia of electricity known under the name of self-induction. Indeed many physicists consider it proved that not only a part, but the whole, of the mass of the electron is apparent, from which it follows that 'cathode rays,' whencesoever obtained, consist of pure negative electricity.

And there are men who are now going a step further still. They say: 'If forces that are purely electro-magnetic produce exactly the same effects as would be produced by the inertia of matter, perhaps all matter is in the same sense only apparent.' At present the phenomena of physics are, as it were, divided into two camps: acoustics and heat, which are explained from the laws of mechanics; and electricity, with its subdivision light, which has not been satisfactorily thus explained. For half a century we have tried to explain electricity mechanically, and may be said to have failed; let us now try to explain mechanics electrically, and see where that will lead us.

Perhaps it is a mere matter of words whether we say that all matter is electrically charged or that all matter is modified electricity. But it may lead to the most far-reaching conclusions if, in explaining phenomena, the laws of electricity should be taken as the premiss from which we start, instead of, as hitherto, the inertia of matter. And, inasmuch as the more nearly any explanation

approaches the truth, the better does it point the way to fresh knowledge, the fact that so radical a change may be about to take place is one of the reasons why there is a feeling of expectancy in the air. It is hoped that light may be thrown upon universal gravitation and other obscure problems, and it is suspected that science is trembling on the verge of something great.

ANTONIA ZIMMERN.

Berlin

A KNIGHT OF THE SANGREAL

‘SAMSON placed this cross for his soul,’ runs the legend on one of the old carved stones at Llantwit Major which have the virtue, like the stone the damsel gave Peredur, of making the invisible visible. Their power comes of the names they bear, and of one in particular, more wonder-working still than that of St. Samson of Dôl, the name of a knight, ‘Iltuti,’ carved above a panel of interminably woven Celtic ornament. Iltutus or Iltyd is the patron saint of the church; but he is much more than that, for I believe we have in him the type and prime of those shining men that grew in mediæval fantasy into the questing knights of the Holy Grail.

As one deciphers the letters on the stone shaft, and turns to look round the empty church with its air of some mediæval sculptor’s workshop long dismantled, and recalls his story, Iltyd seems to rise from the oppressive multitude of the Welsh saints and show himself in his natural colours. He starts to life, a Breton knight, young, ardent, hot from the chase, and dressed in a semi-barbaric dress, part Roman, part British: just as he was on the day when he gave up his hunter’s quarry to follow a great mystery. That was at Llancarvan, and to understand this primitive Knight’s Tale you must range further than Llantwit, and explore some of those miniature valleys, or shallow cwms, which are so like the hermit’s retreats—the hollow with the cell or ‘cuddigl meudwy’ of the Welsh Arthurian tales; and you must certainly visit that of the Carvan where the princely hermit, Cadoc the Wise, met his young kinsman at an ominous hour. The cwm at Llantwit itself, where the churches stand by the brook Hodnant, is one of the same kind; but to-day it reminds one too strongly of the mediæval people who used Iltyd’s cross as a centre round which to build to let one easily translate the scene back again to its wildness. Five or six years ago, Iltyd’s stone stood out in the churchyard, and then its power over the past was more certain. You could stand before it then, just as its sculptor Samuel did, when he saw it set up, and found it, I dare say, very good to look on, with its wheel-top—now unluckily lost—superbly crowning it. You could look away from it into the trees, the actual descendants of those he and Iltyd knew, or hear the

brook babbling precisely the same busy mysterious babble to the sea below Colhugh. Or, turning away from it some autumn evening, you could hear a hoof strike on the St. Donat's road, and believe it indeed a knight that came riding down the bank: a wilder knight than that told of in the French romances, with skins of animals and feathers of birds wrought into his dress below his Roman breast-plate and his torque; with a deer-skin belt, the reddish hair still on it, to carry his knife; and a great hurling spear to eke out his sword and the ringed and bossy targe at his saddle.

Arriving in Llantwit to-day, you get there by the newest of railway lines; but once arrived you pass, descending gradually, through a village that used to be a Tudor town; and street by street you knit up antiquity as you go, till you reach the church-cwm where hide—oldest things of all—the crosses of Illtyd and Howel. On the way you pass small buildings of almost every age; old thatched cottages of the true Glamorgan style, with yellow-washed walls, old inns like the 'Swan,' or a diminutive Tudor town-hall, with an outer stair under the pent-roof and belfry where hangs Illtyd's bell. Then comes the market-square, really a squandered triangle, and more inns and more cottages, white and yellow, and a long-deserted one-story building, with a sad little Henry the Eighth window, boarded up and mysterious, out of which the last monk might have hurriedly looked on the eve of the great disruption. This points the way to the dip in the road and the deeper hollow under it, populous with graves and brown stone and broken walls. There what might be three churches set end to end stand stretched in a diminishing line, with a good Norman tower keeping guard.

Now the relation in time of these mediæval remains to the old stone shaft of Illtyd, which stands in the middle church, is very much the relation which the mediæval stories, written by men of the same temper with the builders, bear to Illtyd's real story. Stripped of its pious adornments in the *Vita Sancti Illtuti*, it becomes one of the most moving of what may be called the 'renunciation episodes' to be found in all the Arthurian cycle, early or late.

Illtyd Farchog, Illtyd the Knight, came of noble Breton stock. His father, says the monkish chronicler, was a soldier most famous, and found his way presently across from Brittany to Arthur's court. In that day the people of Siluria and Armorica were drawn closer together than they are now. Fostering winds and favouring sea-currents apparently made their intercourse habitual. When wars gave out, or tribal feuds grew too deadly, or the wolf-hunting was over in the deep forest beyond Carhaix, the Breton chief thought nothing of crossing to some ancient port like Porthkerry, on the wild Glamorgan coast, having some claim or tie of kindred to help him to his welcome in the Welsh regions of a hospitable King Arthur or King Saul. In that way Illtyd came, and we can gather

from his 'Life' and its ornate embroideries and references to his learning and eloquence, 'his exquisite eloquence, his incomparable intelligence, that he must have been a very welcome guest in any tribal hall. And so he settled in the wild train of this post-Roman regulus, Saul, and being no make-believe knight, but one 'whose blade would kill, whose blue armour gleam,' as a Welsh poet said of a much later chief, he looked to attain in his turn. Add to this—for it is a most significant point in his story—Illtyd had married a young and a beautiful maiden, Trynihid.

One day it fell that he went riding out to hunt with the train of his adoptive chief Saul (or Paul); and Saul when his men grew hungry sent them off incontinent to demand food and drink from Cadoc at his harbourage in the Carvan cwm hard by. Cadoc was no ordinary hermit, but of rank at least equal to Saul's, a chief in his own right, who had carried an aroma of riches with him into poverty. Therein lay part of the gratification felt by his fellow chief, in this summary levy upon his goods. It would be a pleasant hunting diversion, to see how Cadoc, in his eccentric humility, would apply his new law as expressed in his Triad,—Love, Liberality, Forgiveness. Alas for Saul and his men! Cadoc had not forgotten half his pride. Bread and beer he seems to have given freely, but when they seized willy-nilly on a fat sow, he rebelled. While they ate, drank, and got merry, he took a horrible revenge on their horses. Then he invoked Heaven, and he pointed their way across one of the Carvan swamps. Their insolence, says the old book, was immediately punished by the wrath of Heaven, and the earth opened and swallowed them. Cheerful souls! they were seen no more. Some of the field and farm names above Llancarvan still show, it is said, where the swamp lurked which swallowed Illtyd's hunting train. He is pictured riding on the higher grounds, hawk on wrist, at the time of this terrible hermit's revenge; and when one thinks of the absolute fellow-feeling that every good hunter has for his men, his sensations may be imagined. And yet again, Cadoc, whose cote and hermitage they had raided, was Illtyd's kinsman. What did Cadoc say to Illtyd?

We know from the 'Morte d'Arthur' and the many strange colloquies over mortal sin and knightly revenge there described between the typical hermit and the Sir Bors or Sir Launcelot that came his way, how bold and ominous, how beseeching too, the hermits could be. Cadoc was the very pattern of these hermit-priests. 'For there were none hermits in those days but that they had been men of worship and of prowess, and those hermits held great household.'¹ This was the heaven-sent abnegant and ascetic for Illtyd: Cadoc the proud and humble, the wise and fierce, the half-tamed chief, who could still speak of the passions he had renounced,

¹ *Morte d'Arthur*, book 18, chapter xiii.

because he felt them still burning in him ; Cadoc, who, like Llyr's son, cut off the lips of his enemies' horses, and, knowing the old barbaric delight of revenge, could say with the more fervour to a knightly disciple :

‘ Love ? It is Heaven.’

‘ And Hate ? ’

‘ Hate ? It is Hell.’

It was Cadoc who told Arawn to shut his eyes to every hideous thing, and open heart and soul to loveliness, and open both hands to poverty. What did he tell Illtyd ? Of the terrors that Gildas told ? Or the bright sudden light that should shine, as Gildas said, across ‘ the black dark of offences ’ ? Whatever his spell, Illtyd fell under it ? Perhaps the vision of a mysterious Christ, and the Cup of the True Blood, came upon him as it did on Sir Bors when Sir Lionel lay slain ; and he might cry when he thought of the lost huntsmen : ‘ Sith the company of you and me is parted, shall I never have joy in my heart. And now He which I have taken unto my Master, He be my help ! ’

Only, Sir Bors had already taken the Quest of the Grail upon him, while Sir Illtyd's knightly renunciation began with this climacteric scene at Llancarvan. His hunting and hawking, his military knight's ambition, his adventurous delight and zest of life : he gave them all up, obsessed by Cadoc's strange example. He must ride far away from the friendly region of Glamorgan, that he knew ; and find a wild place of his own to retreat to. Simple knight, he thought he might take his beautiful Trynihid with him ; and they retreated into the ancient Forest of Dean, across the Severn water.

The episode that follows is one of the most telling in his story, if taken for its air and aspect of romance. The waste place, with ‘ neither hold nor hermitage,’ the forest of gloom, and the hut of branches, that appear and reappear in the Arthurian cycle, were his. And Trynihid, we look to see her enter just as the damsel did in the pages of *Perceval le Gallois*—‘ enter within the door, and her kirtle all torn with thorns and briars in the forest. . . . Her feet were all bleeding for that she was unshod. She had a face of exceeding great beauty. . . . ’ But the pious chronicler who wrote not with Illtyd's eyes, but with a mediæval celibate's imagination, goes further than this in the *Vita Illtuti*, and pictures her leaving Illtyd's forest couch on the fateful morning of his final abnegation, all unclad, ‘ her hair spread about her by the blowing of the wind.’ He had been warned during the night that her beauty would only be a snare ; and there follows a most heartrending scene of poor Trynihid, clothed only by her flowing hair, shivering in the cold and begging in the innocence of her heart to be taken back ; and Illtyd, in a sort of terror of austerity, handing her her garments, and

driving her away from him for ever. One hears the very echo of her loss as one reads in the 'noble tale of the Sangreal' of the 'such sorrow and heaviness that there might no tongue tell it.'

'For those knights had holden them in honour and charity. . . . And many of those ladies that loved knights would have gone with their lovers, had not an old knight come among them in religious clothing, and he spake on high and said: "Fair Lords which have sworn in the quest of the Sangreal, thus sendeth you Nacien the hermit word, that none in this quest lead lady or gentlewoman with him, for it is not to do in so high a service as they labour in, for I warn you plain, he that is not cleansed of his sins, he shall not see the mysteries of our Lord Jesus Christ."'

Like them, Trynibid must accept her lot. Indeed, she went further than many of them, for, like Sir Percival's sister, she took the vows when Illtyd did not return to her, and ensconced herself in the hills above the vale of Glamorgan in a retreat of her own.

But when the autumn rains came and the floods, the thought of him in his low-lying hollow, where he had established his cell by the brook Hodnant, was too much for her. She found her way there and came upon him working at a mud dyke to keep out the water, covered with mud, his hands torn and bleeding.

'Illtyd!' she cried.

But the consuming fury of renunciation was upon him. 'He would not see her,' says the Latin chronicler, 'nor be seen; nor hear her, nor be heard.' She saw his mean dress, saw him clothed with hair-shirt and skins, and not as she had seen him before, a splendid soldier' (*militem speciosum*). Heaven, we are told, then blinded her for this pitiful appeal to the earthly affections; and when Illtyd—and one is very grateful for this touch of pity on his side—interceded, and the blindness was as quickly taken from her, she went away from her lost knight for ever, went away 'pale, like one recovered from a fever.'

But it is a hard fever, that of the affections and desire of the eyes. Illtyd could no longer covet his own wife; but at a much later period in his tale, when he had seen his college and hedge-school of divinity and philosophy at Llantwit grow in its wattled huts into a proverb for its learning and piety, and when he had attained his Quest as Cadoc showed it, we find him still able to covet a Bell. Afterwards, these first bells of the Celtic Church became almost as miraculous as the mystic gleam of sunset seen through the trees in some waste place, or in some old fort or castle, and as the cup and platter of the Sacrament. But as we read again the story of Illtyd's Bell, in his life, we see only the simple old anchorite driven away from his happy valley and wattled huts that served for college halls;—cut off from his austere pleasure, reduced to a cave, and dearly coveting, child-like, the bell sent by Gildas and

intended for another, for St. David indeed. He did not ask for it in so many words ; but his longing for it was so extreme, that the bell seems to have sulked out of sympathy for him when it reached St. David, and refused to sound. David, thereupon, with the *naïveté* of the saint, realising that a soundless bell was of no account, gracefully returned it to him ; when it sang as sweet as ever.

If anything was wanted to complete the fine threads of association that draw together the lives of the Welsh saints and certain Arthurian knights, it is to be discerned in this incident of the bell. In the Grail histories you may read passages identical with those in the saints' legends. King Arthur himself in one is discovered longing for a bell, and haunted by the sweetness of the first he heard, just as Illtyd was. In the same romance of Perceval we see a train of hermits issuing from their llan, or monastic close, and coming to King Arthur in the Castle of Souls ; and one of the train carrying a bell 'with the clapper and all at his neck.'

'Ha Lord !' saith King Arthur : 'what folk be these ?'

'Sir,' saith Perceval, 'I know them all save the last. They are the hermits of the forest-side, come to chant before the Holy Grail.'

In such a train as this an Illtyd, whose bell became so fabulous that its direct descendant hangs in the old Town Hall belfry at Llantwit, might well be bell-bearer. The Town Hall bell still sounds the hours with a tone peculiarly arresting to the ear in the midst of Llantwit Major ; and it is impossible to move about in the streets, which probably maintain the very lines of the original pathways trodden by Illtyd and his fellows—so traditional are ways and men—without being reminded at every turn of him whose name is inscribed upon it :

SANCTE ILTUTE ORA PRO NOBIS.

St. David's not excepted, I know of no village or town that has quite as individual an air of antiquity under antiquity as Llantwit Major still wears. You cannot turn anywhere but some secretive angle of a wall, or half-obliterated foundation, or garden returned to nature and wildness, offers you the clue that you would give your whole bookshelf of antiquity to be able to take. However, it is still your romance-books that must help you to disinter this Pompeii of the saints and the original knights errant. Their distinctive scenery, their interest of place, their succession of hermit cwm, forest waste, and miraculous seaside bringing strange vessels to land, recur at every step through the confines of the ancient demesne of Illtyd. If you leave the point in the graveyard, near the old cross, where his wheel-cross stood, and climb the bank above the Hodnant to the old gatehouse and the columbarium, you cross a sloping meadow which is full of buried traces of the grange and outer walls and

buildings of his mediæval successors. You can cross it and find the traditional road through Colhugh to the sea, where the brook flows out through the smooth pastures haunted by sea-mews and often fondly described by our old poets and romancers ; and the sea-coast, wild and rarely rock-built, and pierced with innumerable caverns, is the very seaside of the Grail histories :

‘Sir,’ said the hermit that carried the bell, when Sir Gawain asked him where he got it, ‘. . . I rose one night at matins and looked under my hermitage, and saw that a ship had taken haven there. Thither I went when the sea was retreated, and found within the ship three priests and their clerks, that told me their names . . .’ Now these three priests from the Land of Promise bring three bells with them, because there were none in the hermit’s country ; and bell and chalice, and ship and hermit and hermit’s tale, are all a part of the legendary furniture of Illtyd’s neighbourhood. And when you think, retracing its road to and from the sea, of the process of tradition into literature, and the assimilation of folk-tale and saintly legend by mediæval romance, you see how natural it was that this Breton knight who became a hermit should survive, under whatever disguises. For his early university at Llantwit was the resort of many Breton students who went back to Brittany like St. Samson of Dôl and St. Padarn, and Gildas himself, carrying with them the materials which were afterwards worked into the legendary lives and the substructure of romance. So the tale of Illtyd and Trynihid, and other tales of other knights who roamed the waste lands of Siluria and old South Wales in the post-Roman time, and were converted, and had a desperate struggle with the old tribal custom of the country, were perpetuated, but changed. The early magic of association which worked upon the Breton memories of the wild land of Morganwg still held, the scenes and the characteristic episodes, the characters themselves too, remained. Yet one stage more, and a new apparatus of allusions, and place-names, and names of knights and ladies, Normanised to taste, had been added to suit the mediæval courtly folk. But if you look within the mediæval churches, you find Illtyd’s stone, and can with its aid and interlaced pattern discern the wattled huts and small chapel of sawn timber that served him and his studious company. And if you look behind the histories of the Sangreal, you find a scenery very like that of the Llantwit region, whose wildness not a thousand years of agriculture have quite destroyed ; you find a disappearing figure of a knight very like that of ‘Illtyd Farchog.’

ERNEST RHYS.

LIFE IN TIERRA DEL FUEGO

ALL Magellanes, commonly known as Tierra del Fuego, is divided, ethnologically speaking, into three parts.

(1) The Onas, living in Tierra del Fuego proper (which is a big island).

(2) The Yaghans, who coast in their canoes the shores of the Beagle Channel south of this island, and those lesser islands and channels which terminate in Cape Horn.

(3) The Alacalufs, inhabiting all the broken archipelago west of the Onas and the Yaghans; that is, west of a line dropped through Cape Froward, and south of that ocean highway which is called the Straits of Magellan.

The above information is not exclusive. It is learned, and straightway forgotten, by every Argentine schoolboy. It may be learned by anyone who cares to travel 1,000 miles away from the capital of the Republic, and that so vividly that in all his life he will never forget it. But in Argentina all currents set to, and not from, the bustling centre; and at Government House fresh burdens are ever unwelcome. 'Sufficient unto the day' is the motto in Buenos Aires, even as it is in Onaland. The troubles that have arisen are therefore chiefly due, to quote a famous sage, to 'Ignorance, pure ignorance.' If certain plain facts were known they might go far to put a stop to the abuses committed on the Onas—abuses which still stain the record of Argentina in the far south. They themselves are a silent folk, little given to speech. Thus the remonstrance must be addressed to the party of the other side, as the lawyers phrase it; and in common justice from that side must come first the redress, as in times past came also the first wrong.

Yet it may be questioned, Why should the Onas be considered above their neighbours? Even if the helping hand be extended to them, are they capable of helping themselves? Darwin gave it as his opinion sixty years ago that the Fuegian aborigine stood at the bottom of the human race—a statement which the world has not since troubled itself to verify, accepting it blindly. But the observations of the great scientist apply almost entirely to the Yaghans and Alacalufs, with whom H.M.S. 'Beagle' came in more frequent contact

while surveying the far southern channels. Distinctions between the different Fuegian tribes were then unknown. Let us trace the record of these tribes since they have been tried by that touchstone of all aboriginal folk—contact with whites—and then judge, if judge we may, of their deserts.

The Yaghans have had the benefit of forty years' devoted missionary effort, but it is doubtful if its influence has ever been more than skin deep. Lazy and incurable liars, they adopted with equal readiness the white man's breeches and his gin-bottle. Their first shyness overcome, they developed an astonishing affinity for every contagion, moral and physical, that sails from out a seaport. In thirty years their numbers dropped, through the ravages of disease, from 2000 to 200 souls. The tribe has for many years consisted of 'tame' Indians, as may be seen by the notes made on the Admiralty charts for the benefit of shipwrecked crews. At their present rate of decrease the remnant must shortly disappear altogether, perhaps within five years—a poor, sodden, spineless race.

The Alacalufs are of sturdier fibre, and number close on 1000, being to-day the most numerous of the three tribes. There is no white man who can speak their language, or cares; for beyond the barter of a few poor pelts the wild and desolate regions they inhabit offer no inducement to the most adventurous trader. They have an evil reputation for attacking helpless and shipwrecked crews. With the prospect of plunder, and if in sufficient numbers to guarantee success, it is probable that they do so venture, but they are not of the breed to fight for fighting's sake. They have repulsed every effort to gain their confidence. Their legends and beliefs are a sealed book. Although, owing to their greater virility, they possess more control than the Yaghans over their women, they share to the full that tribe's fondness for liquor—'guayacu,' a kind of raw, anise-flavoured spirit, being the main object of their barter. Their record is that of a cruel, treacherous, and intractable tribe, and the world's verdict on them stands 'Thumbs down.'

The third tribe, though sprung in the past perhaps from a common stock, differs wholly in language and customs from their neighbours, on whom they look down with contempt. The Onas are confined to the narrow limits of an island, girt by icy seas which they have no power to pass, for they are no canoe folk. In the north of their land there are good pastures; to the south rises a jumble of splintered hills, pushing out great glaciers to the sea. For a thousand feet in height these hills are covered with a dense, dark, almost impenetrable forest of birch. Between its stunted outposts and the line of eternal snow there is a narrow strip of ground covered in summer-time with moss, lichens, and a few sweet-flowering grasses. These are the grazing grounds of the guanaco, on which the tribe mainly depend for food. The insipid flesh is eked out with stray birds, berries, and a

small rodent locally known as the 'tuco-tuco';¹ but if the guanaco fail, it goes hard with the Ona.

During the winter the quarry leaves the hills and comes down to the coast, where the sea breeze keeps open a scant but sufficient pasture. The Indian must perforce follow: across the frozen highlands; past quaking bogs and little-smiling meads; through windless valleys whose tree-tops shroud a perennial, dripping decay. On the journey arrows must be re-pointed; fire provided—or, rather, manufactured; the camp ever provisioned with watchful care. Although the camp drudgery is left to the women, the want of the bare necessities of life and the mortal risk of their default spur the Ona braves to constant exertion. The Patagonian of the mainland has at his disposal immense herds of game, which are easily run down by a horseman with the 'bolas,' or, as is more commonly the case, with trained dogs. But the Fuegian must pass where a horse cannot, and, dependent on his own sturdy limbs, he has developed into the most skilled and enduring hunter perhaps in the world.

The Ona tribe is divided into small family groups, each of which has its own defined hunting ground. But hunger, in the belly pinch of a bitter season, recognises no law. For this reason, and somewhat also from the love of risk and adventure that is in-bred in them, poaching is freely carried on, and from it arises the vendetta—of which more anon. Yet with every group this is the custom: that whoever kills an animal he may not keep it for his own use, but must deliver it entire at the camp. There some other hand divides the food equally amongst all the family, according to the necessities of each, and he who gets the smallest share and tastes meat last will be the hunter, though it cost him a day's hungry stalking. Is this the self-denial of the weak for the strong, or is it merely the instinct making for common preservation? Be that as it may, it is a manly rule, rigidly enforced.

At the age of puberty the boys are separated from their companions, and only after certain cruel trials and a period of probation are they admitted to the confidence of the older men. Now this probation, known as 'Clo'ct'n,' lasts two years or more. During this time the young brave abandons the protection of his family, hunting in strange coverts and making long journeys alone. The utmost that is allowed him is the companionship of a single dog. He must eat lean, hard meat, with no fat—a real privation even for whites in that bitter climate. A diet of this kind begets, as is well known, a strong craving for bread-stuffs. The greatest treat that can be given to a Fuegian native is a hard ship's biscuit; but not even the luxury of 'hard tack,' offered him privily and backed by a ravenous appetite, will induce a boy to break his self-imposed abstinence when he is 'Clo'ct'n.'

¹ *Ctenomys magellanicus*.

The men, as is the case with certain African tribes, form a conspiracy whose object is to frighten the women by tricks and certain other inventions into an unquestioning obedience. Women are looked upon as social inferiors, and for this reason a wife is not blamed (though she is soundly beaten) for desertion; having but rendered obedience to her natural master—man—whoever he be. Her abductor, however, must be punished by death. To no woman must a warrior show his whole mind, but only to his father or his friend, or to little children. Their code has a refreshing simplicity and directness. Death is the only penalty: an eye for an eye—or two, if chance offers—to be waited for through long years and surely exacted, if the injured one would not be the scorn and outcast of all his circle.

These and many other lessons are instilled into the boy's mind during the long winter nights by his elders, to whom he yields unfailing respect and obedience. The tie between brother and brother, man and man, is with the Onas far more binding than that between the opposite sexes. A young man may not take a wife until he is nearly twenty years of age and has first proved that he can provide for an extra mouth. Then he must seek his mate from a distant, possibly a hostile, group; for no blood ties, even those of cousinship, are admitted in this relation. During the time he lingers making advances to his future spouse he may count on the cheerful hospitality of her people, even if they be his bitter foes. There is no barter of presents, the choice resting with the girl alone. But once she has accepted the man's bow, and followed his footsteps to the edge of the forest, the feud, after a certain grace, is resumed. There is a saying of the tribe that when a shooting star crosses the sky it is a young brave who is looking for a wife.

At the beginning of the last decade sheepfarmers, crossing the Straits from the Patagonian shore, began fencing the northern country. The guanaco were shot down and driven away from the coast in order to make room for flocks of sheep, forcing the herds to winter in the uplands, where they died in heaps. At the same time a worse danger threatened the tribes in the discovery of gold-bearing sands. A rush of gold-seekers overran the land to its remotest corners, armed with rifle and prospecting-pan, but with little provision either of food or conscience. At one time there were 3000 wandering Austrians alone in Magellanes—a riff-raff of reckless nomads reinforced by the cosmopolitan scourgings of Sandy Point, and rendered more selfish and brutal still by the rigours of that inhospitable land.

Now there are two things that sum up the whole world to an Indian: his women and his food. Since the advent of whites the Ona women have been often and wantonly outraged, while the guanaco, on which their meat supply depends, are threatened

with extinction. In the tropic heart of the continent the jungle swamp and the kindly, pathless forest close down over their children in extremity; but for the Ona there is no outlet, no hinterland of retreat. Ringed in a trap, they faced round, desperate as any baited beast—their religion of vendetta, the very instinct of self-preservation, urging them to instant reprisals on their aggressors.

We may dismiss here the charge of deliberate cruelties of which the Onas have been accused. They are as incapable of practising on a foe the refined tortures known to northern aborigines as of their other degrading habits. A fight begun with the bow and arrow—their only weapon—is often abandoned for close quarters, when, wrestling body to body, they will choke out the life of an enemy with their naked hands; but the object is always to kill, never to mutilate. Another unjust stigma is that of cannibalism. As with the Esquimo, the old or helplessly sick are abandoned to their fate when the burden of their maintenance imperils the existence of the family. The Yaghans are reported formerly, under the stress of hunger, to have eaten their old women, but the Onas express disgust at the thought of human flesh; nor with their hitherto sufficient meat supply has there ever been any reason for their adopting such practices.

The effect of their first raids on the sheepfarms was startling. Fences were constantly patrolled; but to savages accustomed to stalk the shy guanaco under the arrows of an enemy this game was child's play. Besides, these guanaco were of a different breed: white and of marvellous tameness, even as those of which their legends told. The only defect of the new flocks was that they could not travel at the speed exacted by their long-shanked captors. Hundreds of carcasses marked a plain road for the wrathful pursuers; the foremost animals were ruthlessly flung into the mountain torrents to make a bridge for those that pressed behind. When a remnant of the flock reached a secluded camp, their throats were cut and their carcasses, immersed for storage in a pool of glacial water, provided fat feasting for the wasteful tribes. Had they come to the farms in peace, the meat of the animals that perished in the long winter gales would have sufficed to keep them all in plenty. But when the hard-working English or Scotch pioneers saw their valued flocks, brought with such pains across the storm Straits, ruined and scattered in a single night, they showed as little pity for the raiders as the Indians themselves had shown to the breeding ewes.

In spite of these and other drawbacks the sheepfarms soon began to pay handsome dividends. The farmers then found that it was more profitable to send others on Indian forays than to risk their own lives in such dangerous employ. A fixed reward of 1*l.* sterling per head was offered for every Ona put *hors de combat*. At first their birch-wood bows were required as tokens. Then, when hunters

were found so dishonest as to cheat their employers with a manufactured article, scalps were insisted on. Finally, when it was proved that Indians could be scalped and yet live on, causing future expense, the hunters were required to bring in the whole lifeless head. There batted on this unspeakable traffic one Sam Hesslop, whose boast it was that he had in his time 'wiped out' 500 Indians, big and little. It is not necessary to dwell upon the fate of any wandering family that came within the range of this fiend's rifle. It is sufficient to say that every head counted, and that the blood-money was paid without question. Between the years 1890 and 1900 the numbers of the Ona tribe dropped from 2000 to 800 souls, man, woman and child.

Sam Hesslop died two years ago. He was not struck by lightning, nor was he lynched for setting foot in Sandy Point. His death was regretted as an accident by the friends who, judging from the position in which his body was found, concluded that he must have walked over the edge of a cliff in a fit of drunken abstraction. After this mishap the profession of Indian-hunting in Tierra del Fuego languished—partly because Indians had become scarce and shy; partly also, let us hope, from that sense of decency and fair-play which can never be altogether dead amongst English-speaking folk.

Save their fervent desire to find a short-cut to wealth, the sheep-farmers and gold-seekers had little in common. In these regions the precious metal is not found in reefs or pockets. It is scattered thinly throughout the whole land, and when released by the action of rain and frost from the safe keeping of the frozen hills, it collects in the tall barrancas that face the pounding of the Atlantic surge. Father Ocean is the true gold-seeker. The particles that fall on the beach sink through a thick layer of shingle to the bed of slate or marl at low water. It is calculated that, in all, three tons of gold have been washed from the beaches of Magellanes: washed by men who, in order to gut the shores of their scant treasure, lived in worse shelters than the Indians themselves; soaked continually by rain and sleet and the salt sea-drift; bartering their lives and health for as much reward as might procure them a few weeks' dissipation in the gin saloons of Sandy Point. Living in an exaggerated fear of the natives, any parties approaching the mining camps were promptly fired upon, without inquiry as to whether their intent was hostile, or merely to exchange a few furs for the luxury of bread and biscuit. The men were killed; the women captured to a worse servitude.

A notable personality stands out from the horde that overran Tierra del Fuego in these days in the figure of one Julius Popper. He was the only man so far south who had any knowledge of the amalgam process of gold washing. By prompt action he secured for

himself the lease of the richest beaches on the Atlantic, at Paramo in San Sebastian Bay. After that all the time that he could spare from work was fully occupied in discouraging the new-comers who claimed a share in his preserves under local mining laws, or more frequently under no laws at all. Such of his countrymen—he was an Anglo-Austrian Jew—as he caught poaching he pegged down under flat canvas, mounting guard above with a .44 Winchester until some schooner arrived to deport them to the mainland. With foreigners these formalities were not observed. He defied the Argentine authority at Ushuaia; organised a special mail transport to Sandy Point whose facilities could be enjoyed by those who purchased Popper stamps; and, finally, put in circulation his own one- and five-dollar gold pieces. The design in every case consisted of a simple crossed pick and shovel, surmounted by the all-sufficing legend 'Popper.' Against the natives Popper waged no actual warfare, but he was dependent on Indian guidance while exploring the interior, and tales of his persuasive methods with guides show that in such matters he was no whit behind the old Conquistadores. The end of this brief ascendancy came with his sudden death while on a flying visit to Buenos Aires. Foul play was hinted at; if true, it was a fitting end to an unscrupulous adventurer.

As the savage, standing naked in the pride of his manhood save for the loose guanaco rug, gazed upon the beaches where the miners toiled and drank, quarrelled and died, small wonder that he hated and despised them all. For to the Ona his body is a religion. His sole recreation lies in the exercise and perfection of a magnificent physique—in mimic fight, in wrestling, in ten-mile foot-races through the forest to some distant hill-top. His hearing is as acute as a stag's; his powers of vision almost incredible, enabling him to see as far with the naked eye as the white man with a good field-glass. Unused to covered dwellings, he lives and sleeps at all seasons in the open, breathing the pure, keen breezes that blow across the frozen south. His only drink is the water that threads the land in a thousand glacial streams. Indeed, it is sufficient to set the Ona apart from other aborigines the world over that not only have this tribe no knowledge of any fermented drink, but twenty years of unscrupulous trading has failed to induce them to touch liquor. Although fond of sweet things, they have a natural distaste for all stimulants or drugs, including tobacco—a most extraordinary fact when we consider the tendency of the climate and its effect upon their immediate neighbours. To offer spirits to an Ona is considered a deadly insult, likening him to the drunken Yaghan. This the writer has heard confirmed by the Yaghans themselves. Yet, in unconscious irony, the gin-bottles that strew the settlements of the white men are highly prized by the tribe, for they have found that glass is much better material than flint for making arrow-tips.

By the boundary fixed in 1892, the most fertile Fuegian sheep-farms fall in Chilean territory, and it is across the Straits to the Chilean town of Sandy Point that the settlers carry such commerce as is not conducted directly with Europe. The only existing official authority, however, is in the Argentine portion. The settlement of Ushuaia, facing the Beagle Channel and backed by a triple range of impassable mountains, is cut off from all communication with the rest of the world save by water. Boats which would reach it from the Atlantic shore must therefore pass through the dreaded Le Maire Straits, or if from the Western channels, by the equally dangerous Brecknock Pass. So it happens that those who abuse the tribes easily avoid the authorities both of Chili and Argentina; and while officials shrug their shoulders the Onas are like to perish utterly.

We have reviewed some of the adverse influences that have weighed down the tribe since white men first set foot in their land. Against them there are two off-sets, all too weak as yet to stay their downward path. The first is the mission of the Sicilian monks, who hold grants of ground from both Governments for the purpose of providing the Indian tribes with food and work. Neither of the settlements, which are run as sheep-farms and for timber-cutting, can be said to have sensibly advanced the condition of the Onas. The Italian monks, directed by their capable chief, Monsignor Fagnano, have brought to the work a narrow-minded zeal. The Indians are housed in huts, which in this out-dwelling race promotes insanitary habits and lung trouble, and now consumption is completing the work that the rifle-bullet began. Instead of studying the mind-workings that rule the Indian's life, the Sicilian fathers have set up a ritual for him to study. Herein lies the secret of their failure. The Onas do not want an evangelist; but they are in sore need of a friend.

Of gods, as we know them, the Ona has none. His conscience is the self-respect that his body demands. But, reared together in Nature's Spartan cradle, the birds and beasts, and even the silent woods, all call to him with some voice of kinship; and his intimate sympathy has woven round them, even as children do, a mist of quaint fantasies, imagination groping past material want. These imaginings, now crystallised by tradition, are imposed with much pompous ceremony (as before stated) on the women drudging by the camp fire; and they, going one step further, accept the legend as gospel and its narrator as high priest. Thus no Ona brave can, without loss of social status, bring himself to worship with the womenkind for whom he has interpreted, and even at times impersonated, the All-powerful Doctor. It is a poor foundation for creed or pater-noster.

There remains to the tribe one other refuge, the settlement of Messrs. Bridges Bros. at Port Harburton. Its founder, the late

Mr. Bridges, has left a forty years' record as missionary, naturalist, and pioneer in the Beagle Channel, where his family have grown up. His sons are thus Fuegians and at the same time English gentlemen—the only ones who can speak freely with the Onas in their own tongue of broken clicks and gasping gutturals, 'scarcely deserving,' says Darwin, 'according to our notions, to be called articulate.'

There is no fixed lodging apportioned to the natives at Harburton. The solemn, robe-covered figures stalk suddenly from the cover of the dark birch forest, and as suddenly vanish. If called upon to work they do so willingly, sure here of food for their bellies and a hearing for their troubles. It has grown to be a neutral meeting ground for hostile groups, and here they bring their quarrels, like children, to be judged. From the manner of their up-bringing, the Bridges possess an influence over the tribe which it is impossible for any outsider, however well-meaning, to wield. The Argentine Government recognises this by handing them a yearly dole, to be spent in the interest of the Indians at their own discretion. But this is charity. What is wanted is justice; a reservation that shall secure the remnant of the tribe against the land-grabbers who would make them exiles on their own soil.

There are still to-day in the unexplored interior of Tierra del Fuego several hundred square miles of fiscal land deemed useless by colonists. These latter have in the majority of cases acquired their own holdings in the far south by bringing before the Argentine Government their claim for squatters' privileges and usufruct. Is it just to refuse to the Onas, who are equally children of the Republic, an equal claim? It is not much to ask—a few barren hill-tops in the land where thirty years ago they were the sole masters. In the long cold winter they will come down to the settlements to work, and perhaps in the summer too. But when springtime comes, and C'ren, the sun, calls them, lingering to his rest behind the woods, let them know of a place where they may stretch their long limbs, and run and hunt unhindered as of old.

The Indian will undertake any labour which is, as he terms it, 'man's work.' He has been proved an efficient shearer and a good and intelligent axeman. Last year Messrs. Bridges opened a road between the Beagle Channel and the Atlantic shore, relying entirely on the Onas for workmen. An idea of the difficulties of the country may be gathered from the fact that this journey of but one hundred miles formerly occupied a month, though since the opening of the much-needed road it can be crossed in six days. Herein we see another way in which the good will of the tribe might be turned to account. Most of the land in southern Tierra del Fuego is covered with dense woods, which must be fenced off lest stock stray in them and are lost. These woods nevertheless shelter in places large quantities of a succulent shrub on which animals thrive greatly,

but to which they can only be allowed access in the season of the winter snows, when their wanderings can be easily traced. Who so fitted for herdsman in this wild work as the Ona, who can follow a week-old trail right across the island, and who for pastime will chase and run down a wild guanaco on foot?

In the recent boundary question between Chili and Argentina the final decision was left to England's arbitration. Before desire of territory and the promptings of national pride, the two countries put the claims of humanity, and their action reflects honour on them both. But is not a settlement of the native races thereby displaced a natural corollary to the settlement of the long frontier dispute? Here is a case that involves no high politics, the yielding of no fertile lands. It would be a gracious act if now, after judgment given, England's representative were to add a plea which might lighten the burdens of at least one overweighted race.

It should fall on willing ears. For with all their faults the Onas have shown themselves to be, in the full force of the word, men, and, as such, deserving to be treated as men, not hunted like beasts. Among the aboriginal tribes of South America they constitute, as do the Zulus in Africa, a natural aristocracy. No T'Chaka has arisen to lead them to fame and dominion. But within the narrow limits of their island home, waging an untiring, undaunted war, each man for his own hand, with hunger, cold, and death, they have proved to the world once again that the primitive instincts of man are towards health and freedom.

We, who are the heirs of the ages, may well pause a moment to thank them; giving them a voice to speak to that world whose force they have felt, but not its justice.

W. S. BARCLAY.

THE INCREASE OF FISH-DESTROYING BIRDS AND SEALS

PART I.—BIRDS

IN 1880, after much agitation in the Press and in Parliament, an Act was passed to amend the laws relating to the Protection of Wild Birds during the breeding season. The Act covered the whole of the United Kingdom except the island of St. Kilda, and, while every wild bird was included, eighty-five different kinds were specially mentioned and protected. Anyone convicted of killing, exposing or offering for sale, or having in his control or possession between the 1st day of March and the 1st day of August any of the eighty-five birds mentioned, is to forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one pound for every such bird; in the case of birds not scheduled the offender is to be reprimanded and discharged on the payment of costs for a first offence, and for every subsequent offence fined a sum not exceeding five shillings in addition to costs. The Act gives power to the owner or occupier of any land to kill or give permission to kill any wild bird not included in the list of specially protected birds.

In 1881 an Act was passed to remove some doubts which had arisen as to the construction of an enactment in the Act of 1880, and the lark had the honour of being included in the list of specially protected birds which a man may not shoot in his own park, or farm, or garden.

In 1894 an Act was passed giving the Secretary of State power, upon the application by the County Council of any administrative county, by order to prohibit—

(1) The taking or destroying of wild|birds' eggs in any year, in any place or places within the county; or,

(2) The taking or destroying the eggs of any specified kind of wild birds within that county, or part or parts thereof, as recommended by the said County Council, and set forth in the said order;

(3) The application by the County Council shall specify the limits of the place or places, or otherwise the particular species of wild birds to which it is proposed that any prohibition in the order

is to apply, and shall set forth the reasons on account of which the application is made.

This Act of 1894 also gave the County Councils power to have any bird not mentioned in the Schedule dealt with 'as if that species of wild bird were included in the Schedule' of the Act of 1880.

This Act makes the fine for taking birds' eggs within the prohibited area a sum not exceeding one pound for *each* egg.

In 1896 an Act was passed (from which Ireland was exempted) extending the powers already given to the County Councils to the Council of a County Borough; and giving power to the Court to 'order any trap, net, snare, or decoy bird' used by anyone convicted of an offence against the Act to be forfeited.

From this brief *résumé* of these Acts of Parliament it will be seen that our wild birds are thoroughly well protected; indeed, it is a question whether, in the interests of our fisheries, both marine and fresh water, the time has not come for giving local authorities not only power to protect birds but also to destroy them, including many of the fish-eating birds which are in the specially protected list.

I do not propose to deal at length with the question as to how the British and Irish farmer has been affected by the Wild Birds Protection Acts, except to give one or two illustrations of the nature of the damage done. I was walking with a farmer across his fields (in Bucks), and was astonished at the enormous flocks of sparrows we came across. On getting over a stile a great brown cloud of sparrows would rise from the grain, only to settle down again to their meal when at some safe distance. We must have disturbed hundreds of thousands of sparrows in our walk. My friend was rather bitterly sarcastic at the sentimental grandmotherly legislation which had so enormously increased the sparrow and other grain-stealing farmer's pests. I pointed out that the Act was supposed to have helped farmers by encouraging insect-eating birds, but he did not want any protection of that kind, and said the good done was as nothing to the loss of grain, of seed of all kinds, of fruit of all kinds, and young vegetables, all eaten by the birds.

Another friend, writing from Nottinghamshire, says :

I think there is far too much faddism in connection with wild bird protection. For example, it is a criminal offence to take the eggs or young of blackbirds or thrushes; the result is that these birds swarm for a few years, eating an enormous amount of fruit; then we get a fairly severe winter, and they perish in countless numbers. The school-boy is now afraid to seek for a bird's-nest, and the result is that sparrows have enormously increased. In my own village I used to pay the boys 2*d.* per dozen for sparrow's eggs, but I found the lads were so afraid of the penalties attached to bird-nesting that they had quite lost their love for the pastime, and 2*d.* per dozen failed to attract them. Notwithstanding this Wild Birds Protection Act, I do not see any more of the insect-feeding birds, such as the warblers and other summer migrants, than existed in my youth.

The fact is, the protection afforded to birds by the Acts has been far more extensive and inclusive than was ever intended or contemplated. The object of the Acts was to prevent the extinction, or threatened extinction, of some birds; the effect has been to greatly increase nearly all kinds of birds, including many which destroy grain, fruit, vegetables and fish.

My object in this article is to call attention to the increase of the wild enemies of our fish, especially of our salmon. As Editor of the *Fishing Gazette*, I have been able to collect information from all parts of the United Kingdom, and I venture to think that anyone who studies it will agree with me that the time has come for decreasing bird protection and increasing fish protection.

DESTRUCTION OF SEA FISH BY BIRDS

It is not easy to get proof of the damage done to purely marine fishes by birds, or to prove to what extent, if at all, our supply of food from the sea is lessened in consequence of what the birds take. Fortunately we have evidence which proves that while no harm can be done by reducing the numbers of certain fish-eating birds, there is every reason to suppose that fish would increase by such reduction, and perhaps very largely.

Professor McIntosh, LL.D., F.R.S., of the Gatty Marine Laboratory, St. Andrews, in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* for June last, gives an account of the accidental captures of sea birds in the nets used for catching plaice and cod in St. Andrews Bay. He tells us that the nets have been worked for two seasons, viz. from the middle of September to the middle of May, that is, for eight months each season. The majority of the birds captured were guillemots; but divers, common and velvet scoters, scaup-ducks, and razor-bills are also taken. Taking an average of twenty-five birds as a total captured by the boats at St. Andrews in a day for this period, and calculating five working days in a week, it is found that the total for the season of eight months is about four thousand birds. This, he says, is probably a low average, for lately 'no less than 620 birds were brought in by the boats in one day, whilst on other occasions 100 and 200 birds were taken in a single day.'

Selecting another low average, viz. thirty, as the number of fishes captured by each bird in a day, it is found that in the 224 days which cover the fishing period of one season, these birds would have disposed of *nearly twenty-seven million fishes*, and yet this is 'but a fragment of the vast tax levied on fishes—especially young fishes—by the sea birds in St. Andrews Bay.'

That thirty fishes a day is a very moderate computation is shown by the fact that thirty small sand eels have been found in a single guillemot as 'the amount consumed in a few hours.' In the same

way ten sprats between two and three inches long, and several sand eels and other remains of food were found in another guillemot, which is one of the birds specially protected by Act of Parliament. Not only do the birds devour fish, they also eat great quantities of the floating eggs of sea fish.

Here then we have convincing proof of the voracity of fish-eating birds, and although it is questionable whether the vast harvest of the sea is materially affected in a general way, it is quite possible it may be seriously affected in certain localities. At a recent meeting of the Cornwall Sea Fisheries District Committee the damage done by fish-eating birds was considered, the general feeling of the meeting being that measures should be taken to reduce their numbers. The suggestion was made that it might be necessary to get the close time for sea birds abolished, at any rate, for a time.

The Sea Birds Protection Act was in a large measure due to the thoughtless and indiscriminate destruction of the birds by visitors to Scarborough, Filey, and other places on the Yorkshire coast. Now the birds have multiplied to such an extent there and elsewhere that the fishermen complain of the enormous destruction of young sea fish. If we consider the many millions of sea birds, and that each can, and does when it can, eat its own weight of fish in a day, is it not reasonable to advocate a sensible diminution in their numbers now that they have had far more protection than was ever contemplated or is on any grounds necessary? They have suffered themselves from this over-protection, and in consequence of their numbers are driven to seek food far inland, mixing with the rooks on the farms and with the freshwater fowl on our rivers and park waters, where they were formerly never seen.

DESTRUCTION OF FRESHWATER FISH BY BIRDS

There can be no possible doubt as to the necessity for some modification of the Wild Birds Protection Act in so far as it affects our most important freshwater fish, especially the migratory Salmonidæ.

My attention was drawn to this matter from the frequent complaints in fishing reports sent to me from all parts of the United Kingdom, and from personal observation of the great numbers of birds I see fishing with me—especially when salmon and trout fishing.

Mr. Francis Ley, one of our most successful salmon anglers and a conservator and owner of salmon fisheries, writing to me on the 12th of September last says :

I consider the Wild Birds Protection Act productive of great injury to salmon fisheries. You have only to be on the Tweed, the Irish Blackwater, and other

rivers of like character, possessing large areas of shallow water, to see gulls in April and May feeding voraciously on salmon smolts and young trout. In addition to gulls you will find these rivers infested with cormorants, who know intuitively the time when young salmon migrate to the sea. I have seen upwards of a dozen cormorants on a stretch of less than two miles, harrying every pool.

The taking of salmon fry or smolts is a criminal offence, and any one convicted of taking them is liable to a penalty not exceeding 5*l.*, and the confiscation of all rods, tackle, &c. And yet it is a criminal offence to kill these fish-destroying birds during the very time when our fish are most exposed to their depredations.

Mr. P. D. Malloch, of Perth, is second to none in his knowledge of the salmon fisheries of Scotland, and is also a practical naturalist of very wide experience, especially in connection with water-fowl and birds of all kinds. Writing to me on the 24th of September he says :

You ask if I have noticed any increase in the number of freshwater fish-destroying birds. I have observed an enormous increase since the passing of the Wild Birds Protection Act; more especially gooseander, red-breasted merganser, black-throated diver, red-throated diver, black-headed gull, great black-backed gull, lesser black-backed gull, heron, cormorant, and arctic and common tern. This list I consider includes the most important freshwater fish-destroying birds. The number of fish (salmon and trout) the birds destroy is past anyone's comprehension. Only yesterday, when I was fishing two miles below Perth, I observed a flock of about thirty gooseanders on the Tay, diving and feeding on parr (samlets) and trout. Before the passing of the Act you would hardly see thirty in a whole season; now you can see thousands all over the river Tay, its tributaries and lochs, and in fact all over Scotland. The merganser is not quite so plentiful, but it is increasing every day. When I was in the Lews fishing the Grimersta river in the spring last year, hundreds of mergansers were continually round the mouth of the river waiting for the salmon smolts as they came down. This year, when I was fishing the lochs at Scourie, every hour of the day I saw black-throated divers, and also many red-throated divers. The wonder is there are any trout left.

Cormorants have always been so numerous, it is difficult to say whether they are increasing or not. They do a great deal of damage, and ought to be kept down in all our lochs and estuaries. About a dozen of them stay nearly all the year round on Loch Leven; this means at least a dozen trout a day each. On the Tay I make our seal hunters shoot every one they see. The way they do is, when they see one rising from the water, although five hundred yards away, they fire a Männlicher rifle. The bullet whizzing past them makes them dive, the yacht puts on full steam, and very soon comes up to the bird. It never attempts to fly; it very soon gets exhausted, and is shot with a shot gun. A good way to get them is on a jutting-out rock near to their resting-place; they fly over this and are easily shot. At such a place near the Swaney Hills in Orkney some thousands could be shot in a day. I have shot a hundred in little over an hour.

The black-headed gull I consider a very bad one for fish. They have increased to such an extent that if the weather keeps dry for any length of time they are with us in hundreds, all day long and all night long. I see them in the streams picking up the fry. They wade as deep as they can, walking up the stream and darting down at every fish they see. They also eat up a great quantity of the food of the trout, such as March browns, duns, &c. Within the last few years

they have taken to diving in the lochs and pools, picking up trout the same as a tern does. If the black-headed gull goes on increasing as it has been doing, I am seriously thinking of engaging men to shoot them down in the open season.

The black-backs and herring gulls destroy many large trout, but I do not think they are so destructive as the black-headed gull. While I was on the island of Handa watching the birds there, I saw a young herring gull put up a full-grown black guillemot minus the head, and then fly away. The great black-back I have seen kill a swallow and a young widgeon duck.

I dare say if you were to ask my friend Mr. Harvey Brown he would tell you a great deal of the destructive nature of the mergansers and goosanders, more especially in the Sutherland district.

Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, LL.D., Chairman of the Severn Fishery Board, writing with respect to that river, says :

You may take it that a very large number of salmon smolts are killed every year by birds. Among them I include carrion crows, gulls and cormorants, as the chief offenders. The carrion crow destroys the fry when the mills shut off the water, the cormorants kill the descending smolts in April and May. The cormorant, when the smolts are descending, if the tide is running up, has his head down stream : if running down, his head up stream, to meet the smolts which go backwards and forwards with the tide. The gulls kill the adult fish when stranded on the sands. I feel sure the Wild Birds Act, by altering the balance of power, has worked injuriously to the fishing in some places—but only in places.

Writing from Oughterard, Co. Galway, Mr. S. Doig, Honorary Secretary of the Lough Corrib Fisheries Association, says :

The following fish-destroying birds have increased considerably during the last few years, viz. shell duck, merganser, and cormorants, especially the two former, which are very destructive to the young fry. The black-headed gull has also increased largely during the last few years, and is a great nuisance during the may-fly season, as it eats up all the flies the moment they come to the surface, and is also destructive to fry.

Writing from Ballina, Co. Mayo, Mr. George Shannon, Manager of the famous Moy Salmon Fisheries, says :

The cormorants have increased with us. They are most destructive to the salmon fry going down to the sea ; they should be excluded from the Wild Birds Protection Act, and killed all the year round.

Mr. Eden Phillpotts tells me the cormorants are such a pest on the lower waters of the Dart (S. Devon) that 'a price is put upon their ugly heads.'

Writing from Alnwick, Northumberland, Mr. John J. Hardy says :

We have far more of the black-backed gull on our streams here than I care to see, as they swallow the salmon smolts wholesale. Farmers here complain of the depredations of the sparrows.

Here, then, we have evidence from all parts of the United Kingdom, evidence which could be multiplied tenfold if necessary, which proves, I think, that all our salmon rivers should be exempted from the operation of the Wild Birds Protection Act in so

far as it protects and favours the increase of fish and fish-egg-destroying birds.

I am as strongly adverse to the extinction of wild birds as anyone can be, but it was certainly never the intention of Parliament to cause the destruction of millions of young salmon and other fish annually by allowing worthless birds to increase as they have done.

PART II.—DESTRUCTION OF SALMON BY SEALS AND PORPOISES

Has there of recent years been a great increase in the number of seals and porpoises, especially of the former, in the seas which surround the northern parts of the United Kingdom? There can, I think, be no doubt about it; certainly there can be none as regards the very great damage done by seals to the salmon fisheries. Nor is the increase of these animals confined to our country: in Holland for some years past there have been complaints of the destruction of salmon by seals at the mouth of the Rhine; from Norway we hear the same complaint. A salmon-angler who called on me on returning from his salmon river in Norway, this autumn, said that sport had been bad in consequence of the great increase of seals and other fish-destroying animals. He said that when approaching the mouths of the rivers in the district he fishes, the scene from the steamer reminded him of the prints in old Bibles where porpoises, seals, whales, and other monsters of the deep are seen spouting and jumping in all directions. The consequence was that they only got comparatively few salmon, mostly large fish, which often bore marks of wounds made by seals and porpoises which followed the fish for miles up the rivers.

I think that the amount of destruction done by seals is not generally known, indeed I have heard salmon-anglers express doubt as to whether they do any damage at all, but the facts mentioned in the following notes leave no room for doubt on the point.

The Tay is one of our largest and most important salmon rivers, and thanks in a great measure to the improvements carried out by Mr. P. D. Malloch, of Perth, its yield of salmon is increasing annually. I asked Mr. Malloch about the seals, and he tells me that they do so much damage that they have been compelled to keep a crew and a steam launch simply for the purpose of hunting them.

HOW SEALS DESTROY SALMON

Writing to me on the 1st of October last, Mr. Malloch says:

In answer to yours, from what I have seen in the Tay district, seals live on nothing else but salmon. We have opened scores of seals and find nothing but salmon inside them; one of about 20 stone weight that we captured had quite 30 lbs. of salmon in its stomach, quite fresh, besides a quantity half digested;

it was eating a salmon when we shot it. The seal bolts lumps from a pound to two pounds without chewing it. You have only to go to a sand-bank where they rest to be convinced that they eat salmon; their droppings are little else than salmon scales. In shooting the seals the best time to get near them is when they are eating a salmon. For many years past I have seen seals eating salmon on Tents-Mure fishings just outside the estuary of the Tay. I have seen as many as six seals eating salmon at the same time. The seals will go through the stake nets and take out the largest salmon: they go a few yards away from the net and very soon devour it. They hold the fish in their flippers, exposing the head and shoulders. When a seal is resting with a fish at the bottom, you see the water quite smooth towards shore if the wind is blowing towards it; this is caused by the oil coming from the fish. I am pleased to see from your note in the *Fishing Gazette* that Sir Richard Waldie Griffith is to make a raid on the Tweed seals; I wish every one would do the same. Since August we have killed eighty seals (in less than a month); one day we had five, the largest weighing 24 stone, or more than 3½ cwt.

Writing to me on the 16th of September last, Sir R. Waldie Griffith, Bart., Chairman of the Tweed Salmon Fishery Commissioners, said:

Mr. Morton Crossman brought the question as to damage by seals before the Tweed Commissioners at their annual meeting on the 8th of September, and it was arranged that we should consider what could be done to check the damage to nets and fish. It is a curious fact that nearly a third of the fish caught up the river are marked by seals or nets. I should be very glad indeed if you could give me any information as to what other rivers are doing with regard to sea birds and seals—the number of sea birds up the river has increased very largely.

Crossing for a moment to the west coast of Ireland we find that in the estuary of the Moy the seals are doing much damage. Mr. George Shannon, of the Moy Salmon Fishery, tells me that:

During the fishing season the seals are a constant annoyance, and they destroy and injure a great number of the salmon. When they do not kill the fish outright they injure them so that the fish fetch far less money. I wish some successful means could be devised for their destruction.

In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 21st of September, a correspondent says that Carlingford Lough has been rendered practically fishless owing to the presence of the hundreds of seals which resort and breed there; he laments the fact that the Irish Fisheries Department has not made any attempt to destroy the pests, and thus revive the former prosperity of the ancient town of Carlingford as a fishing centre. He says the seals kill everything, from the salmon to the dab, though they will not touch the congers or dabs when pollock and mackerel are about.

A correspondent at Aberdeen tells me that seals, although increasing in numbers again, are not so numerous as formerly. He says that coal fish do more damage to salmon smolt than anything else at present, although since the nets on the Dee were bought up pike are greatly on the increase.

Mr. Augustus Grimble, author of works on the salmon rivers of Scotland and Ireland, notes that seals are troublesome in the salmon fisheries all round the Scotch coast, also in Wales.

PORPOISES

The reports as to damage caused by porpoises are by no means so frequent or general as with regard to seals.

The Severn is an exception in this respect, as Mr. Willis Bund, the Chairman of the Fisheries Board, informs me that their salmon suffer much from the attacks of porpoises.

Although the estuary of the Severn is so wide the parts used by salmon on their way to the river are very narrow, and these the porpoises know. A shoal of porpoises will come up on one tide and get between the ascending shoals of salmon and the sea; the result is the salmon fear to run up. This usually happens in the spring and when the wind is from certain quarters; but you may take it that the stoppage of a run of salmon by the presence of a shoal of porpoises is no unusual thing in the estuary of the Severn.

The Tyne suffers from periodical visits of porpoises. Mr. H. A. Morton, of Newcastle, tells me that this year there have been very few; last year many were seen chasing the salmon well up the river.

Porpoises seem to wander about the ocean like the old Vikings, making unexpected and destructive raids on the fishing grounds. They have been so numerous and destructive lately, near Brest, that according to the *Daily Mail's* correspondent there, the crews of forty fishing-boats have received rifles and cartridges from the Government for making war on them. Torpedo-boats are also employed on the same work. The same correspondent reports that a very curious and excellent means of driving away the pests has been discovered by a sea captain of Bordeaux, named Lebel, viz. pouring the blood of cattle into the sea, at the sight of which they are said to retreat in terror. The Mayor of Douarnenez has given orders at the slaughter-houses that all the blood is to be collected and placed at the disposal of the fishermen, who declare that already the porpoises are less numerous and the sardines more abundant.

A SUGGESTION

In view of the importance of our salmon fisheries, might not our Government follow the example of that of France, and wage war with gunboats and torpedo-boats on the seals, porpoises, and possibly some of the fish-destroying birds? It would be work the crews would enjoy, as they would be having good sport and at the same time carrying out their *raison d'être*—destroying the enemies of the State.

Since this article was written I see that the Norwegian Government is being petitioned to send war-vessels to destroy the seals. Great herds of seals have come down from the Arctic Regions and

destroyed or driven away the fish, so that the local fishing populations are in great distress. I believe that on some part of the Norwegian coast dynamite has been used against the voracious but valueless beasts, and that as a consequence they are coming over to our northern islands. From Canada also come reports of the great increase of seals, which follow the salmon far up the rivers, doing immense damage. Of course seals are not new animals, and there is nothing new in their destroying fish; the new factor is their great increase just where our most valuable fish are found.

R. B. MARSTON
(*Editor, 'Fishing Gazette'*).

THE HOME OFFICE SCHEME FOR 'PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS'

AT the close of the Parliamentary Session of 1903 the Home Secretary laid a Bill on the table of the House of Commons 'to amend the law relating to Penal Servitude.' The object of this measure is to promote the detention of professional criminals 'for a lengthened period of years.'

This is gratifying to all who have advocated reform in this direction. Specially gratifying, of course, to myself; for while my first article in this Crime series (*Nineteenth Century*, February 1901) was generally received with marked approval, the official view taken of it at the time was that it afforded no basis for legislation. In saying this I am not referring either to his Majesty's Judges or to the Prison Department. The views of the Prison Department must be gleaned from the pending Bill, and from the Annual Reports submitted to the Secretary of State. And the opinion of the Judicial Bench was indicated by a letter which Mr. Justice Wills addressed to the *Times* (the 21st of February 1901). Mr. Justice Phillimore's charge to the Grand Jury at the Maidstone Summer Assizes 1902 threw further light upon it. Referring to the punishment of old offenders, he said:

Sir Robert Anderson had written several interesting articles on the subject since his retirement, and the matter had been brought before the judges of the King's Bench Division by one of the oldest, the most experienced, and the most humane of their number. The result had been that communications had passed between the Home Office and the judges with a view of ascertaining whether it would not be possible to devise some new form of detention more or less permanent, but slighter in its incidence than penal servitude, by which old offenders might be restrained from preying on the public.¹

The Home Office Bill is the outcome of the pressure thus put upon that Department. But the question remains whether it is in any way adequate. And as of course the object in laying a Government Bill on the table at the end of an expiring Session is to give time for consideration of its provisions, the moment is specially opportune

¹ *The Times*, July 12, 1902.

to raise afresh the general question of our method of dealing with the professional criminals.

The gist of the measure is contained in the first clause, which reads as follows :

1.—(1) Where any person who has previously been convicted more than twice of an indictable offence is convicted on indictment of an offence punishable with penal servitude, and it appears to the court—

(a) that at the time when he committed the offence for which he is to be sentenced, he was leading a persistently dishonest or criminal life ; and

(b) that by reason of his criminal antecedents and mode of life, it is expedient for the protection of the public that he should be kept in detention for a lengthened period of years,

the court may, if it thinks fit, in passing a sentence of penal servitude for any term of not less than *seven years*, direct that, after serving a portion of his sentence under the general rules relating to sentences of penal servitude, he shall serve the residue thereof in the habitual offender division.

(2) The portion of the sentence to be served under the general rules shall be such period as the court may direct, being not less than one-fourth, or, in the case of a person who has served a previous sentence of penal servitude, not less than one-half, of the sentence.

(3) In this section the expression 'habitual offender division' means the special division of convicts instituted under that name by rules made by the Secretary of State under the Prison Act, 1898.

My attack upon the existing law and practice was based upon the fact that while crime in general has sensibly diminished, there has been a steady and serious increase in crimes of the kind that are known to be the work of professional criminals. And from this fact I drew what seemed a very obvious inference, namely, that the causes which availed to bring about the general diminution of crime failed to operate in the case of the professionals. As both the fact and the inference, though then challenged in high quarters, are now accepted—indeed they constitute the implied preamble of the Home Office Bill—it is unnecessary to discuss them further. What concerns us is the practical question whether the proposed enactment would prove a remedy for the admitted evils which it is intended to meet.

Intelligent penologists are agreed that the problem underlying this question involves a due adjustment of severity and leniency. And if we are to make any advance in dealing with it we must refuse a hearing to two mutually hostile camps of agitators. On the one side there are those who advocate punishment for punishment's sake in the case of all offenders, and who will not tolerate reforms to alleviate a prisoner's lot. On the other side there are those who, blind to the truth that useless punishment is cruel, and that all punishment is useless which fails to attain the object with which it is inflicted, are therefore consistently opposed to our acting on the principle which ought to underlie all criminal legislation and adminis-

tration, namely, that in every case the limit of punishment should never be less than the point of efficiency.

These folk call themselves 'Humanitarians,' and there is no Court competent to issue an injunction to restrain them from this flagrant misuse of the word. Under the influence of a charitable desire to avoid wounding individuals, I coined the expression 'humanity-mongers' as exactly indicating those I wished to hold up to reprobation. But one demonstrative *allogrioepiscopos* at once donned the cap I thus threw down, and he has fitted it on so tightly that he cannot now get rid of it. For any sake let us leave the punishment-mongers and the humanity-mongers to fight out their quarrel, and let us, as sensible, intelligent, and benevolent men, deal with this great question on its merits, and consider whether this *projet de loi* is right in principle and would prove efficacious in practice.

It may be freely admitted that the proposed enactment would *mitigate* the evil which it is designed to cure. I have ventured to challenge the principles of orthodox penology in regard to sentences. I maintain that punishment is merely a means to an end, and that the end is the protection of the public. And now not only is this accepted by the Bill, but further, the fact disputed in such high quarters three years ago is now admitted, that the protection of the public is not sufficiently assured by our present methods, and that legislation is necessary to ensure the longer detention of professional criminals. The judges declare that so long as penal servitude discipline is enforced during the whole term of a sentence, they shrink from passing sentences adequate to protect the community. And as the number of first-class crimes against property depends on the number of first-class criminals at large, a more prolonged detention of the criminals will lead to a diminution in the number of the crimes. The public will be the gainers; and if the measure under consideration had already become law we might be content to congratulate ourselves on this result. But our subject is a pending Bill, and therefore a discussion which would be interesting at any time is of practical importance now. If an evil can be cured, no mere palliative should be accepted. What then is the evil here?

In the newspaper account of the recent arrests for the great jewel larceny in Conduit Street, it was mentioned that one of the prisoners complained that, in his absence, one of his fellow criminals had broken into his place and stolen some of his ill-gotten valuables; and, he added, 'There is honour among the members of other professions, but none in ours.' 'Our profession.' Exactly so: a criminal career of that type is just as much a profession as is the occupation of the journalist who penned that report. The question then is how we should deal with such criminals when they bring themselves within the power of the law.

I will test this by a hypothetical case which I suggested in my

first article. Suppose the case of a new community where everyone trusts his neighbour. Honesty reigns, and therefore there is no need to bolt doors or to bar windows. But presently certain individuals turn to thieving. Every effort to reclaim them fails. What then is to be done? Either of two courses may be adopted. One would be to get rid of the thieves. The other would be to shut them up for a while every time they are caught, and then to turn them out again to resume their thieving, the whole community meanwhile taking to bars and bolts, and setting up a Scotland Yard with records and finger prints of the criminals. Now I am not preaching or laying down the law. My object is to appeal to a thoughtful and intelligent public. And to that tribunal I submit the question, whether if the inhabitants of my Utopia adopted this second alternative method of dealing with their criminals they would not prove themselves to be not only deficient in the art of government, but wanting in common sense. And yet it is this second method which obtains here in enlightened Britain in this twentieth century!

It will be said that in an old country, and with a teeming population, the problem is by no means so simple. This I readily admit. But in all essential points it is the same. And the more fully my successor at Scotland Yard matures his system for identifying criminals, the more closely will the circumstances in England correspond with those of my Utopia. When high-class crimes against property occur in London, for example, the task of the police is to find the criminals, not among the millions of the population, but among a few dozen of the professionals who are registered in the Convict Supervision Office. Let us suppose that they are found, and that the far more difficult task of obtaining evidence on which to charge them is accomplished. They are brought to trial and convicted. Proof is available that they are professionals. The fear of penal servitude has not kept them from crime. They have already undergone the discipline, and know all about it. They are now sent to penal servitude again for five or six years. Under the new law the judges will presumably impose longer terms. But will these lengthened imprisonments avail to change the criminals? If a sentence that involves the severe discipline of penal servitude fails to deter from crime, is it likely that this result will be attained by sentences involving a relaxation of the discipline during half the term?

In his *Side Lights on Convict Life*, lately published with a quasi *imprimatur* by the prison authorities, Mr. George Griffith writes, 'I have no hesitation in saying that there is no punishment either in penal servitude or hard labour under present conditions to the habitual criminal.' This is an exaggerated statement of a truth—a truth well-known to prison officers. A wild bird will tear itself to pieces against the bars of a cage in which a domesticated bird will live contentedly. The tame bird is at home in a cage. The

gaolbird is at home in a prison. In certain cases penal servitude is barbarously cruel. In such cases, indeed, its operation is really a disgrace to a civilised country. But to the gaolbird there is no element of cruelty in it. He settles down to it in the spirit in which an officer on service accepts exile in some particularly undesirable foreign station. There is nothing in it likely to elevate and reform anybody. Nothing certainly to bring an old criminal to contrition for the past or to repentance in view of the future. Whether his term be five years or ten, and whether the discipline be made evenly severe throughout or rendered more lenient towards the close, he is as definitely a professional criminal when released as he was at the beginning. There is therefore precisely the same reason for keeping him in gaol at the end of his term that there was for sending him there on conviction. He was a thief when convicted, he is a thief when discharged; and everybody who has to do with him is perfectly well aware that he will at once return to the practice of his profession. If the matter could be presented to our judgment, apart from the prejudice which springs from custom, we should all agree in regard to cases of this kind that the system is absolutely farcical; or if anyone connected with it may be credited with intelligence and common sense, it is not the legislature, nor yet the judicature, nor the executive Government, nor the public, but only the criminal himself. If, I repeat, we could bring a perfectly free judgment to bear upon the problem, we should with one voice describe it as the attempt of a community of fools to deal with a coterie of rogues.

This is not in the preamble of the Bill. But the Bill itself is an admission that the present system requires amendment. Let us see then how it would operate. I am dealing, remember, with criminals of the type described by Mr. Justice Wills in his *Times* letter: criminals 'who follow crime as the business of their lives, who take it as a profession, who calculate and accept its risks, who have entirely ceased to work, if they ever did work, and never mean to do so.' In such cases our present system is admittedly a failure. In what way, then, should it be amended? To the average man it would appear obvious that reform must be in either of two directions. We may intensify the punitive element in our sentences, and make the punishment so severe as to become really deterrent. But Sir Alfred Wills adds, 'Such men are really hopeless. No punishment will alter them, and the moment they are released they begin to practise crime again.' If 'no punishment will alter them,' surely common sense demands that we shall adopt the other alternative, and deprive them of the liberty which systematically and of set purpose they abuse.

If the gallows is barred, these are the only rational alternatives. But the Home Office Bill is not even a compromise between them.

It aims merely at modifying the folly and mischief of our present system. If superstition decreed that a dangerous beast must neither be destroyed nor permanently kept in confinement, every year added to the period for which it might be shut up would of course be a practical benefit to the community. But most people would think it not only stupid but wicked to turn it loose at all. And if we know that criminals will return to crime on their release, whether we hold them for ten years or for five, it is no less stupid and wicked to discharge them at the end of the longer term than it would be to let them go at once. Why should they be released at all unless and until they give such reasonable proof of reform as might justify the Home Office in discharging them? Let me quote Sir Alfred Wills again: 'What is to be done with them?' he asks; and in explanation of 'the real difficulty in the way of dealing effectually with such persons,' he says:

The public in general, I am sure, do not fully appreciate what a source and centre of mischief the habitual criminal is. The means of ascertaining whether a man belongs to that class or not are imperfect and not always trustworthy, and it rests with the judge whether an offender is to be treated as belonging to it or not. What appears to be a severe sentence, when nothing is considered but the individual case or cases for which a man is indicted, is apt to raise on behalf of the offender a false and unwholesome sympathy which would never be extended to him (except in so far as every instance of wickedness deserves in a general sense pity as well as condemnation) if the true character of his life were known.

Here Sir Alfred puts his finger upon the radical defect of our present system. The evidence on which a prisoner is adjudged to be, in the technical sense, an 'habitual criminal,' is recorded in a public legal document. But not so the proof offered to satisfy the judge that he is a hardened and hopeless professional. That proof is obtained by an after-verdict inquiry which has no legal sanction, and which is essentially un-English in its character, for the prisoner has no adequate opportunity to refute what is alleged to his prejudice. In the nature of things, moreover, it is *always* 'imperfect,' and in saying that it is 'not always trustworthy,' Sir Alfred very much understates the point. In any case the public, while in possession of the evidence on which the prisoner has been convicted, have no knowledge of the proofs which lead the Court to regard him as a hopeless professional. And the result is that any sentence which seems out of proportion to the crime charged in the indictment 'is apt to raise on behalf of the offender a false and unwholesome sympathy.' And the new Bill will do nothing to alter this. In a case of burglary, for instance, the judge may be satisfied that (in the language of the Bill) 'it is expedient for the protection of the public' that he should impose a life sentence. But unless the evidence discloses some exceptional aggravation of the prisoner's crime, such for example as a flagrant act of violence to the

person, not even the most trusted and experienced judge upon the Bench will venture to pass such a sentence. And why? Because it would outrage public opinion. And why would it have this effect? Because the public would have no knowledge of the grounds which guide a judge in framing his sentence—the prisoner's career as a whole, 'the true character of his life.' And a few hysterical agitators would at once get up an outcry which would entirely destroy the moral effect of the sentence, however wise and righteous it might be.

But how is this to be avoided? what is the remedy? The answer is obvious and the remedy is simple. I have known cases in which a sentence has raised an outcry of this sort, although if the facts before the Court had been published, the judge, instead of being charged with undue severity, would have been accused of condoning crime by undue leniency. I have known other cases where a police officer has, after verdict, made statements to the judge about a prisoner's antecedents and circumstances which, as I have afterwards reported to the Secretary of State, could not be sustained. My experience of such cases in both categories led me to recognise years ago that whenever the circumstances call for a sentence more severe than would be warranted by the legal evidence given at the prisoner's trial, that sentence should be the result of an inquiry as open as the trial itself. I was not then aware that a similar conclusion had been formulated by Sir James Fitz-James Stephen in his *History of the Criminal Law of England*. But I have been glad to be able to put it forward as the deliberate proposal of that distinguished jurist. His words are: 'I would punish with death offences against property only upon great deliberation, and when it was made to appear, by a formal inquiry held after a conviction for an isolated offence, that the criminal really was an habitual, hardened, practically irreclaimable offender.' I accept this unreservedly, save that for the death sentence advocated by Sir James Stephen, I would substitute an indeterminate life sentence. If the criminal is proved to be an outlaw, he should be treated as an outlaw.

But 'a formal public inquiry' is essential in the interests not only of the public but of the criminal. The grounds on which a Court has to decide upon a prisoner's 'quality' are described by Mr. Justice Wills as 'imperfect and not always trustworthy.' I go further, and condemn the system as utterly un-English and unfair. I am not here referring to the previous convictions officially recorded and legally proved against the accused. No competent and fair judge is satisfied with the information thus afforded by the calendar. The schoolboy's code contains an eleventh commandment, his addition to the decalogue being, 'Thou shalt not be found out.' And our cleverest criminals, who are of course the worst, often prove their cleverness by avoiding the breach of the eleventh commandment, while weaker and less harmful offenders are apt to get caught again

and again. The consequence is that weak and 'unlucky' men come off worse than the leaders of the profession. Hence the importance of the after-verdict inquiry which a judge institutes respecting a prisoner's general character and mode of life.

I crave attention to this. The offence charged, if it stood alone, would perhaps involve a sentence of a year's hard labour, and this would of course be increased on account of the previous convictions. But the after inquiry above mentioned makes it clear that a much longer term is desirable in the public interest, and seven years' penal servitude is in fact the minimum term within the scope of the new Bill. That is to say, the sentence is at least doubled as the result of the after-verdict inquiry. Now no witness would be heard at the trial whose evidence had not previously been given to the accused, with full opportunity for cross-examination and the production of rebutting evidence. But here statements of which he has no knowledge are received to his prejudice, or at all events, and in every case, allegations are suddenly sprung upon him at a time and in circumstances when an adequate answer is impossible. Judges have told me that their confidence in the information thus put before them about criminals depends on their knowledge of the officers in charge of the various cases. A judge, moreover, who refuses to hear anything relative to a prisoner save what he can extract from police officers in open court, often remains wilfully ignorant of what ought to guide him in passing sentence. And yet a judge who peruses confidential police reports is naturally reluctant to act upon what he finds there.

The whole system is indefensible, and the new Bill accentuates not only its defects but its injustice. Its implied preamble is plainly this, that a prisoner is to be sentenced not merely because of the crime of which he has been convicted, but because he is proved to be a professional criminal. Then that charge, which, if estimated by its consequence to the prisoner, is graver than the crime itself, should be openly laid and openly proved; proved, not necessarily in accordance with the technicalities of English law, but in keeping with the commonest principles of English justice. The prisoner's secret dossier—I call it secret because, of course, the jury at the trial should know nothing of it—ought to be formally laid before the Court by competent authority. And this same dossier, together with the nature of the charge to be based upon it, ought to be communicated to the prisoner, say a week before his trial, to give him ample time to consider it. This after-trial charge would be similar to charges dealt with by magistrates under the Prevention of Crimes Act. Such charges are easily answered if they are untrue. Suppose, for example, that a man is accused of making his living by dishonest means, he has but to name his employer, and the charge is refuted. To call upon a man to prove his innocence of a crime would be like requiring him to prove a negative; in a charge of this kind it is the

police who have to prove the negative. There is no element of unfairness in it.

These un-English enquiries into antecedents and character are, I repeat, both unsatisfactory to the judges and unfair to the criminals. Upon the information thus afforded them, the judges act always with reserve and often with misgivings. And as for the criminals, the Home Office records would testify that while a real 'habitual' seldom disputes the justice of his conviction, he frequently questions the justice of his sentence. It would be different if the reasons for the sentence were stated as openly and as fairly as the evidence of the crime, and the accused were allowed sufficient opportunity to explain or refute the statements made to his discredit. The convict would then be silenced, and the public would be satisfied.

I might cite case after case in support of my contention. And if I were to give particulars about well-known convicts it would increase both the strength of my argument and the interest of my article. But though I am not without ambition, my ambition does not take the form of wishing to be made defendant in a number of unsuccessful libel actions. I venture to think, moreover, that the proposal I advocate needs no such support. It is put forward, I repeat, with the authority of one who was eminent as a lawyer, as a judge, and as a jurist.

Having said this, it might be expected that I should here lay down my pen, and leave the whole matter to the judgment of an intelligent public, the tribunal to which my appeal is submitted. But it is idle to ignore the fact that the practical solution of the problem is embarrassed by theories of punishment which affect the judgment of men of light and leading, whose influence is felt when reforms of this character are under consideration. This it is which has led me to insist so strongly that the theory which regards the punishment of crime as an end, and not merely a means to an end, is false in principle and mischievous in practice. But this theory prevails in high quarters. In his *Studies by the Way*, Sir Edward Fry has reproduced an article which appeared in this Review twenty years ago (September 1883), in which the view I deprecate is maintained. And one of his avowed reasons for republishing the article is that it has lately been cited with approval by Mr. Justice Kennedy. It therefore claims attention.

'In the apportionment of penalties,' Sir Edward Fry avers, 'we have to regard primarily and directly the moral nature of the crime, and to assign pain and suffering as nearly as we can to the enormity of the sin.' Now if Sir Edward Fry and Mr. Justice Kennedy are right, Sir James Stephen and Mr. Justice Wills are wrong. The jurist's view appears from the quotation given above from his *History of the Criminal Law*. Sir Alfred Wills's is clearly

expressed in the letter already cited. 'For my own part,' he writes, 'I emphatically agree with Dr. Anderson when he says that the primary object of punishment is the protection of society.' According to the one view, as Sir Edward Fry avers in restating his thesis, 'before everything else we must look to the moral nature of the act in question'; that is, of the crime committed. According to the other view, before everything else we must look to the welfare of the community.

With unfeigned respect, but with no misgivings, I maintain, first, that no human tribunal can estimate aright 'the moral nature' of human acts; and secondly, that English law does not recognise this principle. In the hanging days such a question did not arise. The law arbitrarily classified certain offences as felonies, and anyone who committed an offence of that class went to the gallows. And though in our own day some judges seem to claim in a timid and halting way to be (as Mr. Crackanthorpe has aptly phrased it) vicegerents of the Deity, the genius of English law and the common sense of the English people are opposed to them. Who would deny that the act of stealing a penny loaf from a helpless and starving child is more base and wicked than forging a Bank of England note? Yet the forger would be punished with tenfold more severity than the thief. And why? because the protection of society demands it. Here both acts are morally reprehensible, but in different degrees. But take another case, and any lawyer would cite many of the same kind. Why is a dealer in old metals punished for buying less than 56 lbs. of brass or copper? There is no question whatever here of the 'moral nature' of the act, but society for its own protection creates the offence, and punishes the commission of it.

Let me test the principle in another way still more striking, and more germane to the immediate issue before us. We punish a first crime with marked leniency, or not at all, while a similar crime committed by an old offender is punished with great severity. But speaking generally, the moral guilt of a first crime is incomparably greater than that of a crime committed by one whose moral nature has been degraded and deadened by a criminal career. If the principle I am seeking to refute is to prevail, our Penal Servitude Acts run on false lines, and the new Home Office Bill is a stride in a wrong direction. For in proportion to the number of a criminal's 'previous convictions' his punishment for every subsequent offence should be reduced.

'This element of leniency to first offenders, moreover, confirms the proof that the welfare of the community, and not the moral nature of criminal acts, is the ruling principle in English penology. And in this connection the fact claims notice, that in an ever increasing number and variety of cases the reformation of the offender takes precedence of all thought of punishing his crime.

It is not without significance that this should be ignored in Sir Edward Fry's article. Not of course that the reformation of offenders is overlooked by him. He takes it into account definitely and emphatically. But he deals with it only as one of the 'secondary elements in punishment.' The fact to which I claim attention is that, in our recent legislation, and in the practice of our criminal courts, the reformation of the offender is, instead of being regarded as a secondary element in *punishment*, increasingly thrust into prominence to the exclusion of punishment altogether.

Let me illustrate my meaning by a case of a kind that is of frequent occurrence in London. In spite of the advantages accruing from having a respectable home, some young person commits a felony. If 'the moral nature of his crime' is to decide his fate, he should receive exemplary punishment. But he escapes without any punishment at all. More than this, in lieu of receiving punishment, a benefit is conferred upon him. The judge, instead of committing him to gaol, hands him over to the care of some practical philanthropist, and in due course this youth, who under the old system would have been hanged at Newgate, becomes a respectable and prosperous mechanic, or tradesman, or farmer, and gains a better position than he would have obtained if he had never broken the law. Let no one suppose that this is an imaginary case. Mr. Wm. Wheatley could give details of numerous cases of the kind. Now are we to hold that all this is immoral and wrong? Or is it to be explained as the vagary of a weak and sentimental age? The practice is to be explained and defended, on the ground that punishment is not itself an end, as the philosophers assume, but merely a means to an end; and as that end is the welfare of society, if a criminal can be won over to the ranks of honest and useful citizenship without punishment, it is better in the interests of the community to let him go unpunished.

There are cases, no doubt, in which a crime so outrages the public conscience that not only punishment but, it may be, severe punishment, is imperatively demanded. But so far from these cases being exceptions to the principle I contend for, they only serve to illustrate it, for it is in the public interest that the punishment is inflicted. So also with the numerous cases in which a criminal's punishment is made more severe 'because the example will be beneficial to his neighbours.' The words are Sir Edward Fry's, for he mentions the practice with approval. But I venture to urge that on the punishment-of-crime theory such a practice is wholly indefensible. If a judge's task is 'to apportion the suffering to the sin,' surely it is flagrantly unjust to add to a sinner's stripes in order to deter other men from sinning. Not so, however, if punishment finds its sanction in the public welfare.

I might go on to argue that in claiming to decide the amount

of suffering due to sin, a judge not only sets himself a task which is beyond his competence, but directly infringes the prerogative of Divine justice. I content myself, however, with maintaining that he thus assumes a function unsanctioned by the law of England. He has nothing to do with *sins*. His duty is in relation to *crimes*. The commission of a crime brings the offender under the power of the law, and the judge's responsibility is merely to deal with him as required by the interests of society, whose representative and minister he is.

There is one point on which I venture to differ from Sir Alfred Wills, albeit I recognise that he is probably expressing the general opinion of the Judicial Bench. I do not believe he is right in assuming that men who in entering on a life of crime 'calculate and accept its risks' are 'really hopeless.' This is all too true of others—wretched weaklings who seem to have neither moral nor intellectual fibre to save them in a world where temptations to evil abound and the way of life is narrow. But the criminals who give most trouble to the police are men of a different kidney—clever men who pursue a life of crime because their calculation of its risks leads them to the conclusion that in the long run it pays. The very uncertainty as to their sentence if brought to justice appeals to their sporting proclivities; and if the fear of incurring a long term of penal servitude does not deter them, it will certainly not have that effect if the prison discipline be rendered less irksome during a considerable part of their sentence. But let it be brought home to men of this type that a further conviction will involve, not the chance of a longer term, but the certainty of a sentence that will bring their professional career to a close, and not a few of them will desert at once from the army of crime.

I freely admit—indeed, I assert it with emphasis—that no such mitigation of prison discipline as the Home Office Bill provides will avail to make a life sentence justifiable under the present system. But this opens up a large question, one question, indeed, of many relative to prisoners and prisons, on which there is much that I wish to say, much which, perhaps, the public would be willing to hear. I am eager to ventilate such questions, but it is better to deal with one at a time. I will only say therefore that the importance of the particular reform I here advocate is enhanced by the fact that it will expedite other reforms of the greatest value; and I am bold enough to prophesy that they will come, and with the good-will and support of the Prison Department.

Our prison system is an attempt to make old bottles—the legacy of a harsh and ignorant age—available for the new wine of present-day facts and needs. In its effects upon very many, a sentence of imprisonment or penal servitude is more senselessly cruel than the gallows. Much may be said in defence of dismissing to the bar of

Divine justice those who, by persisting in a life of crime, set all human justice at defiance. But no adequate defence of our present methods is possible. If the question be asked, Why is M. or N. sent to gaol? to say that he has committed an offence is no adequate answer. His conviction imposes on the State the duty of taking some action. But if in discharge of that duty the State imprisons him, surely it must be with some definite and intelligible purpose. Is it with a view to punishment? Then let the punishment be sufficiently severe to be efficacious. Is it because, being deemed irreclaimable, he must be shut up to prevent his injuring society? Then let punishment become a secondary consideration, and—subject, of course, to the enforcement of industry and good conduct—let his indefinitely prolonged detention be made no more bitter than necessary. But if the reformation of the offender be the main purpose for which he is committed to gaol, then in the name of common sense let the discipline be directed to that end. To shut up a man alone in a prison cell is admirable as a *punishment*, but the notion that any ordinary human being can be benefited either mentally or morally by such a discipline is worthy of mediæval monks. It serves only to unfit him for liberty when released. What would be thought of a hospital for cripples, which kept the patients on crutches for a measured period, and then turned them out without even a walking-stick to support them?

Then, again, the State punishes any man who neglects his family, and yet when the State imprisons him it compels him to neglect them. Many a criminal has a wife and children for whom in his rough way he really cares. But this influence, so powerful for good, is entirely ignored; and in ignoring it the State, by a prison discipline which pretends to reform, serves only to harden and degrade those who are subjected to it. When a man who has a family dependent on him is committed to gaol for a reasonable period there is no reason whatever—and I speak with practical knowledge of both police and prison administration—why he should not be kept in touch with them during his imprisonment. By the intervention of an Aid Society, a part of the estimated value of his work in prison might, week by week, be allotted to their support. No greater inducement could be found to industry and good conduct; and on his discharge he would be able to return to his home, instead of finding that home broken up and his wife and children on the streets or in the workhouse.

But here the distressing fact obtrudes itself that under the short sentence system which now prevails most of our prisoners are committed for terms so brief that efforts to reform or help them are impracticable. Something might be said for the gallows and the lash, but what defence can be offered for the endless and aimless procession in and out of gaol which the short sentence

craze involves? My purpose here is not to discuss such problems, but merely to indicate some of the questions which await discussion. And so of this I will only say that while the special reforms to which I have given prominence will be achieved as soon as reason and common sense shake themselves free from the traditions and superstitions of the past, this gigantic evil of the short sentence system—the delight of the humanitarian, the despair of the philanthropist—is so full of difficulties that it might fitly be referred to a committee or commission of able men to devise a remedy. Wiser heads than mine must deal with it.

Not so, however, with the special question on which I wish for the moment to focus public attention. If that should be referred to a Parliamentary or Departmental Committee, evidence will not be lacking that the scheme I here advocate is practicable from the point of view both of police duty and of prison administration.

May I in conclusion recapitulate my ‘argument’? The Home Office Penal Servitude Bill adopts and confirms the principle that when an ‘habitual’ is convicted, his sentence is not to depend merely on *what he has done*, but on *what he is*; not on the isolated offence merely, but on his character and general mode of life. The charge on which he is convicted by the jury is that he has committed the crime specified in the indictment; the charge on which he is to be sentenced by the judge is that he is a criminal in a deeper and fuller sense. Here then all our national instincts of justice and fair play demand that, after the verdict has been given, this grave charge shall be formally made and openly investigated, adequate notice of it having been given to the accused, and full opportunity allowed him to meet it.

And when this reform has been accomplished, and criminals of this type are by legal process thus publicly declared to be outlaws, the morbid sympathy with the dock which, as Mr. Justice Wills has explained, now embarrasses a judge, will give place to a revolt against a system which allows such men to be again turned loose upon the community. And this again will lead to the establishment of what I have termed an asylum prison, in which the inmates shall be enabled to lead useful and not necessarily unhappy lives. Their presence in this world will thus be made a benefit instead of a curse to the community, and their hopes for the next world will certainly not be impaired by being rescued from temptations of a kind which they either will not or cannot overcome.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

THE CURSE OF CORSETS

SOME years since a series of experiments for the purpose of showing the effects of tight-lacing were made upon monkeys by an enterprising scientist. A number of miniature corsets, exactly similar to those worn by women, were fashioned to size, and a number of poor little creatures encased in them.

Their distress at the constriction and discomfort, their unceasing efforts to release themselves, did credit to their intellectual perception and sagacity. The physical results were as disastrous as they are instructive. For it was found that those which were corseted and laced at once to the regulation V-shape of fashionable woman died in the space of a few days, as though stricken by some mortal malady. Those in whose cases a more gradual process was adopted lived some weeks in sickness and suffering. Whilst others, the 'improvement' of whose figures extended over a still more lengthy period, did not succumb at all, showing that tolerance became established. But the tolerance was established obviously at the expense of health and happiness. These rudimental martyrs to a civilised vice fell off grievously in appetite and spirits. They were attacked by gastric and other internal disorders. They moped and lost flesh, alternating between extreme languor and marked nerve-irritability. Their tempers rendered them unapproachable, and although they did not die actually of stays, they died within a few months of some disorder of which stays with the health deterioration consequent on their use were the undoubted cause.

It might be imagined that the subject were by this time threadbare, that enough and to spare had been already said and written against corsets. But enough will never have been said or written until the evil has been exorcised.

For at the present moment the use of corsets is more universal than has hitherto been known. The extravagance of modern dress—an extravagance never before reached—is evidence enough were evidence needed of this. Dress has been given to woman to conceal her deficiencies, and to this end she employs it, beauty and dress assuming generally an inverse ratio the one to the other. Our women to-day are frilled and chiffoned to the eyes, are flounced and

furbelowed to the heels. Their *toupées* and love-locks come home in a box, or are the glorified apotheoses of tresses which lack the vitality to curl without the aid of pins or heated irons. The use of rouge, of powder and toilet accessories innumerable has at no time been so prevalent. The flush of our finger-tips, counterfeiting health, is the art of the manicure. Our modistes are taxed to the utmost in their necessity to simulate natural curves and to conceal unnatural deficiencies by means of folds and frillings. No doubt the wear and tear of modern life—the pace at which we live—has much to do with such physical decadence, but the deterioration is and has been largely hastened by the use of stays.

Formerly the practice of tight-lacing was confined almost entirely to the fashionable and leisured classes. Now it permeates the humblest levels of society. You shall not find a housemaid or kitchen-maid, a shop-girl or a little slave of all work, who does not pinch her waist to a morbid and ridiculous extent. The thing has become, indeed, a national evil, for these wasp-waisted, chlorotic beings are the mothers of the race. They who observe cannot fail to have been struck by that which may best be described as a blighting process which falls upon many developing girls. We see them half-grown, more or less shapeless healthy creatures with the promise of a fine maturity about them. We see them some years later and exclaim in disappointment. The fine promise has belied itself. Development has given place to retrogression.

The abnormal pressure upon vital organs which at this season is first put upon the girl has prevented the natural expansion and growth of liver and stomach and lungs, and of other internal organs whose proper and unhindered development is essential to the full growth of a human individual. Other influences doubtless are also at work, such as inherited degeneracy, over-education, and the strain civilisation puts upon young growing creatures; but the unfortunate girl would be more in a condition to cope with these were her digestive and blood-making capacities left free to answer to her body's needs. Growth is largely a question of nutrition. Thorns are abortive buds. Starve a man and you stunt his nature, he becomes dwarfed or lop-sided. His brain develops at the expense of his body, or his body develops at the expense of his brain. The balance of his powers is lost for the reason that his vitality is not enough for healthy, all-round growth. So, we manufacture degenerates—men and women top-heavy with mentality, because the brain has robbed the body; men and women over-weighted with animality, because the body has robbed the brain. As Herbert Spencer tells us: 'The unfolding of an organism after its special type has its approximately uniform course, taking its tolerably definite time, and no treatment that may be devised will fundamentally change or greatly accelerate these; the best that can be done is to maintain the required favour-

able conditions. *But it is quite easy to adopt a treatment which shall dwarf or deform, or otherwise injure; the processes of growth and development may be, and very often are, hindered or deranged, though they cannot be artificially bettered.* The 'hindering and deranging' which in this particular relation takes place is somewhat as follows.

The girl awakens in the morning, her expression calm, her features and outlines plumpened and rejuvenated by the even tide of blood which during sleep has been allowed to flow freely through her tissues. Her lungs and diaphragm have expanded, her liver, stomach, and other organs have relieved themselves in a measure from the cramped, congested state which is their daily normal. Her whole system is refreshed.

She rises, and forthwith proceeds to thwart the healthful expansive processes which have gone on during the night. She encases herself in an abnormality of steel and whalebone, compressing vital organs in an unyielding grip. The resulting sense of constriction, more irksome as every woman knows but too well in the morning, where it does not induce actual nausea at all events occasions a feeling of pressure destructive of appetite; so that after a fast of some twelve or fourteen hours, the girl, whose growing, hungry tissues clamour for fresh supplies, is unable to take the food her system badly needs to start the day upon. Or if she takes it the cramped organs can but ill assimilate it. As the duty of the stomach is to convert food into soluble nutrition which the blood may carry to the tissues, so the duty of the liver is to store the surplus of a meal and to discharge it slowly as the system calls for it. But the capacity of the constricted stomach is so encroached upon that it will not without pain or discomfort contain enough material for the needs of nutrition. Consequently only half enough or even less is taken. The abnormal pressure prevents the natural churning movements essential to assimilation. Added to which there is grave interference with nerve- and blood-supplies. Neither should it be supposed that digestive capacity can be gauged by the bulk of food swallowed. Digestion is a far more complex thing than this; a thing too complex, indeed, for organs hampered and degenerated by decades of constriction to achieve.

The storage power of the liver, intended for the provision of nourishment during such times as the stomach is empty, is encroached upon by so many square inches as the waist is diminished. Moreover, the blood-currents through this organ, whose duty it is to keep the blood in condition, are impeded and become sluggish, and in time its structure shrinks. The same shrinking and degeneration go on in the lungs, which are not permitted full expansion during the hours of action, the hours that is of deepest breathing. And all these conditions from being merely temporary become permanent, resulting in organic change and deterioration. The starved blood is

pallid, thin, and incapable of nourishing the tissues. These waste. The girl grows flat-chested and hollow-cheeked. Her ill-fed skin is dry and inelastic, and will early shrivel into wrinkles. At the same time the congestion and deterioration of internal organs result in lines and dragged furrows from the eyes and angles of the mouth. While she is yet a girl she has lost out of her face and figure nearly every curve and charm and softness that belongs to womanhood. For beauty is a luxury of Nature, it is something that is elaborated out of the surplus left over from the mere utilitarian demands of the body.

Her abdominal muscles microscopically examined will be found to have atrophied, the healthy muscle-cells being replaced by fattily degenerate cells for the reason that the supple support it was their function to supply has been abnormally and stiffly supplied by steel and whalebone, and they have wasted from disuse. Later in life they will probably yield altogether, the woman becoming the shapeless personage we regard as the norm of middle-age. With this atrophy and atony of external muscles there goes on an associated atrophy and atony of internal muscles, leading to results which custom does not permit us to discuss out of the pages of medical literature.

Dyspepsia may fairly be described as the feminine of digestion, to such an extent do women suffer from this most distressing and injurious of disabilities. Especially is this the case during girlhood. Just at the period when Nature is making great demands upon the resources, dyspepsia with its resulting starvation and impoverishment steps in. Development ceases, or if it continues does so at the expense of health. Either the girl never grows into a woman, or she grows into a sickly woman with ill-nourished and defective tissues. Her structure has been supplied from dyspeptic sources. Food which a capable digestion would have raised to its highest powers, supplying nutrition of the greatest efficiency, has, as a consequence of her poor assimilative capacity, rendered up only half or a third of its value. And this even at the cost of suffering. Small wonder that women's tongues and tempers are not all they should be! The satisfaction of healthy appetite, grateful and pleasing to a healthy organisation, is to the corseted one an ever-recurring source of pain and irritation.

Now the source of all power, physical or intellectual, being digestion, it follows that he who has the greatest capacity for turning food-stuff into energy is the person best equipped in life. Much depends of course upon the form into which the faculties further elaborate the energy derived from digestion, but digestion is the *fons et origo* of all capacity. Given a man with a good digestion and a capable brain, that man will assuredly (all other things being equal) accomplish more than another with an equally good intellectual organ and a poor digestion.

Woman, then, in impairing her assimilative power is impairing

her human power. She can never fairly keep up with man, whose assimilative capability, uninjured at all events by stays, is more according to his needs. It may be accepted indeed as fundamental truth that so long as women wear stays (for women seldom wear stays without lacing them too tightly) our sex can never properly take its place in the world of work. The inefficiency inseparable from anæmia and malnutrition may pass muster in homes where there is no standard of excellence, where the produce is not a marketable commodity but merely offspring, and where lack of capacity and 'nerves' do not affect the affairs of nations, but it will not stand the strain of competitive life. So long as one sex wantonly curtails its powers and the other sex does not, so long will the sex which does be heavily and insuperably handicapped.

It may be objected that woman is to-day stronger and more athletic than she has ever been. But it must not be forgotten that not even in man, and certainly not in woman, is muscular capacity a test of health. On the contrary, its possession in very marked degree is one of the symptoms of degeneracy. And whatsoever may be advanced in evidence of modern woman's muscularity, it cannot be denied that she is physically immature. She may be tall, she may be sturdy and capable of great athletic feats, but is she womanly? The term is hard to define. Womanliness is not a thing of inches, nor of muscles, nor of strength, but in human and intrinsic value far superior to these: without it any member of the sex, be she as tall, as strong, and as muscular as she may be, is immature—has fallen short in her development. In so far as she is not womanly she approximates the masculine type, and approximates it only in its cruder attributes. The blight of arrested growth has fallen upon her, and the fact that this arrested growth is not necessarily attended by muscular incompetence makes it none the less a blight.

The writer can affirm without reservation that of the women she has known who have reached the highest ideals of their sex in mind and body, of those also who have preserved their youth and beauty into advanced years, each one has been a woman who has not worn stays, or has not at all events employed them as a means of constriction.

In these days girls no longer marry in their teens (for which posterity will have every reason to be thankful), so that the preservation of good looks is indicated for a longer period than formerly. The haggardness and peevish furrows, the sallowness and pallor, the 'nerves' and waspish temper, to say nothing of the angularity resulting from unnatural compression and its attendant malnutrition, show themselves in the well (?) be-corseted long before the average age of marriage.

Once women realise this fact, that the expedient of tight-lacing, which they so short-sightedly adopt in the interests of their appearance; is in truth the most cruel and absolute destroyer of beauty

that could have been devised, then maybe the practice will be threatened.

That a leopard will change his spots or women discard the use of stays in the course of one generation is not to be expected. Progress is far too slow a thing for that. Even the platform of woman's rights is an object-lesson in wasp-waistedness.

But if women will not themselves abandon this abomination of tight-lacing, with its multiple miseries and race-deterioration, at least they should so far yield to scientific representation as to preserve their growing girls from the cruelty entailed in injured health, arrested growth, abortive womanhood, and restricted power.

One cannot prevent a person come to years which stand for discretion from distorting her figure and spoiling her health, but public opinion should speak plainly and irresistibly, paternal authority should be exerted if need be, to rescue the already too fragile and devitalised girls of our day from this barbarity of corsets, which their own ignorance or the culpable ignorance or callousness of mothers puts upon them. One hears always the same cry, 'The stays are not tight!' Tolerance, doubtless, as in the case of the monkeys, becomes established, but the tolerance is at the expense of pinched degenerating organs and arrested growth.

That the stays are indeed tight is shown by the fact that although the physique and internal organs expand in every other direction, the waist of adult woman *is actually less than that of the girl between ten and twelve*. Moreover, it has been found that the waists of young women released from the abnormal bondage of corsets, described as 'not the least bit tight,' expand in the course of a few months to the extent of some *three to seven inches*. The female waist is naturally *two inches larger* than that of a male of corresponding height and weight. Yet the waist of woman unnaturally compressed is a very great many inches smaller, as we know, than that of her masculine fellow.

The medical aspects of the case, the displacement and disease of most important organs and the disastrous consequences to health, can only be suggested here. But the external physical decadence is a sign on the face of modern woman indicative of grave internal havoc.

Let man, who rails at the proneness of a gentler sex to back-biting, scandal, and pitiful spites, try for himself what it means to spend a day in well-laced corsets, a summer's day preferably, when the blood-vessels respond to the dilating warmth. How much amiability, tolerance, or generous feeling will he succeed in manufacturing during such a day?

It would serve him for a liberal education, and temper for ever after his strange masculine and inartistic enthusiasm for wasp-waists. For it would prove to him once and for all time the cost at which the nineteen inches he applauds are gained. Also, it would

bring home to him forcibly how much more delectable a place the world would be to live in, freer from jars and sordid bickerings, 'incompatibilities' and disunion, were woman but released from this her weariest burden, were she permitted to reach the full and healthy development of her womanhood, instead of remaining the immature, half-developed (though possibly muscular) being she is to-day. There is no doubt that dress is the charity which covereth multiple grievous deficiencies. The average woman, clothed as fashion clothes her, presents, I confess, an exterior pleasing to our artificial and acquired tastes. Unclothed—alas! she is that to make the physiologist and artist weep.

ARABELLA KENEALY.

JADE

WITH the Chinese, jade has been prized from time immemorial as the stone *par excellence*, and is familiar in name and appearance to all. It is indeed said that the legendary Emperor Yao, who flourished in the Golden Age, some two thousand three hundred and fifty years before our era, would have none of it; and that when a tribute of jade was laid before him, he ordered the attendants to throw it away. It is also said that the Great Yü, who came to the throne about one hundred and fifty years later, after draining the empire of an inundation, preferred an inch of time to a foot of jade, referring, of course, to the sun-dial; but still the broad fact remains that with the vast masses of the Chinese people, jade always has occupied the highest place as a jewel. In addition, it may be fairly stated that every woman in China wears at least one ornament of jade, which, if not the genuine article, is at any rate a good imitation.

Jade is frequently mentioned in the Confucian Canon. In the *Book of History*, written at least seven hundred years B.C., and edited later on by Confucius, we read of jade tablets, which the feudal chiefs of early days received in token of the authority delegated to them.

In the *Odes*, collected and edited by Confucius, we have the famous lines which assign these same jade tablets as playthings for sons and only tiles as playthings for girls, and from which it has been too hastily inferred that the Chinese have themselves admitted their absolute contempt for women in general. Yet this idea never really entered into the mind of the writer. The jade tablet, it is true, was a symbol of rule; but the tile, so far from being a mere potsherd implying discourtesy, was also an honourable symbol of domesticity, being used in ancient times as a weight for the spindle. Not to mention that between the second and eighth centuries of our era women were admitted to official life, and several actually rose to high rank.

In the *Book of Rites*, which dates from the first century B.C., we are warned not to hurry when carrying jade, but to drag the feet on the ground, and to hold the jade with both hands; also, when drinking from a jade cup not to throw away the dregs, lest the cup accidentally go with them. Hence the saying that the superior man should behave as if holding jade, *q.d.*, with caution.

In the *History of the Han Dynasty* we are told that to fail to educate scholars, and yet to expect a supply of able men, is like omitting to cut and polish jade, and yet to expect it to be artistic and beautiful.

Jade has formed the subject of many poems, and is frequently used as a rhetorical figure in verse and prose, and in common sayings or proverbs. The great poet Li Po declared that several bushels of jade were not to be compared in value with one bushel of maize. Schoolboys are told that a fault in jade can be ground away, but not a fault in speech (*verbum irrevocabile*). In times of scarcity, food is likened to jade; we read of 'jade brothers and gold friends'; the chief deity in the Taoist Pantheon is called 'The Jade Ruler, God'; the 'jade girl' is a polite way of saying 'your daughter'; and one friend will write to another asking him 'not to spare his jade footsteps,' *i.e.*, not to be an infrequent visitor.

Of legendary lore which has gathered around jade, there is no end. One precious piece is mentioned as giving out a bright light; thrown into water it would swim, and its light remain unextinguished. Another, which had a corner broken off, bled for a fortnight. On a third, flies would not settle; a fourth was highly scented, and so on. We further hear of twelve discs of jade inscribed with the twelve horary characters, and used for telling the time. Placed in a bowl of water, they would rise in turn to the surface and float for a period of two hours each, into twelve of which the Chinese day is divided. There is also the famous story of the fabulous animal known as the *ch'i lin* (or *kilin*), which appeared at the village gate just before Confucius was born, holding in its mouth a tablet of jade inscribed with the following prophetic words: 'The son of the essence of water shall succeed to the decaying Chou dynasty, and be an Uncrowned King.'

We are now face to face with the question: 'What is jade?'—a question frequently heard since the siege of the Legations at Peking. Here is a Chinese answer: 'Jade is the quintessence of Heaven and Earth. It is marked with the dark hues of the hills, with the blue tints of streams. It is white as sliced lard, red as a cock's comb, black as pure lacquer, and yellow as a cooked chestnut.' Some writers add a fifth colour, 'crimson as rouge.'

Nearer perhaps to the mark for western readers will be the following rough details, gathered from conversation with Professor Lewis of Cambridge. The term jade, as popularly employed, includes two minerals, jadeite and nephrite. The specific gravity of jadeite is about 3.1; that of nephrite 2.9. The fusing point of jadeite is much lower than that of nephrite. By the mere process of handling and inspection it is impossible to tell one from the other.

The Chinese, who until recent times have known nothing of specific gravity, test jade by its hardness: 'Jade is hard and veined;

fire and steel can do it no injury.' Again, 'If your jade is white as pig's lard, and rings when struck, then it is genuine. There are so many substances which resemble jade that it is necessary to discriminate carefully.' Another writer says, 'Genuine jade is soft-looking and glossy, as though steeped in some kind of fat. On being struck it gives forth a clear ringing sound like a bell, which seems to stop and then goes on again, dying away in the distance and gradually.' The Chinese classify jade according to colour and *provenance*: 'The best kind of jade,' says one writer, 'is orange yellow; the second-best is the colour of mutton-fat; the next best is yellow, which is not easy to obtain; then comes white.' Among the rest is a stone, called by the Chinese *fei ts'ui*, from its resemblance in colour to the plumage of the kingfisher, which appears to be chrysoprase, and is now very highly prized. White jade with black or smoke-like streaks also commands fancy prices; though, of course, all really depends, as will presently appear, upon the treatment by the artist of well-selected material.

A disciple is said to have asked Confucius why jade was held to be more precious than prehnite, a stone, by the way, which Chinese experts say can 'easily be mistaken for jade.'¹ 'Is it,' he asked, 'because the former is scarce and the latter more abundant?' 'Prehnite,' replied Confucius, 'is not despised because it is more abundant, neither is jade valued because it is scarce. In the olden days a superior man took jade as a symbol of virtue. Suave and gentle in appearance, it symbolises charity of heart; close-grained and firm, it symbolises wisdom; sharp without doing injury, duty to one's neighbour; hanging down as if weighted, decorum; when struck, it yields a clear and prolonged note which gradually dies away, symbolising music; its flaws do not obscure its beauties, nor do its beauties obscure its flaws, symbolising loyalty; there is an air of confiding trust emanating from it, which symbolises truth; it is like a bright rainbow, symbolising heaven; its energies are apparent in the hills and streams, symbolising earth; among insignia of office it holds the chief place, symbolising excellence; and beneath the sky there is no one who does not value it—a symbol of the True Path.'

Elsewhere we read, 'The superior man may be compared with jade. If there is a flaw in jade, it can be seen from the outside; and in like manner a superior man will not conceal his faults.'

Everything in China of any rarity whatever is quite certain to be dragged into the pharmacopœia of the Chinese physician. Jade is no exception to the rule. It may be swallowed as a powder, or in little pieces the size of hemp-seed, for various stomachic complaints; even

¹ Professor Lewis showed me a piece in the shape of a book, which was quite indistinguishable from jade. The Chinese term *min* has been translated by 'alabaster' and by 'soapstone,' both of which, however, can be scratched with the finger-nail.

pock-marks and scars may be obliterated by being daily rubbed with a piece of pure jade. It is also considered to be of a very moist nature, and we read of an Imperial favourite of the eighth century who was cured of excessive thirst by holding a fish-shaped piece of jade in her mouth. And so when the tomb of the great commander, Ts'ao Ts'ao, third century A.D., was opened two hundred years after his death, among the usual objects found in such circumstances was a large silver bowl full of water. That the water had not dried up was accounted for by the presence in the bowl of a jade boy three feet in height.

'Between A.D. 847 and 860' [says a well-known miscellany] 'a Japanese "prince" came to do homage. He was good at *wei-ch'i*, and the Emperor ordered a chamberlain to play a game with him. Thereupon the prince produced a Japanese board made of *catalpa* jade and hot and cold jade pips; that is, the jade of the board was the green hue of the *catalpa* tree, while the hot and cold pips were warm to the touch in winter, and cold in summer.'

Jade is chiefly brought from the K'un-lun² or Koulkun range, between the Desert of Gobi and Tibet; from Khoten or Ilchi in Yarkand; and from Lan-t'ien on the Belurtagh mountains, still farther to the west. This Lan-t'ien has been confused by Chinese writers with another Lan-t'ien in the province of Shensi, near the city of Hsi-an, whither the Chinese Court fled in August 1900, upon the relief of Peking. In the tenth century A.D. the latter was actually known as the Jade-Hills district, though it does not appear that any jade has ever been found there.

One writer says: 'When white jade is very good, you can see your face in it as in a mirror. White jade comes from Chiao-chou; green jade comes from the Dwarf nation (Japan); and red jade from Korea.'

In one writer we read:

'About a thousand miles south of Khoten is Yü Chou (Jade District), where much jade is found on the hills. The river which rises there and runs to Khoten forks into three; the eastern branch is called the river of white jade, the western branch is called the river of green jade, and the extreme western branch is called the river of black jade. All these three contain jade, but the colour varies in each case. Every year in autumn, when the water is dried up, the King of the country collects jade, and after him the people generally are allowed to collect.'

This account, however, has been set aside, so far as black jade is concerned, as a mere traveller's tale; and at the same time the river, with only *two* branches, has been transferred to the Belurtagh range. The famous Chinese Buddhist, Hsüan Tsang, who travelled overland to India in the seventh century A.D., says: 'At Khoten there is a jade lake, where every year on the 5th of the 5th month, everybody, from the king down to the common people,

² The name given to jade by the Kitan Tartars was *Ku Wen* = *K'un*, evidently from the name of the mountains.

goes to collect jade. Whenever any one takes out a round piece, he throws in a round stone.'

Jade of five colours was said to come from 'Ta Ch'in,' the country of many identifications, shown perhaps conclusively by Professor Hirth to have been the Roman province of Syria.

As regards colour, it is again necessary to correct previous quotations by another from an apparently more sober writer :

Jade occurs only in two colours, white and green. Specimens of red and yellow jade, so called, are in reality other stones, equal perhaps in value to jade, but not actually jade. All jade in its natural state is found in the rocky bed of a flowing stream. Before it has been removed from its place, the jade inside the rough block is as soft as cotton-wool ; but when removed it becomes hard at once, and when exposed to the air still harder.³ It is inaccurate to speak, as is done, of working soft jade. The outside of a block of jade in its natural state is called 'jade-skin.' It is used for ink-slabs and trays, and is of no great value. Of old, if the jade within the outer covering was over a foot square, and without flaw, it was used for the Imperial seals. This is what was meant by 'the jewel worth several cities,' and is not easy to obtain.⁴ If about five or six inches square, and without flaw, the jade was made into cups and goblets, which are now also very valuable. Besides these, there is a strange variety which comes from So-li (?). Ordinarily it is white, but if examined in fine weather it will flash red, and in dark rainy weather it is green.⁵ It may be called the jade goblin, and is found in Korea. On the T'ai-wei hills in the north-west of Korea there is a deposit a thousand years old, the jade in which is mutton-fat colour, much like the best specimens from the Belurtagh mountains. Although much is written and said about other kinds, I have never seen them.

The reader will now appreciate the old Chinese story of a man who found on the mountains a rough block of jade in its 'skin,' and hastened to present it to his Prince. The stone was declared to be false, and he was sentenced to have his left foot cut off as an impostor. When the next Prince came to the throne, he presented the stone again and with a similar result, this time losing his right foot. Yet a third Prince succeeded, and once more he submitted his stone, weeping tears of blood, not, as he said, for the loss of his feet, but because a genuine stone had been pronounced false, and a loyal subject an impostor. The block was once more tested, one account says 'broken open,' and at length discovered to be a valuable gem.

Considering the extreme hardness of jade, it is a marvel to see what exquisitely cut and highly polished objects are turned out from the workshop. In the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* we

³ It is notable that Hermann von Schlagintweit, who inspected the quarries in the Kara-Kash valley, found that the hardness of the stone when freshly broken was considerably less than that assumed by it after a short exposure. *Heinrich Fischer*.

⁴ Referring to a story of several cities offered for a famous jewel by one feudal State to another.

⁵ A piece, said to fulfil these conditions, was taken from the Summer Palace in 1860, and is now in the possession of the son of the late Hon. A. K. Whampoa, C.M.G., of Singapore.

read that the second Emperor said to his trusted Minister Wei Chêng (*d.* A.D. 643):

Although jade, as a substance, is so beautiful, in its uncut state, unground and unpolished by the skilled artisan, it is not distinguishable from rubble in general; but if it does fall into the hands of some skilled artisan, then it becomes a prized jewel for a thousand generations.

Some centuries before our era, there was a man who carved for his feudal Prince a piece of jade into the form of a mulberry-leaf. He spent three years over the job, and when it was finished, the leaf was so perfect in detail—stalk, veins, and even hairy spikelets—that when mixed up with other mulberry leaves, no one could say which was the imitation. The artisan was richly rewarded; but the philosopher of the day is said to have remarked, 'If God Almighty spent three years over every leaf, there would be scant foliage on the trees. Therefore,' he added, 'the wise man puts his trust in the processes of Nature, and not in cunning or ingenuity.'

There is a verse in the *Odes* which runs, 'The stone of other hills can be used to work jade'; upon which a well-known commentator remarks, 'Two pieces of jade rubbed together will not make anything; but if jade is rubbed with stone, then the former can be fashioned into shape.'

Su Tung-p'o, a famous poet and statesman of the eleventh century, writes:

Genuine jade is very scarce nowadays. It cannot be defined as 'that which fire and steel will not touch, but which can be cut with sand,' for this applies equally to prehnite. I have been told by an old jade-worker that if porcelain-dust from T'ing-chou (in Chihli) will not touch it, then that is real jade, but I cannot vouch for the truth of this.

In a work already quoted, there is an illustration of an artisan employed in cutting jade. The following remarks accompany the picture:

When a block of uncut jade has to be cut, fuse some iron and make it into a disc. Take a basin of water, and fill it with sand. With the aid of a treadle cause the disc to revolve, feeding it with sand, and in a short time the jade will be cut through. The sand used in China for cutting jade comes from Yü-t'ien (jade fields) in the Shun-tien Prefecture, and also from Chêng-ting and Hsing-t'ai (all in Chihli). This sand is not found in any river, but issues from springs. It is as impalpable as flour, and is used for working jade, suffering no diminution by waste. When the jade is cut skilled labour is further necessary, and tools of *pin* steel (brought from Hami in Kansuh), with which it may be formed into various shapes.

Another authority says:

A worker in jade must use sand from the Hsing river (Hsing-t'ai, as above, is probably meant). The implements for carving and engraving must be what are called 'diamond awls,' for jade is the hardest stone under the canopy of heaven.

With regard to the results achieved, one writer says, 'Although

all the best jade goes to Peking, in point of workmanship the palm must be given to Soochow.'

These results are exhibited in manifold beautiful objects of use and ornament. What the bamboo is to the ordinary Chinaman, providing him as it does with almost every imaginable article required by the social conditions of China, that jade is to the connoisseur and man of refinement, if within somewhat narrower limits. It has been made into snuff-bottles, cups, plates, bows, bracelets, earrings, vases, boxes, inkstones, flutes, pestles and mortars, seals, ear-stoppers, sceptres (so-called), pillows, boats, hairpins, rings, head ornaments, paper-weights, Buddhas, human figures, beasts, birds, fishes, etc., etc. It is recorded in an account of Ch'ang-an, formerly the capital of China, that because the Lady Li, favourite of the day (second century B.C.), scratched her head with a jade pin, all the ladies of the harem must necessarily have jade pins to scratch their heads with, and that consequently the price of jade was rapidly doubled. Another work tells us of a jade whip presented to the Emperor, of such flexibility that its two ends could be made to touch. Elsewhere we read of two bowls which would revolve one within the other, but could not be separated—evidently an anticipation of the familiar breakfast-dish. The great Mongol general, Bayan, while digging a well at Khoten, is said to have come across a statue of Buddha three or four feet in height; also a block of white jade, too big to be carried away. In the account of Ch'ang-an, quoted above, there is a note on a green jade lamp-stand 7 feet 5 in. in height, with five branches, around each of which was coiled a dragon, holding a lamp in its mouth.

Ear-stoppers of jade are mentioned in the *Odes*. Some Chinese commentators think that they were worn merely for ornament, but it seems quite probable that they were intended to keep out dust.

Occasionally a stanza of poetry is carved on a jade saucer or snuff-bottle, and if the object is very old and has been much used, the characters are often difficult to decipher. In such cases a little Indian ink, smeared over and then lightly rubbed off, will cause the writing to stand out clearly.

Of all forms into which jade has been wrought, the most interesting perhaps is that popularly and inaccurately known as the 'sceptre.' In shape it is something like an elongated S laid on its side, with a well-defined hilt and guard, like those of a sword; and its Chinese name is *ju i* = as you wish. It is a common form of present between well-to-do persons. Davis says, 'That it had a religious origin seems indicated by the sacred flower of the lotus being generally carved on the superior end.' Franks calls it 'the sceptre of longevity.' The gist, however, of all that the Chinese have to say on the subject may be briefly summed up. The earliest

mention of the *ju i* in Chinese literature seems to be an allusion in a biography of a statesman who died in A.D. 243, after which the term becomes fairly well known; but it is not until the thirteenth century that any writer discusses it from an archæological point of view. In a work of that date we read, 'The men of old used the *ju i* for pointing or indicating, and also for guarding themselves against the unforeseen. It was made of wrought iron, and was over two feet in length, ornamented with patterns in silver either inlaid or overlaid. Of late years, branches of trees, which have grown into the shape required, and also pieces of bamboo, highly polished to resemble jade, and prepared without the aid of hatchet or awl, have been very much in vogue.'

In support of the first clause of the above, we find in history such passages as (fifth century): 'The Emperor pointed at him with his *ju i*, and said'; 'The Emperor rapped on the table with his *ju i* in token of approbation,' &c.

With reference to the material used for the *ju i*, we further read of jade, gold, rhinoceros-horn, bone, red sandal-wood, crystal, and amber; and from the employment of several of these substances it must be inferred that the *ju i* had already ceased to be a weapon of defence against 'the unforeseen.' The prevalence of the lotus-flower as a decoration is due of course to the influence of Buddhism, but is scarcely sufficient evidence of 'a religious origin.'

A *ju i* of dark green jade, 17 inches in length, was recently sold by Mr. J. C. Stevens for eleven guineas. Such a piece might easily be worth 100 guineas in China.

A fitting conclusion to this desultory note may be found in a verse by an old Chinese poet:

Here is beautiful jade,
There is a skilled artisan;
The man is all to the stone,
The stone is as naught to the man.

HERBERT A. GILES.

A WHITE AUSTRALIA: WHAT IT MEANS

To the mind of Australians it is abundantly clear that the significance of the reasons which led them to adopt their national watchword, 'A White Australia for the Race,' has not yet been fully grasped by their brothers of the blood beyond the seas. The Press of Great Britain seems unable to sympathise with the vehemence of Antipodean feeling in this regard, and her statesmen—with some notable exceptions—profess amazement at what they consider the arrogance of a handful of white men, most of whom are clustered on the eastern fringe of a vast and partially-explored continent, in attempting to stem the tide of foreign immigration, which until a comparatively recent period was allowed to flow freely towards their shores. In Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, both the people and their Parliaments are united in regarding the policy of excluding undesirable aliens as one of more vital importance than the settlement of the tariff or any other national question. Come what may, they are determined to realise the ideals on which the Commonwealth was founded, to prevent any large infiltration of alien elements into the component parts of their national life, and to preserve pure for ever the British stock with which they started. This is no sudden *furor*, no mere party cry. From the sun-baked expanse of the Northern Territory to Tasmania, 'The Garden of the South,' across the continent from Sydney to Perth, round a coast line of 8,000 miles, and over a thousand miles of the South Pacific to the snow-capped mountains of New Zealand, comes the voice of a new nation—insignificant in point of numbers, but unalterably resolved that the Commonwealth shall be established on the firm basis of unity of race, so as to enable it to fulfil the designs of its founders—'stern men with empire in their brains'—and enjoy to the fullest extent their charter of liberty under the Crown.

Australians are so fully alive to the imperious necessity of increasing the number of their populations, that they spare no efforts to attract desirable emigrants from European countries. To every man whose standard of living and general social tone are not inferior to their own, they freely offer of their best. Land is sold or leased on generous terms, and bonuses will be given to encourage the pro-

motion of new industries. Practically, but one condition is imposed—the new arrivals must not be markedly inferior in *morale* to the present possessors, who regard themselves merely as holding a distant outpost of civilisation for the benefit of their descendants and their equals.

Australia occupies a unique position among the nations. It is an island, lying far from the populated centres of the Old World and in close proximity to Java and the teeming millions of Southern and Eastern Asia, who at any time may bear down in flood upon the scanty forces of the defenders. These pent-up myriads are at present in a state of unrest, and there are evidences of a distinct inclination on their part to break bounds and descend upon the coasts of the great southern land. On the north-eastern shores of the continent they have already broken through the thin red line of the British, and have firmly established themselves in the country beyond. Thursday Island, which stands at the northern entrance of the passage between the Great Barrier Reef and the shores of Queensland, has been styled the Gibraltar of Australia, and large sums of money have been spent by the Imperial and Australian Governments in fortifying it. Since it became open to the Eastern nations, the Japanese have discovered twenty different channels through the reef, by any one of which they could avoid the forts and gain an entrance to the sea within the barrier. A few years ago there were 2000 Europeans on Thursday Island, engaged in the pearl-shelling industry; but they were gradually elbowed out until to-day they number less than 100.

The late Professor C. H. Pearson, at one time Minister for Education in Victoria, and one of the most intellectual statesmen who ever resided in Australia, in his *National Life and Character*, admirably summarised the dangers to which his adopted country was exposed by reason of its situation, and the motives which actuated the various colonial Governments in passing enactments designed to place some restriction on the wholesale flooding of their territories.

The fear of Chinese immigration which the Australian democracy cherishes, and which Englishmen at home find it hard to understand, is, in fact, the instinct of self-preservation, quickened by experience. We know that coloured and white labour cannot exist side by side; we are well aware that China can swamp us with a single year's surplus of population; and we know that if national existence is sacrificed to the working of a few mines and sugar plantations, it is not the Englishmen in Australia alone, but the whole civilised world that will be the losers. Transform the northern half of our continent into a Natal, with thirteen out of fourteen belonging to an inferior race, and the southern half will speedily approximate to the condition of the Cape Colony, where the whites are indeed a masterful minority, but still only as one in four. We are guarding the last part of the world in which the higher races can live and increase freely for the higher civilisation. It is idle to say that if all this should come to pass our pride of place will not be humiliated. We are struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought as destined to belong to the Aryan race and to the

Christian faith, to the letters and arts and charm of social manners which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs.

If it were necessary to reinforce this impressive warning by drawing a lesson from the past, it might be shown that Australia is not the first instance on record of a Mongolian irruption. Once before—in prehistoric times, if the theories of craniologists are to be trusted—the yellow peoples overflowed their boundaries and never stopped until they reached the western shores of Ireland, leaving many a grave and grassy barrow of their dead in the British Isles to attest how irresistible was their onset. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

According to the last census, the population of the six Federated States of Australia—including aborigines—is 3,771,715, of whom only 1,307,809 are males over fifteen years of age, so that barely one million have reached manhood's estate. The same statistics show that there are 33,231 Chinese resident in the Commonwealth, in addition to many thousands of Japanese, Kanakas, Javanese, Cingalese, Malays, and a motley horde of other coloured races, the total being estimated at 100,000. New South Wales, Queensland, and the Northern Territory, being the regions lying nearest the invaders, have suffered most severely from their irruption, Queensland alone showing an increase of over seven thousand since the last census. Exclusive of aborigines, the yellow and brown races constitute 10·95 per thousand of the population of New South Wales and 47·59 per thousand in Queensland, while in the Northern Territory they have more than gained a footing; they are in an absolute majority.¹ The Chinese influx into Victoria reached its maximum in 1859, when they numbered 45,000; since that year they have gradually diminished to about 7000. These 45,000, however, did not leave Australia. The greater part of them lived their lives out among the whites and died beneath the Southern Cross, leaving behind them their dry bones for transhipment to China, and a tribe of hybrid descendants.

Under favourable conditions, the future Australian race should be a blend of the four constituents which make up the population of Great Britain, and it may be that in two or three generations hence it will be difficult to find under the Southern Cross anyone of pure English or Scottish descent whose family has been a hundred years on Australian soil. There is much intermarriage between the different British elements, and this is leading rapidly to the welding of the various colonists and their descendants into a homogeneous whole. A small German element, more noticeable in South Australia and Queensland than in the other States, may be disregarded, as it is

¹ Coghlan, Government Statist, New South Wales, 1901-2.

being absorbed and soon will leave no trace of its existence beyond a few Teutonic surnames rudely anglicised. At home much the same process of assimilation is going on, but with one important difference. Her position and climate render Australia peculiarly liable to be made the resort of coloured people of low morality and social development—'vacant of our glorious gains'; on the other hand, England's position and climate make such a disaster not only unlikely but really impossible. It is true that in the vicinity of the docks a Londoner may see a few Lascars—'Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd'—and occasionally a Chinaman or an African negro; to an Australian, whether on city street, goldfield, or station, they are a daily sight. Chinese market-gardeners and hawkers with pack and swinging baskets, swarthy Afghan and Hindoo peddlers, or diminutive Japanese meet him at every turn. Hardly less familiar to him is the sight of the snaky hair, pallid features, and almond eyes of the Chinese half-breed.

Speaking generally, the coloured aliens are inferior to the whites in physique and morals and low in the social scale. It is important to note that they are nearly all male adults, less than one per cent. of them being married to women of their own race. The inevitable result has occurred: the higher race has begun to deteriorate and in parts to disappear. This tendency to degeneration which always accompanies an intermingling of races widely separated in the social scale—'Reversion ever dragging Evolution in the mud'—has been most strongly marked in the northern portion of Queensland, where it is not uncommon to find in the State schools as many children of half-yellow or half-brown complexions as of white. But although a polyglot population is more numerous in Queensland than in any other State of the Commonwealth, the Asiatic canker-spot makes its appearance everywhere. Scourges such as small-pox, bubonic plague, and leprosy have been introduced, and Europeans have been familiarised with the debasing effects of opium-smoking and other vices peculiar to the East; while the lunatic asylums, gaols, and charitable institutions contain a large percentage of aliens, who become a charge on the public purse and contribute little or nothing to the national revenue.

The States of Australia entertain no shadow of doubt that the effect of the Asiatic influx is to impair seriously the purity of the dominant race, and it is this which aroused them, even before Federation, to adopt legislation of a stringently restrictive cast. Dispassionately viewed, what has been called the insularity of the Australians is thus the outcome of a patriotic desire to secure their race from contamination and to preserve the country for a stock substantially the same as that from which they sprang. Desirable immigrants are not subjected to any test, and the only people at whom restrictive enactments are aimed are those who are not fit

to constitute the life-blood of the best nations. The Chinese and Japanese who arrive belong to the lower classes, and are the least educated and least informed of their own countrymen. It is not the highly cultured who come; the number of the latter could be counted on the fingers of both hands. The expressed aim of Australians is to preserve 'the crimson thread of kinship,' and build up a nation which will be a source of strength to the Empire of which they form a part; to see it become the home of a free people, not the abode of a people on whom the franchise could not be conferred; and to keep the blood-tie pure. 'Our aspiration,' exclaimed one of the Commonwealth representatives, 'is to be free for all time from the contamination and degrading influences of inferior races.' Australia, in effect, is engaged in a struggle for a higher and a fuller life, and has determined that she will not suffer any black or tinted race to come in and block the path of progress. Her ambition is to rear a strong and stalwart people, and to better the lot of the masses, who are at the base of every social structure, by making the conditions of life as good as possible. 'Better,' said a potent voice in her first national Parliament, 'better to leave our resources undeveloped than develop them by coloured labour, which is only cheap because of the lower conditions of life accepted by labourers who degrade the social tone of the whole community.' There is no selfishness in endeavouring to preserve Australia as a heritage for the white races—not exclusively, be it remembered, for the Anglo-Saxon race—unless it be the selfishness of patriotism, since it aims at nothing which has not a place in the creeds of the greatest of Englishmen. It is a policy dictated by common-sense and prudence, and based on the best interests of humanity. But, by reason of time and place, the mode of expression is different, and thus it is that many who have no knowledge of the Empire beyond the Southern Counties of England fail to understand why the Australians, like their forebears of the North, strive mightily for a

pale and white-fac'd shore,
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
And coops from other lands her islanders.

The Greater Britain that is to be may be the best security for the Mother Land in years to come, and her natural ally and friend. Australian statesmen claim that they are not only safeguarding British interests, but also legislating for posterity and looking forward to the time—perhaps a century hence—when the population of the Commonwealth may be one hundred millions or even more.

We are in a position [said Sir William McMillan, one of the Federal representatives of New South Wales] between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world, and we have a Western origin with an Eastern destiny. It is absolutely necessary for the freedom of England—for the upholding of the British flag in the Pacific, and for the future power of the English-speaking

people—that we should keep this fortress in the Pacific true to the British race. Is not this country open to the surplus millions of Great Britain and Ireland? We do not desire to exclude any man of European origin. We are holding this continent for the possession of millions of English people in the future.

Another speaker—a Victorian—summed up Australian hopes and fears in these eloquent words:

We have not entered into this magnificent Commonwealth, received this unexampled Constitution, and gone to all the expense, trouble, and labour of erecting this splendid establishment, in order to allow inferior races to come in, and not only share our prosperity against our will, but ultimately, perhaps, to destroy it. . . . It is not because these aliens are black, or because they are Japanese, that we exclude them; but because, being black or Japanese, they are by nature and environment so imbued with certain qualities and characteristics that their presence here would be incongruous with our civilisation and detrimental to our development.

At the present time the Australian race is in a plastic condition, and whether it will become, as Marcus Clarke predicted, ‘a fierce and turbulent democracy, sweeping contemporary civilisation before it,’ or, as seems more probable, a practical and enlightened people, troubles it little. Leaders and followers of every political cast, Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals, have now but one national ideal—Purity of Race. They recognise that hybrids cannot make a great nation; that an infusion of Chinese, Japanese, or Indo-Chinese blood must result in race deterioration; and that, if they are to live happily and prosperously, it must be with no strangers within their gates other than those of Caucasian descent who are able to conform to the conditions and customs of civilised communities. For all such Australia has ample room and verge enough, but she refuses to welcome races that are incapable of assimilation and alien in language and aspiration. The teachings of the past and the experience of other lands have not been lost upon her statesmen; they desire to avoid the racial hatred and troubles of the United States, where the presence of 13,000,000 of Afra-Americans constitutes a problem which baffles the acutest intellects of that great nation; and they are determined that their country shall neither be degraded to the level of some of the South American republics, where the cross-breeding of Spaniards and Indians has resulted so disastrously to the higher race, nor made the theatre of a conflict for supremacy between two or more nationalities. It is not simply a question of colour; it is a question of difference of civilisation; it is not so much the protection of wages that is sought—though the economic danger is undoubtedly a grave one—as the protection of blood and the preservation of society. As far back as 1888, the late Sir Henry Parkes, then Premier of New South Wales, in moving the second reading of the Chinese Restriction Act, declared that a young country could not maintain the fabric of its liberties unimpaired if it admitted into its population any class of person whatever ‘whom

we are not prepared to advance to all our franchises, to all our privileges of citizens, and all our social rights, including the rights of marriage'; and there can be no question that in using these last words he laid his finger on the principal seat of the disease. Western institutions, especially that of Parliamentary representation, are absolutely foreign to Asiatics, and marriage—in the true sense—is equally impossible. The issue of such unions are hybrids, and the Spanish-American republics and certain parts of Australia afford melancholy proof that hybrids reproduce the vices of both parents and the virtues of neither. Coloured aliens rarely bring their women with them, but consorting with white females beget the most undesirable class a country can have. From Thursday Island to Townsville, there is not a port in which cannot be found people in whose veins runs a mixture of Caucasian, Hindoo, Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Kanaka, and Malayan blood. Their immediate forefathers were men each of a different race; their mothers women of cloudy descent; themselves degenerates in intellect and morals, and their presence on Australian soil a source of constant irritation to the higher race. Nor is this all. Half-bred Chinese, the offspring of a Chinese father and a British mother, are to be met with throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and, though they are in general people of some intelligence, they are either contemptuously ignored by the white population, or treated with open contumely. From inclination or stress of circumstances, they almost invariably live apart from the Europeans in their own quarter, which, in the towns is usually called 'Chinatown' and on the goldfields 'the Chinese Camp.' In Sydney whole streets have had to be abandoned to the Chinese and the half-breeds, or 'half-castes' as the latter are usually styled by the populace, and the slums of Little Bourke Street and other parts of Melbourne have an evil reputation only rivalled by the Chinatown of San Francisco, where 50,000 yellow men seethe in a hotbed of vice and squalor. It was the knowledge of these facts, and that the efforts of the individual States to shut out undesirable immigrants had proved ineffective owing to lack of unity in action, that gave such a powerful impetus to Federation and caused a universal determination to preserve the purity and maintain the predominance of the white races in Australia.

In thus seeking to establish what may be called the Monroe doctrine of the Commonwealth, Australia is not, either in letter or spirit, exceeding her international rights or the scope of the Constitution recently conferred upon her by the Imperial Parliament. Like any other State, she has the inherent power, as a precautionary measure against social evils, of excluding convicts, paupers, and other undesirable immigrants; provided, of course, that such a power is not exercised beyond the requirements of vital necessity. The

Constitution expressly gave the Federated States the right to legislate in regard to the people of any race—other than the aboriginal race in any State—for whom it might be deemed necessary to make special laws. In this respect, therefore, the new nation is free to work out her own salvation, largely in her own way. But, although left thus unfettered, Australia has been careful not to add to the already vast responsibilities of the unweary Titan. She is fully aware of the difficult and delicate nature of legislation which affects millions of dark-skinned races, some of whom are the subjects and others the allies of Great Britain, and fortunately she was aided by the advice of Mr. Chamberlain, than whom there never was a Minister in charge of the Colonial Office more keenly alive to the perplexities which surround colonial statesmen, or one more genuinely sympathetic with the aspirations of Greater Britain. Thanks partly to the guidance of that 'lidless watcher of the commonweal,' and partly to the saving common-sense which usually prevails in a British Legislature, the daughter-State was enabled to steer a middle course. After careful deliberation and animated debate the Federal Parliament, in accordance with Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion, passed the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which after being two years in operation has been found to work satisfactorily. Instead of absolutely excluding aliens on the ground of race or colour, an educational test—the cloak under which modern laws regulating the admission of aliens are commonly hidden²—was adopted as a means of disqualification. It may be observed in passing that a similar provision had previously existed in the immigration laws of Natal, New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, and other parts of the British dominions beyond the seas, and that Alien Restriction Acts of various kinds are to be found in the Imperial statute-book since the reign of Richard the Second down to comparatively modern times. By these means Australia attained the end she had in view without giving offence to other nations. So smoothly, indeed, has the Commonwealth legislation worked that on the 30th of October last, when the Prime Minister, the Hon. Alfred Deakin, reviewed the work of the session which had then just closed and outlined the future policy of the Federal Government, he was able to show that the alien population of the continent was being steadily reduced. During the first nine months of 1903 upwards of 31,000 persons entered Australia from oversea, and of these 28,000 were Europeans. Of the remainder, many coloured persons came in under engagement on pearling vessels, but under such conditions that, practically speaking, they never really entered the country. Out of 2571 others who endeavoured to enter Australia, only ten were found to possess the necessary educational qualification. In practice, however, the test is not very much applied, for the obvious reason

² Professor Harrison Moore, *The Commonwealth of Australia*, p. 144.

that shipowners, knowing they would have to re-convey undesirable immigrants at their own cost, usually stop them at the port of intended shipment. 'By these means,' Mr. Deakin added, 'it is to be hoped that we shall soon be able to count on our fingers the coloured aliens in this country, if the test is properly applied.' The Prime Minister, moreover, emphatically declared that, notwithstanding all representations to the contrary, not a single European had been excluded from Australian soil through the instrumentality of the immigration laws. 'The fact remains—and cannot be denied, that although the contract labour clause is in existence, there is no human being on this planet who has been shut out of Australia in consequence.'

But although much has been accomplished, much abides. A humane statute has purged the general weal, and Australia for the time being reposes from the fear of a coloured invasion, but she has yet to set her house in order. The racial taint in her blood has to be eradicated, and there is at least one stain on the escutcheon of her fame for which she cannot be held wholly guiltless. The traffic in South Sea Island labour must be stopped. It matters not that the sugar industry is of the greatest importance, not only to Queensland but to the whole continent; that Government legislation, supervision, and regulation have reduced the evils incident to such a traffic almost to vanishing point; that the islanders are so well fed, housed, and paid that they frequently return to renew the term of their original contracts (three years), the moral and social effect of the institution is bad, and Australia has decided that it must and shall be ended. By the Pacific Island Labourers Act, 1901, it is provided that no fresh importation of black labour shall take place after the 31st of March, 1904, and that any islanders found in Australia after the 31st of December, 1906, shall be returned to their own homes. When that day arrives, Australia will have taken a second step towards the realisation of her great national ideal—purity of race and the preservation of Greater Britain for the Anglo-Saxon stock.

OSWALD P. LAW.
W. T. GILL.

Ballarat, Victoria :
November 1903.

LAST MONTH

I

THE Cabinet, the marvellous Cabinet that has been constructed and reconstructed so many times, until at last it reminds the profane of the Irishman's new boot, has been very much in evidence during the month of December. November Cabinets are almost as marked a feature of that month of gloom as the Lord Mayor's Show, or the sittings of the Law Courts. It is then, according to the unwritten traditions of political life, that statesmen meet in solemn conclave in Downing Street to discuss the bill of fare for the approaching session. But when December comes it is supposed that all this work has been safely accomplished, and that Cabinet Ministers, like other people, are at liberty to enjoy the delights of country house life, or the seductive sunshine of the Riviera. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been gossip and to spare concerning the Cabinets which were held during the first half of last month. There is no subject on earth, or, at least, none connected with politics, about which men are so fond of indulging in gossip as Cabinet councils, more particularly those which are held unexpectedly and at unusual seasons. It is a mistake to suppose that the solemn secrets of Cabinets are never given up until they have become merely the secrets of the dead. Lord Beaconsfield makes one of the personages of his novels complain that Brooks's had fallen, in his day, upon evil times, because they no longer knew in that classic abode of Whiggery what had happened at a Cabinet council within twenty minutes of its having broken up. Nowadays we have to wait a little longer for the revelation of the truth, though it invariably comes at last. During the past autumn, indeed, it has come only too copiously, chiefly from the inspired lips of members and ex-members of the august body. But even when there are no tales to be told explaining why one right honourable gentleman has thrown up his office and a comfortable salary whilst another has failed to do so, the general public can always learn full particulars of what has taken place at any meeting in Downing Street by turning to the penny—or, if they wish for particularly detailed and precise information, to the halfpenny—newspapers.

It need scarcely be said that the newspapers of a certain class gloried in the accounts they laid before their readers of the subjects which had engaged the attention of Ministers at the recent December Cabinets. They had a wide range of questions from which to choose. First of all there was that of the tariff, to which the gentlemen of the *Times*, with an insistence that has become a trifle monotonous, give the first place in their daily dissertations. That a Cabinet should meet in these times and not talk about tariffs, retaliation, and dumping is evidently inconceivable to the average journalist. But there are other questions which might well engage the attention of his Majesty's Ministers at this particular moment: army reform, for example; the amendment of the licensing laws, in order to remove the grievances of those long-suffering and greatly misunderstood individuals, the publicans; Irish problems, and the urgent demands of the Nationalist party; and, finally, the difficulties of our foreign policy, which are certainly as numerous to-day as they have ever been. It will be seen that a wide choice was offered to the newspapers which professed to raise the veil of Cabinet secrecy, and one cannot be surprised that they should have revelled in a banquet which contained so many different dishes.

But whatever may be the case as regards Brooks's Club, the newspapers are not to be regarded as trustworthy exponents of Cabinet deliberations. The truth is that the subjects which actually engage the councils of Downing Street are, except in times of acute crisis, almost invariably different from what the public supposes them to be. Mr. Bright was in the habit of laying down a simple rule for the benefit of those who sought to penetrate the mysteries of Ministerial deliberations. 'Whenever a Cabinet is called unexpectedly,' he was wont to say, 'you may be sure that it is to consider some question of foreign policy.' It is affirmed by some of those who are in a position to know, that even Cabinet Ministers themselves have been as much puzzled as to the reason for a sudden summons to Downing Street as the ordinary loungee at the clubs. There is, indeed, one true story about a memorable meeting of a former Cabinet which seems to prove that Ministers, although of the highest degree, do not always know, even after they have dispersed, why they have been called together. On almost the last occasion on which Mr. Gladstone invited his colleagues to meet him at the sacred board, he so far diversified the ordinary procedure as to ask them to dine with him beforehand. It was a novel departure from custom, so far as Mr. Gladstone was concerned, though it was only a revival of a practice which had been common in the days of Lord Palmerston. It happened that this particular meeting of the Cabinet was summoned at a critical moment. Everybody knew that the Prime Minister's resignation was impending. He had talked of it vaguely for months, but to none of his colleagues had he vouch-

safed any intimation as to the precise moment at which he intended to retire. One and all assumed that this summons to a Cabinet dinner meant that the fateful announcement was about to be made, and they all went primed for the part each expected to have to play in a scene at once historic and pathetic. So convinced were they of what was to happen before they separated that, when the servants seemed to be lagging in the room after the cloth had been removed, one of the most eminent members of the Government asked Mr. Gladstone whether they ought not to be told to withdraw, in order that the traditional secrecy of the illustrious body might be duly maintained. 'Certainly,' was the prompt reply of the great man, 'if you wish it, and have anything that you desire to communicate to the Cabinet'; and during the whole evening Mr. Gladstone never came any closer to the one subject which was in the minds of all his colleagues, and about which the public was speculating wildly. 'We had a most interesting evening,' one of the Ministers reported to me next day, when I eagerly questioned him as to what had happened. 'Plenty of good talk, Mr. G. leading it as usual; but we never touched upon a subject of later date than 1830.'

In face of this authentic incident it is on the whole better that mere outsiders should not claim to know what particular subjects Ministers talked about during their prolonged and frequent consultations in Downing Street last month. Any one of the topics I have enumerated above would have furnished them with enough material to occupy all the time that they devoted to official deliberation. Upon one point, however, there is now no longer any reasonable ground for doubt. Parliament has been summoned to meet for the despatch of business on the 2nd of February, and it is therefore clear that, in spite of many rumours to the contrary, Ministers propose to embark upon another session. Tadpole and Taper, of course, insist that there was never any doubt upon this point, and that not one, but two, or even three sessions, await a Ministry which is picturesquely, if rudely, described by its opponents, including some who were but recently members of it, as a waterlogged derelict drifting to inevitable destruction. But Tadpole and Taper are neither the wisest nor the best-informed of men, and it is not, one may be sure, from the fervent asseverations of a Ministerial Whip, however blameless his character, that intelligent persons expect to learn the precise moment at which a dissolution is to take place. What is certain is that more than once during the past six months the Government has been dangerously near to dissolution, and that amongst its most faithful supporters there have been serious divisions of opinion as to the wisdom of attempting to 'carry on' for another session. Upon one aspect of this question there is undoubtedly a strong opinion, by no means confined to the Opposition: that is, that the interests of the State demand that an early

opportunity should be taken for bringing to a close the present condition of affairs in the political world. It is difficult to see how reasonable men can oppose this proposition. Ever since last May the fiscal policy of the country has been in a state of suspense, and as a consequence the interests of our commerce have suffered substantial injury. The mere fact that a great political agitation is being carried on throughout the land, that men's minds are occupied by one subject almost to the exclusion of everything else, and that the editorial columns of our chief newspapers have become practically unreadable, does not in itself furnish a reason for demanding that the question at issue should be solved as quickly as possible. But the infinitely more important fact that we ourselves and the outside world are left in a state of grave doubt and uncertainty as to our future policy in those things which most closely affect our commercial and industrial interests does seem to demand that we should make some immediate attempt to settle our policy and our procedure, at any rate for a few years to come. I fancy that business men, whether they be Free-traders or Protectionists, are pretty well agreed upon this point.

As for the programme for next session, to which one may suppose that the Cabinet has devoted at least a portion of its attention, it can hardly be said that it excites any considerable degree of public interest. There is only one burning question before us, and that is the very question which everybody admits that this House of Commons cannot settle. There are, indeed, some who declare that it is a question that this House cannot even be allowed to discuss, though that is a point to be decided rather by outsiders, such as the leader of his Majesty's Opposition, than by Cabinet Ministers. Beyond this, there appear to be only two matters which seem to make any demand upon the time of the present Parliament. These are the questions of the licensing system and of Ireland. The first involves that thorniest of all problems, the compensation to be paid to licence-holders for the withdrawal of their licences through no personal fault of their own. The second will open up still larger and graver controversies : those attending the proposal to endow a Roman Catholic University, and an attempt to do for the Irish labourers what Parliament has already done for the tenantry. The bitterest enemy of the present Government could hardly wish to expose it to an ordeal more severe than that which it would have to face if it were to make any serious attempt to grapple with the great problems I have named. Beyond these suggested subjects for legislation, the difficulties of which it is unnecessary to discuss at this moment, there remains the question of Army reform, about which the House of Commons is certain to have much to say during the coming session. On this topic Ministers, it is true, may reasonably ask Parliament to allow the new Secretary for War time to bring into effect the policy of

which he is believed to be the author before it pronounces judgment upon him. But no such plea can or ought to avail in preventing the full discussion of that momentous and damning document, the Report of the War Commission. On the whole, when one considers the prospects presented to us by the next session of Parliament, the man of the world will be inclined to a feeling of surprise that his Majesty's Ministers should have the courage to face them. That the Parliamentary year will be a lively one, and that some strange developments must take place in the relations of parties, seem to be among the certainties of the near future.

One change of importance in the political situation has taken place during the month. This is the definite separation of the Duke of Devonshire and the leading members, Mr. Chamberlain of course excepted, of the old Liberal Unionist party from the new Protectionists. The events of the last six months have shown how reluctant these gentlemen have been to part company with their old associates. Their disinclination to do so has been at once natural and honourable. They fought a great battle together, and everybody must now admit that they fought it with success. It cannot have been without a sharp pang of regret that the Duke of Devonshire took a step which has virtually destroyed the great political association of which he was himself the founder. Once more we have received proof of the fact that third parties can never hold a permanent place in the public life of this country. It is natural that men should turn back to the beginning of the Liberal Unionist party now that it has come to an end, and that attempts should be made to establish a resemblance between the situation in 1886 and that which now exists. Then, as now, a number of very influential men, supported by a certain number of the rank and file, left one of the great political parties because they could not support a policy which they regarded as revolutionary. But at that time the dissentient Liberals, as they were then called by Mr. Gladstone, were taken without delay into the Conservative fold. They kept their own identity, but they were hailed and treated as allies by the party opposed to Home Rule. The treatment they received, indeed, was such as to give rise to not a little discontent among the less intelligent Conservatives. Their seats were safeguarded by the whole force of the Conservative party, and where differences of opinion as to what were and what were not legitimately Liberal Unionist constituencies arose, they were settled by consultations among the leaders of both sections, and settled almost invariably in favour of the Liberal Unionists. The Conservative party had its reward for this wise and generous treatment of its new allies. If it had acted differently, the political history of the last seventeen years would have been very different from what it has been. But in the present crisis there has as yet been no indication that the new dissentients from the Ministerial

policy, so far as that policy favours Mr. Chamberlain, are to be treated by the Liberal party in the way in which their predecessors of 1886 were treated by the Conservatives. No Liberal candidate for any constituency now represented by a Unionist Free-trader has, so far as I am aware, ceded his pretensions in favour of the latter, nor has there as yet been anything like a public demonstration of the unity of the two bodies of anti-Protectionists. The Duke of Devonshire's letter, supported as it is by the almost unanimous voice of the Unionist Free-traders, may, of course, alter the case, and there may be that concentration of Mr. Chamberlain's opponents which is essential if they are to secure the signal and conclusive victory they desire. It is for the leaders of the Liberal party to decide whether they will take steps to put an end to a state of things which is certainly unfavourable to the position of the defenders of free trade. The great obstacle in the way of such a union of forces as that which all Free-traders desire is, of course, the Education Act. Not the least important of the results of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign is the fact that it has relegated the education controversy to a secondary position in the politics of the day. It is notorious that down to last May a large body of Ministerialists regarded the policy of the Government on education with strong disfavour. But now, so far as the overwhelming majority of Conservatives are concerned, it is clear that they will stand as resolutely by the Education Act as by any other measure for which Ministers are responsible, and it is only on the part of staunch Liberals that the old hostility to that Act is maintained. The difficulties in the way of an arrangement between Liberals and Unionist Free-traders on the subject of education are undoubtedly very great, but, handled by statesmen, they ought not to be insuperable. There is at least one point upon which everybody, the Nonconformists included, must be agreed: that is, that if the Chamberlain campaign were to be successful, all hope of a substantial amendment of the Education Act would, for the present, be at an end. Liberals must, therefore, face fairly and squarely the question of whether they are to preserve an unbending attitude towards those Free-traders who do not agree with them about education, or to come to some arrangement by which differences upon this question shall not be allowed to interfere with their frank and full acceptance of Unionist co-operation in the free-trade fight. I do not presume to tender advice on the subject to my fellow-Liberals. I know, indeed, that even this unvarnished statement of the position will be resented by some; but it is to be hoped that, before coming to a decision on a point so difficult, those Liberals who justly maintain the importance of the education controversy, which now, thanks to the action of the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of his episcopal colleagues, threatens to become more embittered than ever, will recall the

story of the Liberal Unionists of 1886 and their fusion with the Conservative party. Most impartial observers will admit that, whilst that fusion was of enormous advantage to the party thus fortified, it did not exercise any detrimental influence, from the Conservative point of view, upon its general policy. It did not, for example, prevent it from carrying this very Education Act, with the consent of an overwhelming majority of its members, including the most prominent Liberal Unionists in its ranks. Here, at any rate, is an immediate problem which needs to be dealt with decisively and at once by the statesmen of the free-trade party. Upon the solution which is arrived at more depends than can be conveniently stated here.

One forward step in the tariff controversy was announced by Mr. Chamberlain at Leeds. This was the formation of a Committee—described by Mr. Chamberlain as a ‘Commission’—for the purpose of inquiring minutely into the conditions of our trade and the changes that might be beneficially made in our tariffs. A great deal of indignation has been expended by Mr. Chamberlain’s opponents upon this somewhat harmless proposal, and the *Standard*, in particular, has denounced his ‘bogus’ Commission in unmeasured terms. Even his friends must admit that his choice of a name for what is nothing more than a committee or sub-committee of the Tariff Reform League was an error of judgment. Commissions appointed to inquire into questions of urgent public importance are usually formed under royal authority. Some of Mr. Chamberlain’s critics seem to think that he has been guilty of the offence of *lèse-majesté* in giving his committee the outward appearance and designation of one of these Royal Commissions. I agree, however, with his friends in thinking this objection absurd. This is a free country, and everybody, from the advertising tradesman upwards, is at liberty to call any undertaking in which he engages by any name he pleases. The real objection to the use of the word ‘commission’ in this instance is that it does not correctly express the nature of the body to which it is applied. The only commissions of inquiry known in this country are composed either of persons who are believed to be impartial with regard to the question into which they have to inquire, or of a nearly equal number of representatives of both sides of the question at issue. In the case of Mr. Chamberlain’s Committee, we are authoritatively informed that it consists exclusively of those who are in sympathy with his policy. It is bound, consequently, to one side only of the great question with which it proposes to deal, and its conclusions cannot possibly have the weight that they would have possessed if arrived at by an impartial authority. But the indignation of the advocates of free trade over the appointment of this curious body seems to me to be excessive, if not misplaced. We are all anxious

or at least we all profess to be, to see what would be the practical effect of Mr. Chamberlain's policy if it were to be adopted by the State. His committee, if it can boast of no other authority, can at least claim to represent his ideas, and its conclusions, whatever they may be, may be taken as his own. It will be a good thing, not merely for the country at large, but for the defenders of free trade in particular, to secure an explicit statement of the way in which it is proposed to carry out in practice the somewhat vague theories which Mr. Chamberlain has propounded with so much vigour. I, for one, therefore welcome the step which he has now taken in calling together a circle of his friends to advise him on this point. They can, of course, only speak for themselves, and they have no power to call for any evidence; but, granting these important limitations, their labours ought to be of public service. They will, no doubt, put their own side of the case with all the force that they can command. It is equally open to their opponents to create another committee for the purpose of gathering rebutting evidence and forming conclusions of a distinctly opposite character. Free Traders may perhaps feel that the Government Blue-book, which does represent the impartial views of our great administrative offices, is already in their possession as an armoury of facts upon which they can draw at their pleasure. For the present, apparently, there is to be a lull in the fierce controversies of the past four months. Mr. Chamberlain himself has brought what he calls his first campaign to an end, and, like other people, is now enjoying the Christmas recess. His opponents, on their part, can afford to agree to a truce; but before the New Year has advanced very far, it is certain that the struggle will be renewed.

Apart from the all-absorbing fiscal question, the month has witnessed only one other political discussion of importance. This has been the opening of a new stage in the education controversy. I have said that the interest in this question has been largely overshadowed by the battle against free trade. But there is no sign of any diminution of zeal on the part of the Nonconformists against a measure which they regard as one of flagrant injustice, and the policy of passive resistance is apparently gaining rather than losing adherents. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the direct support of the Bishops of London and Rochester, has now entered the field to wage war upon the opponents of the Education Act by making it a battle-cry in the coming County Council elections. No doubt he has been provoked to this step by the action of certain of the Welsh County Councils, which have not concealed their determination to do what they can to thwart the objects of the Act. But it is none the less to be deplored that the Archbishop and his colleagues should seek to extend the area of sectarian strife, and to make every election for a County Council depend upon the question of clerical influence in

the Education Committees. The danger of such a state of things being created was pointed out when the Education Bill was before Parliament, but it was derided at the time as a purely fanciful hallucination. Now that we are actually brought face to face with it, it will not seem less deplorable to right-minded and level-headed persons. The cause of good local government is certain to suffer from this intrusion of the religious question into an arena from which it has hitherto been excluded, and for this unhappy innovation Ministers alone must be held to be responsible.

By far the most critical question in the domain of foreign affairs which now engages the attention of the world is that which has arisen in the Far East between Russia and Japan. Here, undoubtedly, we are confronted by a crisis of exceptional gravity. Japan has two serious and substantial grievances against Russia. The first has reference to Corea, in which the Japanese naturally take the deepest interest. They practically claim for themselves, for reasons with which Russian statesmen, at least, cannot pretend to be unfamiliar, special and exclusive interests in the future of Corea. They declare, with an emphasis not to be mistaken, that they will not tolerate any action that will give Russia the practical control of that country, and it is clear that they are prepared to assert their claim by force of arms, if necessary. Their other grievance against the Government of the Czar refers to Manchuria, and here they are in line with Great Britain and the United States, if not with the whole civilised world. The story of Russia's occupation of Manchuria, of her repeated promises as to the extent and purpose of that occupation, and of her constant evasion of the demand that she should fulfil those promises, is an old one, of which my readers must by this time be heartily sick. There is no need to say that British diplomacy has not shone in its attempts to bring Russia back to her bearings and her pledges, and it seems as though, despite appearances, and the plausibilities of Russian diplomatists, the Cabinet at Washington has hardly been more successful. Japan, which has entered so recently into the federation of great States, and which is possibly flushed by the knowledge of her formal alliance with this country, appears to be less tolerant of the methods of Russian diplomacy than the Western Powers. At all events she has proved herself to be both more insistent and more obstinate in her refusal to allow the unavowed programme of the Czar's administrators in Asia to be carried into effect. The great danger in the situation arises from the fact that the Japanese people are more determined and bellicose than their rulers. They regard the delays of Russian diplomacy as a direct insult to themselves, and with the war-like spirit of their race they clamour loudly for the arbitrament of the sword. When convoked at the beginning of the month, the Japanese Diet adopted an address to the throne which virtually censured the Government

for the weakness shown in the continued negotiations with Russia. If the Diet had been equal in authority to our own Parliament, this address would have amounted to a declaration of war. The answer of the Government was to dissolve the Diet, and as the next elections do not take place until March, there is still a breathing-space for diplomatic action. But the fever runs as high as ever in the popular mind, and it is difficult to see how the catastrophe of war can be averted if Russia fails to make substantial concessions to Japanese feeling. On both sides naval and military preparations are being made on a large scale, and now matters have reached a point of tension which is dangerous in the extreme. No crisis so acute as this is can possibly last long, and it is probable that the next month will see it solved in one way or the other.

One great name appears in the death roll of last month. This is the name of Mr. Herbert Spencer, known throughout the world for the great work in which he sought to simplify and unify philosophy in all its branches. It was a work to which he devoted the whole of a long life, uncheered for years by public recognition, and unmarked to the last by any public honours. Great and precious as were his writings, Mr. Spencer perhaps conferred a still greater boon upon the world by this noble example of a life of unremitting labour and self-sacrifice, consecrated to a single and most unselfish end. Another name which deserves to be recorded here is that of Sir John Robinson, one of the oldest and most influential of our London journalists. Sir John's real work, as editor and manager of a London daily newspaper, was accomplished during the latter half of the last century, when he was able to do great service for the cause of liberty throughout the world, more particularly during the Civil War in the United States and the prolonged struggle for Italian unity. He was, throughout his life, a consistent upholder of the best traditions of the English Press. Speaking of that press, I think I may claim to express the sentiments of many besides myself in giving utterance to the pleasure with which I have seen the end of the extraordinary campaign of 'American' advertising which has accompanied the publication of an edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by the *Times* newspaper. However successful this enterprise may have been from the financial point of view, it has added neither to the great reputation of the *Times* nor to the comfort of newspaper readers generally. The end of this particular 'tearing and raging agitation,' which has forced itself into all our homes and obtruded itself upon us in all our news sheets, will be regretted by nobody.

WEMYSS REID.

LAST MONTH

II

WRITING, as I do, on the eve of Christmastide, I feel a certain sense of incongruity in devoting by far the major portion of the scant space allotted to me by the exigencies of the season to the 'fiscal controversy,' a subject which, whatever its ultimate results may be, is not calculated for the moment to promote peace and good will. However, Christmas will have come and gone before these lines appear in print, and I see every reason to expect that the issue of protection against free trade, or, more accurately speaking, the issue of Chamberlain very much alive against Cobden deceased, will then be going as strong as ever.

But before I come to the one dominant subject of the year now approaching its end, there are certain incidents of its last month which require special notice.

The virtual annexation of the Isthmus of Panama by the United States, though fraught with potential results of the utmost gravity for Great Britain, and even more for the Greater Britain beyond the seas, has excited less interest than one would naturally have expected. I attribute this partly to the fact that, if the ship canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific is really to be constructed, we would sooner see its control placed in the hands of America than of any European Power, and partly to a conviction that, if England had occupied the same position towards Colombia as that held by the great republic of the West, she would have acted in much the same manner. Still there is something in the mode of the annexation not altogether satisfactory to our home ideas of good faith and honesty. The sudden insurrection of the province of Panama against the republics of Colombia, to say the least, took nobody by surprise at Washington; and the proclamation by which the Government of the United States forthwith recognised the so-called republic of Panama might have been copied almost word for word from the state papers in which President Jefferson Davis pleaded for the recognition by England of the Confederate States. However, in the New World as in the Old, under republics as well as monarchies, abstract principles have to be

modified to suit accomplished facts; and thus even the principles on which the North defended the subjugation of the South have had to be consigned to temporary oblivion in order to justify American participation in the secession of Panama from the republic of Colombia.

The relations between Russia and Japan remain *in statu quo* up to the date at which I write. The one thing certain is that Russia has got Manchuria in her hands and intends to keep it. The issue of peace or war depends, therefore, in as far as I can foresee, upon whether Russia, in consideration of her virtual annexation of Manchuria, will allow Japan to place Corea under some sort of protectorate. Japan has not the wish, even if she has the power, to oust Russia from the possession of Manchuria, and would, I am informed, consent to any reasonable arrangement which recognised her claims to regard Corea as belonging, in diplomatic phrase, to her 'sphere of influence.' All observation of Russian statecraft has shown that it is never her policy to resort to war in order to obtain what she is sure to get by diplomatic intrigue. Whenever Russia has secured her supremacy at Peking, she can easily find reasons for depriving Japan of any priority the latter may claim in Corea; and I shall be surprised if Japan should run the risk of a war with Russia so long as she can obtain concessions from Russia in respect of Corea sufficient to allay the fears and gratify the pride of her people. No government has had more practice or has displayed more skill than that of Russia in entering into engagements she has no intention of fulfilling; and I incline to believe the City is right in deeming there will be no war for the present in the Far East. I wish heartily the New Year might justify this belief, as the apprehension of a war in which England might conceivably be involved has done more than anything else to protract the financial depression from which we all are suffering.

Indirectly, the Russo-Japanese difficulty delays any satisfactory settlement of the labour question in the Transvaal. To anyone at all acquainted with South Africa, the mass of the articles and letters on this subject which appear daily in the press seem written by people utterly ignorant of the hard fact that the antipathy between white and black lies at the bottom of the whole labour question. I do not hesitate to say that no white man in South Africa, be he Boer or Briton, will consent to work alongside a Kaffir fellow-labourer, no matter what wages you might offer him. This state of feeling may be very unreasonable and very wicked, but the feeling exists, and must be taken into account in all South African administration. My own opinion is that the mining and agricultural industries in South Africa will, in the future as in the past, have to be conducted almost exclusively by Kaffir labour, conducted under white supervision.

Among the issues which I do not expect to see further advanced at the commencement of the New Year than they were a year ago is that of Macedonia. The Macedonian question is, after all, only a minor branch of the great Eastern question, which, like the poor, we have always with us. I should be the last person to deny that the outrages committed in Macedonia are a disgrace to humanity, though I believe the outrages are committed pretty equally by Moslems and by Christians, and on both sides are grossly exaggerated. Unfortunately humanity has very broad shoulders, and apparently bears any amount of disgraces with absolute equanimity. Under these circumstances the attempt to create a second Bulgarian atrocities agitation in respect of Macedonia, and to employ this agitation for the benefit of the Liberal party, has resulted in a signal fiasco.

I felt convinced when I commenced writing this article that I should not keep the fiscal controversy long in the background. I see it has cropped up already in connection with a subject so apparently remote as the Macedonian insurrection. I may therefore as well make no further attempt to postpone dealing with the chief event of last month from a British point of view—namely, the progress made by Mr. Chamberlain in his self-imposed task of winning over the adhesion of the British public to his Tariff Reform views. I am not going to discuss the question whether these views are wise or unwise, sound or unsound. My duty as a chronicler of the events of the day is to indicate how these events tell upon the fortunes of the campaign which Mr. Chamberlain is carrying on almost single-handed against the coalition of Liberals, Little Englanders, Home Rulers, Nonconformists, Political Economists, and malcontent Unionists, who have enrolled themselves under the free-trade banner with the avowed aim and object not only of ousting the Unionist party from office, but of revising the policy both in home and foreign affairs to which the Unionist party stands committed. At the outset of the campaign the Opposition were confident that Mr. Chamberlain was foredoomed to failure. From the day when the late Colonial Minister had declared, with characteristic courage, that his policy, if accepted by the constituencies, must involve the imposition of a bread tax, the Liberals deemed that he had delivered himself into their hands. They had only, as they thought, to raise the cry that the poor man's food was to be taxed, and that the big loaf of the free-trade era was to be replaced by the small loaf of the days of protection; and the electorate in every working-class constituency might be relied upon to return candidates opposed to tariff reform of any sort or description. The Bury election confirmed this belief; but of late we have heard very little of loaves, either large or small. Wherever Mr. Chamberlain has gone he has been received with acclamation by the very

classes who ought, according to Liberal anticipations, to have greeted him with groans and hisses.

When it was discovered that whether Mr. Chamberlain went north or south, east or west, he still commanded popular favour to an extent compared with which his opponents were out of the running, we were assured that popular meetings and public speeches had little or no political importance, and that, as soon as it came to voting, we should find the electorate were staunch in their devotion to free trade. The vacancies caused by the reconstruction of the Government gave rise to some half-dozen disputed elections, and they resulted, one and all, in the return of the Ministerial candidates. We were then assured by the organs of the Liberal party that the defeat of the Opposition candidates was simply due to the dislike of the constituencies to unnecessary contests, and that as soon as there was a fair open trial of strength the masses would rise in their numbers to secure the return of Liberal candidates. The truth of this statement was soon put to the test. In the early days of last month four seats became vacant by the death of Sir Blundell Maple, Mr. John Penn, Mr. Jasper More, and Mr. Seale Hayne. The seats represented by the two first-named gentlemen were suburban boroughs, which are supposed to be more susceptible to outside influences than provincial constituencies. If, therefore, there was in the air any marked popular reaction—in favour of Liberalism as opposed to Unionism—it was exactly in such constituencies as Lewisham and Dulwich that this reaction might reasonably be expected to make itself manifest. The late members were men who for various reasons were exceptionally popular with their electors. On the present occasion the Liberal candidates were local men, well and favourably known in their respective localities, while the Unionist candidates were absolute strangers to the constituencies and had no special political record calculated to recommend them to the favour of the electorate other than that of their coming forward as staunch supporters of the Unionist Government. The big drum was beaten; the electors of Lewisham and Dulwich were exhorted by any number of Liberal celebrities, supposed to command the confidence of the masses, to recant the errors of Imperialism; and their answer was to return unknown strangers, holding the same political views as their former representatives. To ordinary apprehension a miss is as good as a mile. But to the superior intelligence of the fanatics of free trade, a miss is a great deal better than a mile. When I look to the *Spectator*, which regards itself as the accredited organ of cultured Cobdenism, I find to my surprise that Mr. Chamberlain must have had all his hopes dashed to the ground by the Unionist successes at Dulwich and Lewisham. When I seek for an explanation as to why there ought, by rights, to be mourning instead of rejoicing at Highbury, I am informed that, by some

elaborate electoral calculation, the outcome of these two suburban elections proves to mathematical demonstration that the Liberals in the next Parliament must win 133 votes. These calculations are things too high for my mental faculties. I can only console myself by the reflection that, supposing 'ifs and ans were pots and pans,' the state of mundane affairs would be very different from what it is. Personally, I prefer a brace of votes in the hand to sixty odd braces in the bush. But then I have no claim to be an expert in electoral forecasts, but am only a commonplace man, 'one of the many' who, judging by facts, not by theories, hold that Mr. Chamberlain is going to win the day.

There is a sort of pathos in the fact that the Duke of Devonshire should have chosen the eve of the bye-elections to slide off the fence on which he has sat so long, and apparently with such great discomfort. Ever since his Grace resigned office he has never been able, till the other day, to make his political position comprehensible to the public, or I suspect to himself. He could not decide whether to turn to the left or the right, to sacrifice free trade or to desert the cause of the Union. He has been looking in vain for some middle path by which he might remain staunch in his allegiance to the Union, and yet forswear the heresies of preferential duties and retaliatory tariffs. The logic of facts has at last forced the Duke not only to make up his mind, but, what was still more distasteful, to speak out his mind. It is matter of notoriety that up to the very date of the elections the Liberals were confident of success, and believed that the transfer of a few hundred Unionist votes might place their candidates at the head of the polls. An urgent appeal was made to the Duke as President of the Free Food League to express an opinion as to the duty of Liberal-Unionist voters who disapproved of Mr. Chamberlain's policy in the event of a contested election. It is only just to the leading member of the Unionist party in the House of Lords to say that he is devoid of the subtlety of intellect which would have enabled Mr. Gladstone to give such an answer to an inconvenient question as might be susceptible of any number of interpretations. If he spoke at all, he could only speak plainly. In consequence, being at last forced into a corner, his Grace replied that in his opinion Liberal-Unionist electors should decline to vote for any Unionist candidate who stood pledged to support the policy with which Mr. Chamberlain directly and Mr. Balfour indirectly have identified themselves. The ducal manifesto did not go to the length of advising Liberal-Unionist free traders to record their votes in favour of the Liberal candidates. But it followed logically that if a Liberal-Unionist elector of Lewisham or Dulwich felt it his duty to refrain from voting for the Unionist candidate, he was equally bound to vote for the Liberal.

The 'Encyclical,' to employ Mr. Chamberlain's phrase, seems

to have had very little effect, either at Dulwich or at Lewisham. But its indirect results are likely to prove serious. There is no getting over the plain fact that the Duke, who till a few weeks ago was the most prominent member of the Unionist Government, with the exception of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, has formally advised the Liberal-Unionists to use their influence to secure the return of Liberals to Parliament, if by so doing they can hope to exclude Unionists who are supporters of Mr. Chamberlain. I confess, to me the Duke's attitude is absolutely incomprehensible. The great achievement of his long and honourable political career was his secession from the Liberal party in order to secure the defeat of Home Rule for Ireland. His secession was openly justified by the plea that the maintenance of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was a matter of life and death to this country, and therefore of higher importance than any party considerations. Yet now, he not only deserts the Unionist party, but he is doing his utmost to secure the return of the Liberals to power, knowing, as he must know, that they can only hope to obtain a parliamentary majority by receiving the support of the Irish Nationalists, and that the price of this support is, and must be, the concession of Home Rule to Ireland. In common with the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen, I have the utmost confidence in the good faith and honesty of purpose of the Duke of Devonshire, but I fail to understand how he reconciles his present attitude with his past professions.

One thing seems to be certain, and that is, that the ducal manifesto must bring about the disappearance of the Liberal-Unionists as an independent political organisation. At the time of the *Gran' Refruto*, when some threescore Liberals, under the leadership of the then Marquis of Hartington, Mr. (now Lord) Goschen, Mr. John Bright, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, joined with the Conservatives to throw out Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, a convention was concluded between the two sections of the Unionist party that no seat occupied by a member of one section should be contested by the other. The convention was only reasonable and fair at the time of the enactment, though, from a purely party point of view, it was of a very one-sided character. In view of the general Conservative reaction, which coincided with, if it was not occasioned by, the Liberal-Unionist secession, there were any number of seats held by Liberal-Unionists which the Conservatives might have contested with every chance of success. But there was scarcely a seat held by a Conservative which the Liberal-Unionists could have contested with the remotest prospect of success. The convention has, up to now, been carried out with the utmost loyalty by the Conservatives, but its practical inconveniences have long been felt by the party leaders. The recent death of Mr. Jasper More, the M.P. for the

Ludlow division of Shropshire, furnishes an illustration of the inconveniences to which I allude. My old friend Jasper More, when I first knew him, much more than a quarter of a century ago, called himself, as most of us did in those days, a Liberal. I should, however, gravely doubt whether he had any definite ideas as to the tenets of his political creed. His Liberalism, such as it was, was that of a country gentleman of good family, who took much more interest in agricultural than in political affairs. When he joined the Liberal seceders he called himself a Liberal-Unionist, and was re-elected by his old constituents, who, on previous occasions, had returned him as a Liberal. His personal popularity with the Shropshire farmers was the real secret of his hold upon the constituency, and this popularity was not capable of being transferred to a stranger.

On Mr. More's death, the natural course, from an electioneering point of view, would have been to nominate a Conservative as candidate for the representation of the division. The seat, however, in accordance with the compact in question, was held to belong to the Liberal-Unionists, and serious unnecessary delay was caused by the extreme difficulty of finding a Liberal-Unionist candidate who was known by name to the Shropshire electors. Under very great disadvantages Mr. Hunt has carried the day by a decisive majority, but he did, not only without the help, but contrary to the recommendations of the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the Liberal-Unionists. I fail to see how, after the Duke of Devonshire—with, I presume, the approval of Lord Goschen—has gone out of his way to recommend the Liberal-Unionists to decline to vote for Unionist candidates who will not renounce Mr. Chamberlain and all his works, the convention to which I have alluded can continue to be binding. The leaders of the Liberal-Unionists have now in fact, if not in name, attached themselves to the fortunes of the Liberal Home Rulers, and have thereby forfeited their title to the name of Unionists.

A record of the month can hardly be considered complete without some reference to the death of Mr. Herbert Spencer. I knew him only as a club acquaintance. His presence will certainly be missed in the billiard-room of the Athenæum, where till a few years ago he was a frequent visitor before dinner, and where he was looked up to as one of the oldest surviving notabilities of the Club. I may relate an incident or two which throw some light on his curious doggedness of purpose. My old friend the late Sir Edgar Boehm told me that on some occasion he went into the billiard-room and there caught sight of a member—I believe Mr. Maskelyne—who was a singularly handsome man with a classical Greek profile. Upon inquiring what the name of the member might be, he was told by a young waiter that it was Mr. Herbert Spencer. Thereupon Sir Edgar arranged with a common friend to ascertain if Mr. Spencer would like to have his features represented in marble, and, if so, to arrange for a meeting. When the meeting

took place, and the sculptor caught sight of the real Herbert Spencer, his astonishment knew no bounds. If you could conceive a human form and face ill adapted as a model for a sculptor, it was that of Mr. Spencer. In the most delicate way Sir Edgar tried to intimate to the philosopher the insuperable difficulties of the task he had offered to perform. But all his arguments were useless. Mr. Spencer took his stand upon the ground that he had been requested to allow a bust of himself to be made, that he had agreed to the proposal, and that he intended to insist upon the execution of the promise. Again I have been told on good authority a story of how Mr. Spencer's complete works ever came to be published. A number of his personal friends who knew the extreme narrowness of his means, who admired his extraordinary energy under the most depressing circumstances, and who were anxious to relieve his embarrassments, agreed to publish a complete edition of his works and to pay him a salary for editing the volumes and seeing them through the press which would, with his simple tastes, keep him in comfort during his advancing years. After some few volumes had been published, the signatories of the agreement, who were all personal friends, found the cost of publication far exceeded the amount anticipated, and suggested to Mr. Spencer that the publication should be suspended, and that, notwithstanding this, their engagement with him should remain as heretofore. But to any suggestion of this kind Mr. Spencer absolutely refused to listen. He informed his friends that they had made a contract, and that he must insist on its rigid execution. Legally he was absolutely and entirely within his right; and I for one, though I doubt whether Mr. Spencer's *magnum opus* will command quite the amount of attention on the part of posterity that his admirers foretell, cannot but admit there is something really heroic about an author who believed so implicitly in the value of his own work, and was so prepared to subordinate all personal considerations to the perpetuation of its memory.

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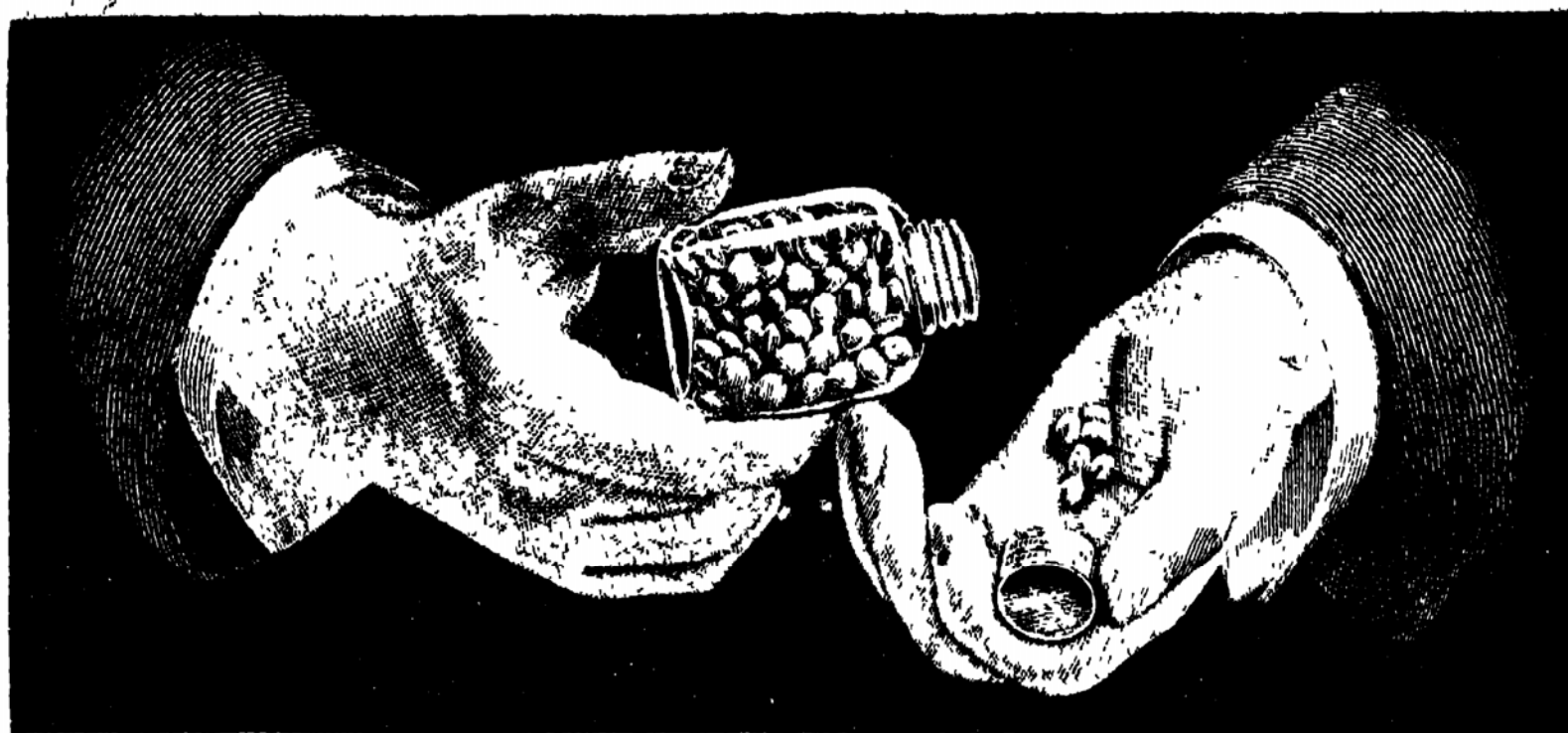
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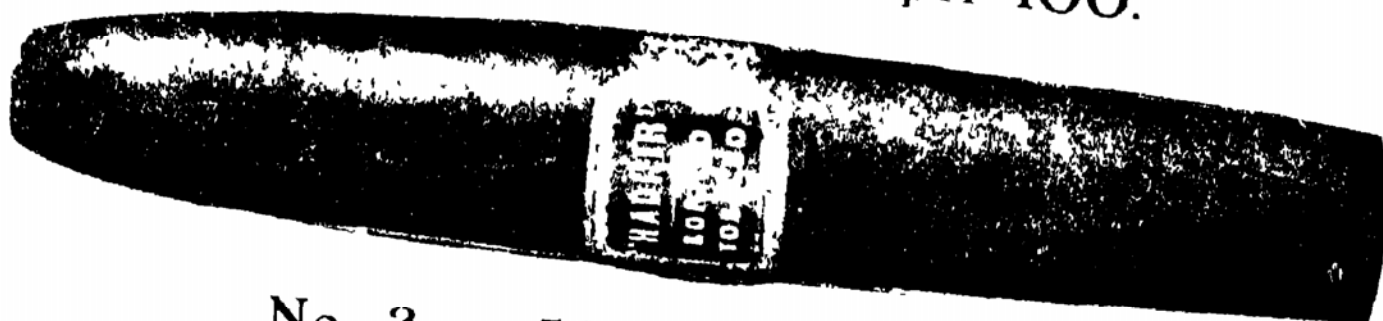
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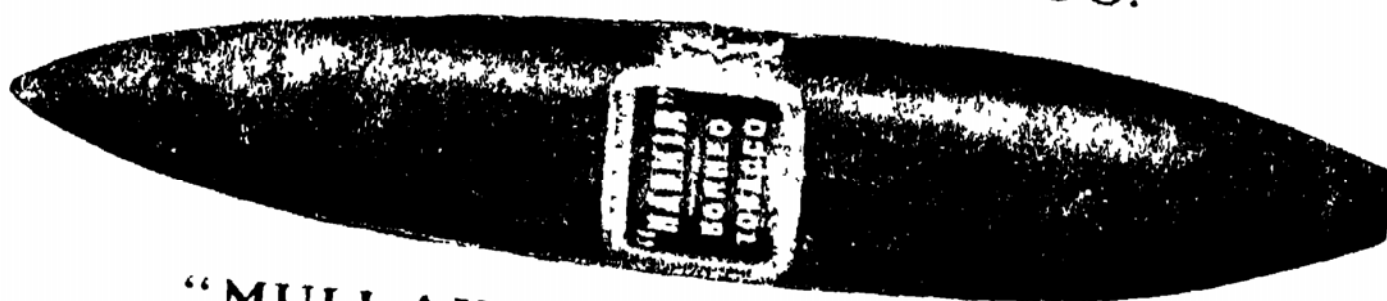
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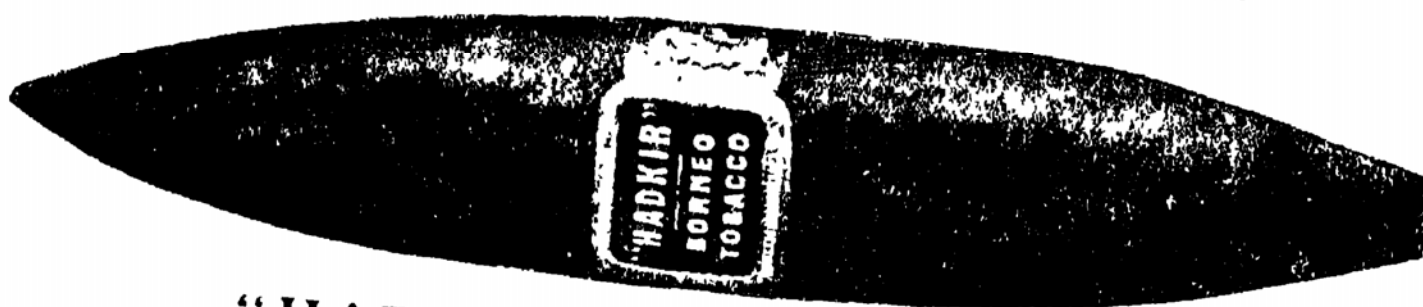
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4. By making inquiries for persons legitimately interested and collecting information regarding the utility, objects, and mode of working of charitable institutions.
5. By investigating, on behalf of persons legitimately interested, and reporting on the appeals of begging-letter writers, whose operations are of metropolitan or general, rather than of a local character.
6. By supplementing the resources of the District Committees of the Society, by the personal assistance of officers appointed and paid, in all or part, by the Council, by grants for general purposes and, when necessary, for relief, and by obtaining adequate help in cases of difficulty.

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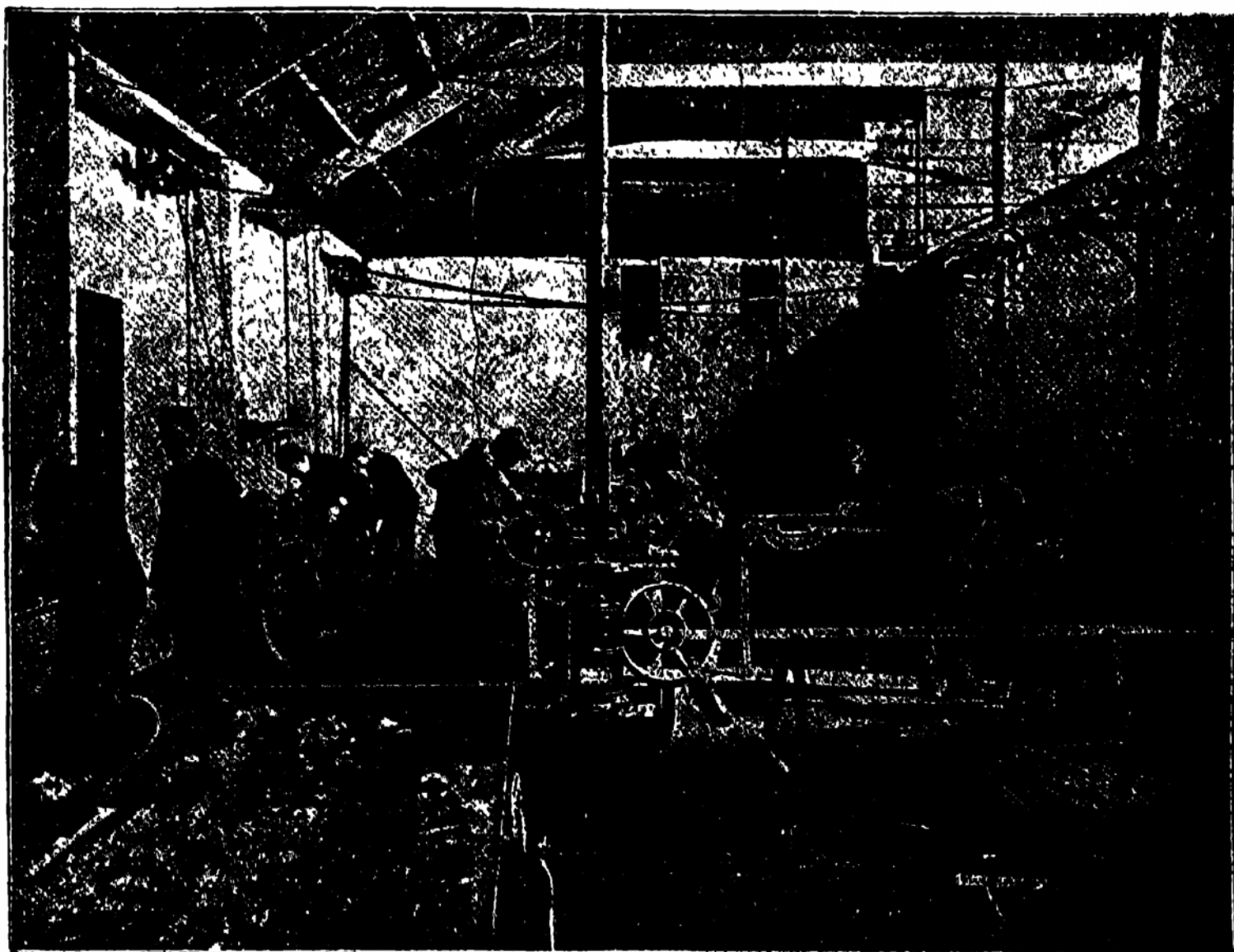
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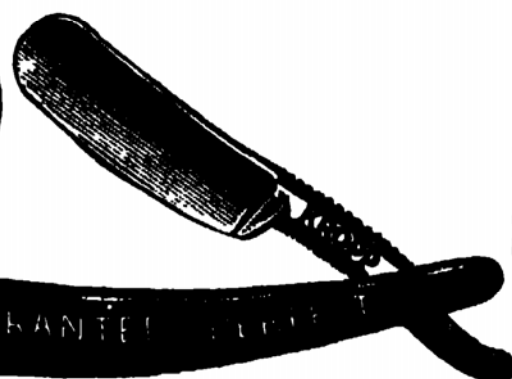
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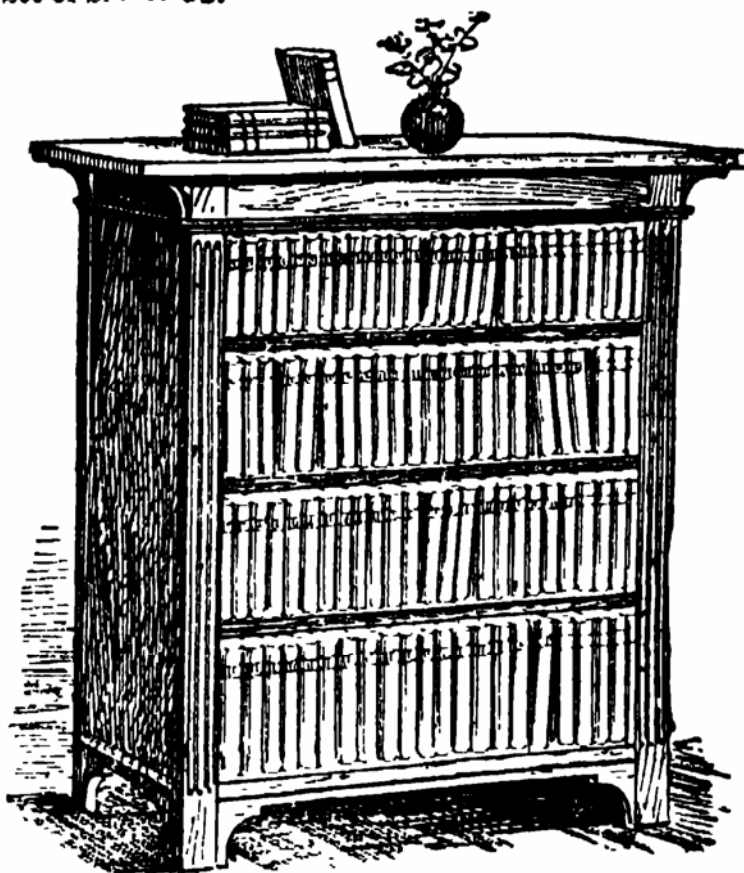
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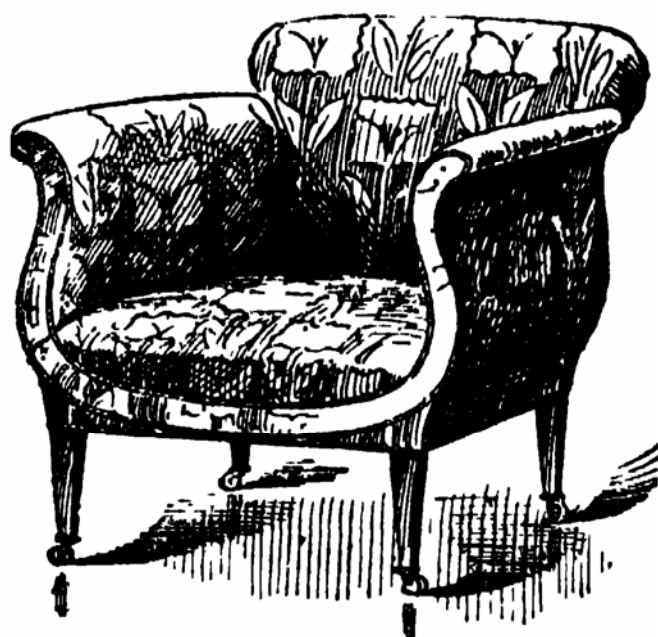
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THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. CCCXXIV—FEBRUARY 1904

*LORD WOLSELEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY*¹

THE autobiography of my old and highly esteemed friend, Lord Wolseley, constitutes an honourable record of a well-spent life. Lord Wolseley may justifiably be proud of the services which he has rendered to his country. The British nation, and its principal executive officials in the past, may also be proud of having quickly discovered Lord Wolseley's talents and merits, and of having advanced him to high position.

Obviously, certain conclusions of public interest may be drawn from the career of this very distinguished soldier. Sir George Arthur, in the December number of the *Fortnightly Review*, has stated what are the special lessons which, in his opinion, are to be derived from a consideration of that career.

Those lessons are, indeed, sufficiently numerous. I propose, however, to deal with only two of them. They are those which, apparently, Lord Wolseley himself wishes to be inculcated. Both involve questions of principle of no little importance.

In the first place, Lord Wolseley, if I understand rightly, considers that the army has suffered greatly from civilian interference.

¹ *The Story of a Soldier's Life.* Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley. (Constable.)

He appears to think that it should be more exclusively than heretofore under military control.

In the second place, he thinks that, in certain cases, the political and diplomatic negotiations, which generally follow on a war, should be conducted, not by a diplomatist or politician, but by the officer who has conducted the previous military operations.

As regards the first point, I am not now dealing with Lord Wolseley's remarks in connection with our general unpreparedness for war, nor with those on the various defects, past or present, of our military organisation. In a great deal that he has said on these subjects, Lord Wolseley carries me heartily with him. I confine myself strictly to the issue as I have defined it above.

Possibly, I have mistaken the significance of Lord Wolseley's words. If so, my error is shared by Sir George Arthur, who, in dealing with the War Office, dwells with emphasis on the occasions when 'this great war expert was thwarted in respect of his best considered plans by the civilian element in that citadel of inefficiency,'² and speaks with approval of Lord Wolseley's 'severe strictures on blundering civilian interference with the army,' as also of the 'censure reserved for the criminal negligence and miserable cowardice of successive Cabinets.'

It seems to me that Lord Wolseley is rather hard on civilians in general—those 'iconoclastic civilian officials who meddle and muddle in army matters' (ii. 376)³—on politicians in particular, who, I cannot but think, are not quite so black as he has painted them; and most of all on Secretaries of State, with the single exception of Lord Cardwell, to whom generous and very well deserved praise is accorded.

It is not quite clear, from a perusal of these volumes, what is the precise nature of the change which Lord Wolseley wishes to advocate, although in one passage (i. 224) a specific proposal is made. It is that 'a certificate should be annually laid before Parliament by the non-political Commander-in-Chief, that the whole of the military forces of the Empire can be completely and effectively equipped for war in a fortnight.' The general tendency of the reform which commends itself to Lord Wolseley may, however, readily be inferred. He complains (i. 224) that the soldiers, 'though in office, are never in power.' Nevertheless, as he explains with military frankness, 'the

² After carefully reading the book, I am in doubt as to the specific occasions to which allusion is here made.

³ This expression is used with reference to a warning to civilians that they should 'keep their hands off the regiment.' I do not know if any recent instances have occurred when civilians have wished to touch the essential portions of what is known as the 'regimental system,' but I have a very distinct recollection of the fact that this accusation was very freely, and very unjustly, brought against the army reformers in Lord Cardwell's time. Of these, Lord Wolseley was certainly the most distinguished. I think he will bear me out in the assertion that it was only by civilian support that, in the special instances to which I allude, the opposition was overcome.

cunning politician,' when anything goes wrong, is able 'to turn the wrath of a deceived people upon the military authorities, and those who are exclusively to blame are too often allowed to sneak off unhurt in the turmoil of execration they have raised against the soldiers.' I may remark incidentally that exception might perhaps reasonably be taken to the use of the word 'exclusively' in this passage; but the main point to which I wish to draw attention is that clearly, in Lord Wolseley's opinion, the soldiers, under the existing system, have not sufficient power, and that it would be advisable that they should, under a reformed system, be invested with more ample power. I dare say Lord Wolseley is quite right, at all events to this extent, that it is desirable that the power, as also the responsibility, of the highest military authorities should be as clearly defined as is possible under our peculiar system of government. But it is essential to ascertain more accurately in what manner Lord Wolseley, speaking with all the high authority which deservedly attaches itself to his name, thinks that effect should be given to the principle which he advocates. In order to obtain this information, I turn to vol. i. p. 92, where I find the following passage: 'A man who is not a soldier, and who is entirely ignorant of war, is selected solely for political reasons to be Secretary of State for War. I might with quite as great propriety be selected to be the chief surgeon in a hospital.'

I would here digress for a moment to deal with the argument advanced in the latter part of this sentence. It is very plausible, and, at first sight, appears convincing. It is also very commonly used. Over and over again, I have heard the presumed analogy between the surgeon and the soldier advanced as a proof of the absurdity of the English system. I believe that no such analogy exists. Surgery is an exact science. To perform even the most trifling surgical operation requires careful technical training and experience. It is far otherwise with the case of the soldier. I do not suppose that any civilian in his senses would presume, on a purely technical matter, to weigh his own opinion against that of a trained soldier, like Lord Wolseley, who is thoroughly versed in the theory of his profession, and who has been through the school of actual war. But a large number of the most important questions affecting military organisation and the conduct of military affairs, require for their solution little or no technical knowledge. Any man of ordinary common sense can form an opinion on them, and any man of good business habits may readily become a capable agent for giving effect to the opinions which he, or which others have formed.

I may here perhaps give a page from my own personal experience bearing on the point under discussion.

The Soudan campaign of 1896-98 was, in official circles, dubbed a 'Foreign Office war.' For a variety of reasons, to which it is unnecessary to allude in detail, the Sirdar was, from the commence-

ment of the operations, placed exclusively under my orders in all matters. The War Office assumed no responsibility, and issued no orders.⁴ A corresponding position was occupied by the Head-Quarters Staff of the Army of Occupation in Cairo. The result was that I found myself in the somewhat singular position of a civilian, who had had some little military training in his youth, but who had had no experience of war,⁵ whose proper functions were diplomacy and administration, but who, under the stress of circumstances in the Land of Paradox, had to be ultimately responsible for the maintenance, and even, to some extent, for the movements of an army of some 25,000 men in the field.

That good results were obtained under this system cannot be doubted. It will not, therefore, be devoid of interest to explain how it worked in practice, and what were the main reasons which contributed towards success.

I have no wish to disparage the strategical and tactical ability which were displayed in the conduct of the campaign. It is, however, a fact that no occasion arose for the display of any great skill in these branches of military knowledge. When once the British and Egyptian troops were brought face to face with the enemy, there could—unless the conditions under which they fought were altogether extraordinary—be little doubt of the result. The speedy and successful issue of the campaign depended, in fact, almost entirely upon the methods adopted for overcoming the very exceptional difficulties connected with the supply and transport of the troops. The main quality required to meet these difficulties was a good head for business. By one of those fortunate accidents which have been frequent in the history of Anglo-Saxon enterprise, a man was found equal to the occasion. Lord Kitchener of Khartum won his well-deserved peerage because he was a good man of business; he looked carefully after all important detail, and he enforced economy.

My own merits, such as they were, were of a purely negative character. They may be summed up in a single phrase. I abstained from mischievous activity, and I acted as a check on the interference of others. I had full confidence in the abilities of the commander, whom I had practically myself chosen, and, except when he asked for

⁴ Much the same proceeding appears to have been adopted in the Red River expedition, which was conducted with such eminent success by Lord Wolseley in 1870. But there was a difference. Lord Wolseley, in describing that expedition, says (ii. 221): 'The Cabinet and parliamentary element in the War Office, that has marred so many a good military scheme, had, I may say, little or nothing to do with it from first to last. When will civilian Secretaries of State for War cease from troubling in war affairs?' In the case of the Soudan campaigns, on the other hand, Lord Kitchener and I had to rely—and our reliance was not misplaced—on the Cabinet and parliamentary elements of the Government, to prevent excessive interference from the London offices.

⁵ I was present for a few weeks, as a spectator, with Grant's army at the siege of Petersburg in 1864, but the experience was too short to be of much value.

my assistance, I left him entirely alone. I encouraged him to pay no attention to those vexatious bureaucratic formalities with which, under the slang phrase of 'red tape,' our military system is overburdened. I exercised some little control over the demands for stores which were sent to the London War Office ; and the mere fact that these demands passed through my hands, and that I declined to forward any request unless, besides being in accordance with existing regulations—a point to which I attached but slight importance—it had been authorised by the Sirdar, probably tended to check wastefulness in that quarter where it was most to be feared. Beyond this I did nothing, and I found—somewhat to my own astonishment—that, with my ordinary staff of four diplomatic secretaries, the general direction of a war of no inconsiderable dimensions added but little to my ordinary labours.

I do not say that this system would always work as successfully as was the case during the Khartum campaign. The facts, as I have already said, were peculiar. The commander, on whom everything practically depended, was a man of marked military and administrative ability. Nevertheless, I feel certain that Lord Kitchener would bear me out in saying that here was a case in which general civilian control, far from exercising any detrimental effect, was on the whole beneficial.

To return to the main thread of my argument. The passage (i. 92) which I have quoted from Lord Wolseley's book would certainly appear to point to the conclusion that, in his opinion, the Secretary of State for War should be a soldier unconnected with politics. Even although Lord Wolseley does not state this conclusion in so many words, it is notorious to any one who is familiar with the views current in army circles that the adoption of this plan is considered by many to be the best, if it be not the only, solution of all our military difficulties.

I am not concerned with the constitutional objections which may be urged against the change of system now under discussion. Neither need I dwell on the difficulty of making it harmonise with our system of party government, for which it is quite possible to entertain a certain feeling of respect and admiration without being in any degree a political partisan. I approach the question exclusively from the point of view of its effects on the army. From that point of view, I venture to think that the change is to be deprecated.

In dealing with Lord Cardwell's attitude in respect to army reform, Lord Wolseley says (ii. 273) : ' Never was Minister in my time more generally hated by the army.' He points out how this hatred was extended to all who supported Lord Cardwell's views. His own conduct (ii. 248) was ' looked upon as a species of high treason.' I was at the time employed in a subordinate position at the War Office. I can testify that this language is by no means exaggerated. Nevertheless, after events showed clearly enough that, in resisting the

abolition of purchase, the formation of a reserve, and the other admirable reforms with which Lord Cardwell's name, equally with that of Lord Wolseley, is now honourably associated, the bulk of army opinion was wholly in the wrong. I believe such army opinion as now objects to a civilian being Secretary of State for War to be equally in the wrong.

There would appear, indeed, to be some inconsistency between Lord Wolseley's unstinted praise of Lord Cardwell—that 'greatest' of War Ministers (ii. 271), who, 'though absolutely ignorant of our army and of war' (234), responded so 'readily to the demands made on him by his military advisers,' and 'gave new life to our old army' (240)—and his depreciation of the system which gave official birth to Lord Cardwell. There would be no contradiction in the two positions if the civilian Minister, in 1871, had been obliged to use his position in Parliament and his influence on public opinion to force on an unwilling nation reforms which were generally advocated by the army. But the very contrary of this was the case. What Lord Cardwell had principally to encounter was 'the fierce hatred' (ii. 231) of the old school of soldiers, and Lord Wolseley tells us clearly enough what would have happened to the small band of army reformers within the army, if they had been unable to rely on civilian support.

Had it not been [he says (ii. 231)] for Mr. Cardwell's and Lord Northbrook's constant support and encouragement, those of us who were bold enough to advocate a thorough reorganisation of our military system, would have been 'provided for' in distant quarters of the British world, 'where no mention of us more should be heard.'

There can be no such thing as finality in army reform. There will be reformers in the future, as there have been in the past. There will, without doubt, be vested interests and conservative instincts to be overcome in the future, as there were at the time when Lord Wolseley so gallantly fought the battle of army reform. What guarantee can Lord Wolseley afford that a soldier at the head of the army will always be a reformer, and that he will not 'provide for' those of his subordinates who have the courage to raise their voices in favour of reform, even as Lord Wolseley thinks he would himself have been 'provided for' had it not been for the sturdy support he received from his civilian superiors? I greatly doubt the possibility of giving any such guarantee.

But I go further than this. It is now more than thirty years since I served under the War Office. I am, therefore, less intimately acquainted with the present than with the past. But, during those thirty years, I have been constantly brought in contact with the War Office, and I have seen no reason whatever to change the opinion I formed in Lord Cardwell's time, namely, that it will be an evil day for the army when it is laid down, as a system, that no civilian should be

Secretary of State for War. My belief is that, if ever the history of our military administration of recent years comes to be impartially written, it will be found that most of the large reforms, which have beneficially affected the army, have been warmly supported, and sometimes initiated, by the superior civilian element in the War Office. Who, indeed, ever heard of a profession being reformed from within? One of the greatest law reformers of the last century was the author of *Bleak House*.

It may, indeed, be urged—perhaps Lord Wolseley would himself urge—that it is no defence of a bad system to say that under one man (Lord Cardwell), whom Lord Wolseley describes as ‘a clear-headed, logical-minded lawyer’ (ii. 234), it worked very well. To this I reply that I cannot believe that the race of clear-headed, logical-minded individuals of Cabinet rank, belonging to either great party of the State, is extinct.

I have been induced to make these remarks because, in past years, I was a good deal associated with army reform, and because, since then, I have continued to take an interest in the matter. Also because I am convinced that those officers in the army who, with the best intentions, advocate the particular change now under discussion, are making a mistake in army interests. They may depend upon it that the cause they have at heart will best be furthered by maintaining at the head of the army a civilian of intelligence and of good business habits, who, although, equally with a soldier, he may sometimes make mistakes, will give an impartial hearing to army reformers, and will probably be more alive than any one belonging to their own profession to all that is best in the outside and parliamentary pressure to which he is exposed.

I turn to the second point to which allusion was made at the commencement of this article.

Speaking of the Chinese war in 1860, Lord Wolseley says (ii. 62): ‘In treating with barbarian nations during a war . . . the general to command the army and the ambassador to make peace should be one and the same man. To separate the two functions is, according to my experience, folly gone mad.’ Lord Wolseley reverts to this subject in describing the Ashantee war of 1873–74 (ii. 269). I gather from his allusions to Sir John Moore’s campaign in Spain, and to the fact that evil results ensued from allowing Dutch deputies to accompany Marlborough’s army, that he is in favour of extending the principle which he advocates to wars other than those waged against ‘barbarian nations.’

The objections to anything in the nature of a division of responsibility, at all events so long as military operations are in actual progress, are, indeed, obvious, and are now very generally recognised. Those who are familiar with the history of the revolutionary war will remember the baneful influence exercised by the Aulic Council over the

actions of the Austrian commanders.⁶ There can, in fact, be little doubt that circumstances may occur when the principle advocated by Lord Wolseley may most advantageously be adopted; but it is, I venture to think, one which has to be applied with much caution, especially when the question is not whether there should be a temporary cessation of hostilities—a point on which the view of the officer in command of the troops would naturally carry the greatest weight—but also involves the larger issue of the terms on which peace should finally be concluded. I am not at all sure that, in deciding on the issues which, under the latter contingency, must necessarily come under consideration, the employment of a soldier, in preference to a politician or diplomatist, is always a wise proceeding. Soldiers, equally with civilians, are liable to make erroneous forecasts of the future, and to mistake the general situation with which they have to deal. I can give a case in point.

When, in January 1885, Khartum fell, the question whether the British army should be withdrawn, or should advance and reconquer the Soudan, had to be decided. Gordon, whose influence on public opinion, great before, had been enhanced by his tragic death, had strongly recommended the policy of ‘smashing the Mahdi.’ Lord Wolseley adopted Gordon’s opinion. ‘No frontier force,’ he said, ‘can keep Mahdism out of Egypt, and the Mahdi sooner or later must be smashed, or he will smash you.’ These views were shared by Lord Kitchener, Sir Redvers Buller, Sir Charles Wilson, and by the military authorities generally.⁷ Further, the alleged necessity of ‘smashing the Mahdi,’ on the ground that his success in the Soudan would be productive of serious results elsewhere, exercised a powerful influence on British public opinion at this period, although the best authorities on Eastern politics were at the time aware that the fears so generally entertained in this connection were either groundless or, at all events, greatly exaggerated.⁸ Under these circumstances, it was decided to ‘smash the Mahdi,’ and accordingly a proclamation, giving effect to the declared policy of the British Government, was issued. Shortly afterwards, the Penjdeh incident occurred. Public opinion in England somewhat calmed down, having found its natural safety-valve in an acrimonious parliamentary debate, in which the Government narrowly escaped defeat. The voices of politicians and diplomatists, which had been to some degree hushed by the din of arms, began to be heard.

⁶ *Art of War*, Jomini, p. 59.

⁷ I think I am correct in saying that Sir Evelyn Wood was of a contrary opinion but I have been unable to verify this statement by reference to any contemporaneous document.

⁸ On the 21st of March, 1884, Sir Alfred Lyall wrote to Mr. Henry Reeve: ‘The Mahdi’s fortunes do not interest India. The talk in some of the papers about the necessity of smashing him in order to avert the risk of some general Mohamedan uprising is futile and imaginative.’—*Memoirs of Henry Reeve*, vol. ii. p. 329.

The proclamation was cancelled. The project of reconquering the Soudan was postponed to a more convenient period. It was, in fact, accomplished thirteen years later, under circumstances which differed very materially from those which prevailed in 1885. In June 1885 the Government of Lord Salisbury succeeded to that of Mr. Gladstone, and, though strongly urged to undertake the reconquest of the Soudan, confirmed the decision of its predecessors.

Sir George Arthur, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, strongly condemns this 'cynical disavowal' of Lord Wolseley's proclamation. I have nothing to say in favour of the issue of that proclamation. I am very clearly of opinion that, as it was issued, it was wise that it should be cancelled. For, in truth, subsequent events showed that the forecast made by Lord Wolseley and by Gordon was erroneous, in that it credited the Mahdi with a power of offence which he was far from possessing. No serious difficulty arose in defending the frontier of Egypt from Dervish attack. The overthrow of the Mahdi's power, though eminently desirable, was very far from constituting an imperious necessity such as was commonly supposed to exist in 1885. In this instance, therefore, it appears to me that the diplomatists and politicians gauged the true nature of the situation somewhat more accurately than the soldiers.

More than this. I conceive that, in all civilised countries, the theory of government is that a question of peace or war is one to be decided by politicians. The functions of the soldier are supposed to be confined, in the first place, to advising on the purely military aspects of the issue involved ; and, in the second place, to giving effect to any decisions at which the Government may arrive. The practice in this matter not unfrequently differs somewhat from the theory. The soldier, who is generally prone to advocate vigorous action, is inclined to encroach on the sphere which should properly be reserved for the politician. The former is often masterful, and the latter may be dazzled by the glitter of arms, or too readily lured onwards by the persuasive voice of some strategist to acquire an almost endless succession of what, in technical language, are called 'keys' to some position, or—to employ a metaphor of which the late Lord Salisbury once made use in writing to me—'to try and annex the moon in order to prevent its being appropriated by the planet Mars.' When this happens, a risk is run that the soldier, who is himself unconsciously influenced by a very laudable desire to obtain personal distinction, may practically dictate the policy of the nation without taking a sufficiently comprehensive view of national interests. Considerations of this nature have more especially been, from time to time, advanced in connection with the numerous frontier wars which have occurred in India. That they contain a certain element of truth can scarcely be doubted.

For these reasons, it appears to me that the application of the

principle advocated by Lord Wolseley requires much care and watchfulness. Probably, the wisest plan will be that each case should be decided on its own merits with reference to the special circumstances of the situation, which may sometimes demand the fusion, and sometimes the separation, of military and political functions.

I was talking a short time ago to a very intelligent, and also Anglo-phile, French friend of mine. He knew England well, but, until quite recently, had not visited the country for a few years. He told me that what struck him most was the profound change which had come over British opinion since the occasion of his last visit. We had been invaded, he said, by *le militarisme continental*. In common with the vast majority of my countrymen, I am earnestly desirous of seeing our military organisation and military establishments placed on a thoroughly sound footing, but I have no wish whatever to see any portion of our institutions overwhelmed by a wave of *militarisme continental*. It is because I think that the views advocated by Lord Wolseley tend—although, I do not doubt, unconsciously to their distinguished author—in the direction of a somewhat too pronounced *militarisme*, that I venture in some degree to differ from one for whom I have for many years entertained the highest admiration and the most cordial personal esteem.

CROMER.

THE GERMANS AT WATERLOO AND ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

THE speech delivered at Hanover by the Kaiser on the 18th of last December, in which he told his hearers that the Germans had rescued the British army from destruction at Waterloo, attracted more attention in England and throughout the world than such an utterance seemed to merit. Political significance has been attributed to it. Many recalled the famous Kruger telegram sent, as we all know, on the high authority of the Chancellor of the German Empire, for the purpose of testing how far certain Continental Powers were prepared to act with Germany against England. It is also not forgotten that, for many years past, it has been the steady policy of the German Government to foster hostile feelings in Germany against the British nation. The action of the Foreign Office at Berlin in this respect is well known to every diplomatist and statesman on the Continent. From time to time it is true that efforts have been made in high quarters in Berlin to check the German Anglophobe movement; but these efforts have been directed with a view not seriously to impair its power, but to hinder it from becoming a political danger. If the Government at Berlin had been really anxious to paralyse this movement during the Boer war, they had only to publish the official account, as the American Government did, of their military agents in South Africa. This would have seriously counteracted the effect which the systematic calumnies on the British army made on the mind of many generous Germans. It has at last been given to the world, but the hour has gone by when its publication would have been of value and a friendly act.

The speech of the Kaiser at Hanover was certainly not calculated to allay the friction which exists between the English nation and the German people. It has had the effect of inducing Englishmen to recall many episodes in the former relations between Prussia and Great Britain, and especially some important ones connected with the time when England was locked in a life and death struggle with the power of Napoleon. It made them remember the fatuous and

treacherous conduct of Prussia in 1805, and her doubtful behaviour during the Congress of Vienna.

It has been pointed out by one of the most brilliant of American writers that the real turning-point in Napoleon's career was the battle of Trafalgar. After Nelson's victory on the 21st of October, 1805, Napoleon had to choose between making peace with the Government of King George the Third on terms acceptable to the English people, and pursuing a policy in Europe having for its object the forcing of Continental countries to sever commercial relations with England, and involving acts of oppression which must arouse the nations against him, if England remained true to herself.

He chose the latter course, and the famous Decree of Berlin was his answer to Trafalgar.

The campaign of Napoleon in Russia in 1812, which was the inevitable consequence of endeavouring to enforce the Decree of Berlin, is considered by many to be the proximate cause of his fall. This view appears to me to require modification. The disaster his army suffered in Russia was well-nigh overwhelming. We have all read of the terrible scenes on the Beresina; and it was only in consequence of a series of gross mistakes on the part of the Russian commanders, and especially of Tschitschagow, that Napoleon escaped complete destruction on that occasion, as he had done a short time before through the timidity of Kutusow at Krasnoi. As it was, he saved only a remnant of his army; but in that remnant there was a large number of non-commissioned officers and subalterns, a circumstance which enabled him in a very short time to place new armies in the field in an efficient state. It must also be remembered that the Russian forces suffered very nearly as much as the French. When Kutusow reached the Polish frontier he also was almost without an army. Of the 200,000 men who had come under his command from the time he was appointed to supersede Barclay de Tolly on the eve of Borodino, and of the 100,000 men with which he started from Tarutino, not more than 40,000 reached Wilna. The military power of Russia was almost exhausted, and many of the leading men among the advisers of the Tzar, Kutusow and Rumänzow especially, urged that monarch to make peace with Napoleon on condition of obtaining for Russia the Duchy of Warsaw and all Prussian territories east of the Vistula. Napoleon, on the other hand, was still powerful. His genius was never brighter, his energy never greater. He had behind him the enthusiasm of France and the resources of the States of the Confederation of the Rhine. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin alone, among the Princes of this Confederation, was hostile to him. All the others remained true to his cause. Although the Würtemberg contingent was absolutely destroyed in the retreat from Moscow, and although Bavaria had

lost 20,000 men in the Russian campaign, the rulers of these States took active steps to furnish Napoleon with large reinforcements. Nor must it be assumed that they were acting against the feelings of the people. Napoleon's power was not unpopular, either in Würtemberg or in Bavaria. The French were liked in South Germany. Döllinger, who was fourteen years old in February 1813, and remembered well the circumstances of that time, and had been presented by his father to Napoleon, often told me that, in South Germany, the sympathies of the people, and especially of the youth of the country, were French. This arose, no doubt, from the very different attitude which Napoleon assumed towards the South German States from that which he persistently took up as regards Prussia.

In the spring of 1813, King Frederick William the Third had been driven by semi-revolutionary forces in Prussia to go to war with Napoleon. The Emperor was completely victorious over the combined Prusso-Russian forces; and, if he had pressed home the advantages which he gained at Bautzen on the 20th of May, it is quite certain that the Russians would have abandoned Prussia to her fate, and made peace. They were on the point of doing so. Napoleon, however, agreed to an armistice at Poischwitz on the 4th of June, and thereby committed what he himself truly characterised as one of the great faults of his life. He gave his opponents in Germany breathing time when they were on the point of exhaustion; then news came from another part of the world which completely altered the situation.

On the 21st of June, 1813, Wellington won the battle of Vittoria. This victory in its brilliancy and completeness was compared with Austerlitz and Jena, and its consequences were most far reaching. All the political writings of the time show the deep impression which it made. It stiffened the resolution of the enemies of Napoleon, largely influenced the attitude assumed by Metternich, and secured the adhesion of Austria to the allied cause. One of the most accurate and well-informed of the historians of Napoleon, Dr. August Fournier, of the University of Prague, goes so far as to say that there is even some reason in the contention that its effect was to expel Napoleon from Germany. This was the opinion of Wellington. I happen to know from one who is still alive, and very nearly related to Metternich, that that statesman thought so too. Talleyrand and the shrewd clear-sighted Gentz also held a similar view.

On the 7th of October Wellington crossed the Bidassoa, and forced the French back on the Nivelle. The news spread like wildfire all over Europe that the English commander had invaded France. This move of Wellington raised to the highest pitch the hopes of Napoleon's enemies. On the 18th of October the battle of Leipsic was fought under the influence of this enthusiasm, and

the defeat of the French was followed by their retirement from Germany.

On New Year's night, 1814, Blücher crossed the Rhine. The Russian and Austrian armies followed him into France. Wellington was firmly established in Languedoc, and on the 27th of February won a victory over Soult at Orthez, the news of which caused consternation in Paris, and drove the French funds down to fifty-one. The Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies moved on Paris, and, after a campaign glorious for Napoleon, they succeeded, notwithstanding the heroism of Marmont and Mortier, in forcing Paris to capitulate on the 30th of March. The Empire of Napoleon was at an end, and the French monarchy was restored. The Emperor Alexander of Russia was at this moment the most conspicuous figure in Paris. He used every artifice with considerable success to ingratiate himself with the French, and he assumed to be the arbiter of Europe. The position he took up in 1814 must never be forgotten by anyone who desires to study the attitude and conduct of the Duke of Wellington the year after, when he was in the Low Countries, while the battle of Waterloo was actually being fought, during his subsequent march to Paris, and during the negotiations which resulted in the second restoration of the House of Bourbon.

On the return of the Bourbons in 1814, it seemed as if the struggle with Napoleon was over, and the sovereigns and statesmen of Europe met together in the autumn at Vienna for the purpose of dividing amongst themselves the spoils taken from Napoleon. The Emperor Alexander went to Vienna for the purpose of realising plans of prime importance. He was determined to get possession of the Duchy of Warsaw; to prevent Austria from profiting by the advantages which her new position among the Powers had given her; to support Prussian schemes for aggrandisement in Germany, so as to make her a useful ally; and, lastly, to push forward the Russian frontier on the shores of the Black Sea, and thereby enable his country to carry out with greater ease the policy of Catherine the Second, and ultimately gain possession of Constantinople. On his arrival at Vienna, the Tzar was already on bad terms with Austria, England, and France. He was displeased with Metternich, and busied himself with designs for overthrowing that Minister, as badly conceived as they were injudiciously attempted. Alexander's relations with England—a Power which he always cordially detested—were still more strained. Lord Castlereagh was particularly disagreeable to him. If he had dared, he would have treated the English statesman as discourteously as he often did Prince Metternich. He was furious with Talleyrand, for no other reason, that I can discover, than because that statesman, with marvellous ability and tact, maintained the dignity of the King and country which he represented.

The representatives of Prussia were consumed with a desire to extend her possessions without regard to justice or even decency. Conquest has, since the days of Frederick the Great, been the predominant passion of their country. So it was in 1815, and so it is at the present moment. The object of Prussia at Vienna was the acquisition of Saxony. That was the beginning of a series of political operations to efface the influence of Austria, and to become the sovereign Power in Germany. Lord Castlereagh was guided by the best intentions, but did not, owing to some radically false views, quite grasp the situation. He at one time supported the designs of Prussia on Saxony to their utmost extent; but fortunately, though he preserved on many questions a neutrality often astonishing, the influence of Talleyrand kept him fairly on right lines. The attitude of Russia and Prussia was so menacing and overbearing that England, France, and Austria entered into an alliance to resist their pretensions by force of arms. Towards the end of the year 1814 war appeared inevitable. Energetic preparations were being made; troops were concentrated everywhere. And although a little later the immediate danger was averted, and matters became more smooth after the arrival of the Duke of Wellington to replace Lord Castlereagh, who had to return to England for the meeting of Parliament in February 1815, there was still considerable friction between the Powers at the time when news came to Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba. Incredible as it may appear now, there was a general impression prevailing that Napoleon had taken this step with the connivance of England. Even before he left Elba there was a belief that England would favour his return to France. A caricature which appeared at Augsburg, of the Congress of Vienna, represented Lord Castlereagh as holding Napoleon, and saying to his colleagues: 'If you don't behave yourselves, I'll let him go!' This ludicrous notion illustrates the suspicion with which the Powers regarded each other. The common danger, however, welded them together. But Wellington, who left Vienna on the 26th of March to take the command of the allied army which was assembling in the Netherlands, was determined that, in the struggle which was coming, he would be the dominating factor, and that the Emperor Alexander should not acquire the position he had occupied the year before. Wellington was far the greatest man, from a military point of view, in the Congress of Vienna. His deeds in the Peninsula had struck the imaginations of men, and, after Vittoria, he was by common consent the first soldier of the Coalition. When he left Vienna, however, Alexander had it all his own way. England was imperfectly represented there by Lord Clancarty, Prussia by Knesbeck, who possessed no great military capacity, and Austria by Schwarzenburg, a man of mediocre intellect. Alexander in these circumstances found it easy to dominate the Councils of the Powers, all the more so because he had the good

sense to call to his side two such distinguished commanders as Diebitsch and Toll. There were two different lines of thought in the allied Councils, one inspired by Wellington, the other by the Emperor Alexander and timid military advisers of the Austrian crown. Wellington held, as we know from a letter which he wrote to Lord Clancarty on the 10th of April, and from a memorandum which he composed two days afterwards, that, in order to prevent Napoleon maturing his plans, he should be attacked by the Anglo-Dutch army in the Netherlands, supported by the Prussian forces, at the end of April. He calculated rightly on the possibility of popular movements in France against Napoleon. He remembered the demonstrations of hostility to Napoleon which took place in various parts of the South of France the year before, and rendered his journey to Elba dangerous in the extreme. He was perfectly well aware of the feeling against Napoleon which also existed in some of the northern departments of France, and against which the Emperor was warned by a shrewd observer like Miot de Melito. But the great object of Wellington was to overthrow Napoleon before the Russians could join the allied forces, and to place his own country in the position among the nations to which she was entitled by her steady and heroic sacrifices. We know on the authority of Gager, vol. ii. p. 145, that, before he left Vienna, he expressed himself strongly against Russian troops being marched to the Rhine, and maintained that there were quite enough soldiers without them at the disposal of the Allies to overthrow Napoleon. The idea which found favour with the Emperor Alexander was that the armies of Europe should remain on the defensive till the Russians had time to come up, so that all these forces should march into France in overwhelming numbers. The friction between England and Russia is a matter which must never be lost sight of by those who wish to follow the political and military events which led in 1815 to the final overthrow of Napoleon. Wellington was determined that the Emperor Alexander should not dominate the situation; the Tzar was anxious to weaken the influence of Wellington and England. A circumstance told by Bernhardt, in his *Life of Toll*, illustrates the feelings of the Tzar to the British commander. On the morning of Waterloo, the 18th of June, Toll, who had been attached to Blücher's army, left Wavre for Heidelberg, the headquarters of the Tzar. Toll apparently did not know of Blücher's intention to effect a junction with Wellington that day, and in consequence of being delayed in his journeys by the movements of troops on the roads, and by the breaking of an axletree, arrived at Heidelberg after the news of Waterloo had been received by Alexander. Toll had not heard of the battle; and, after changing his uniform, presented himself to the Tzar. He found his Sovereign walking up and down the room, extremely agitated and depressed. Toll thought that

the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny on the 16th of June was the cause of Alexander's low spirits. He therefore hastened to tell the Tzar that he had left Blücher's army early on the 18th at Wavre, and that things might not be so bad as they appeared. 'What on earth are you talking about?' was the reply of Alexander. 'Don't you know that Wellington gained a great victory last Sunday some little distance from Brussels?' This he considered a fatal blow to Russian influence.

I do not propose to enter at any length into the campaign of 1815, or into the battle of the 18th of June. To explain, however, the influence of Germans on the issue of that engagement, I must give some little account of the leading incidents of Waterloo.

First of all it is necessary to remember the composition of the contending armies. Bonaparte had 71,947 men with 246 guns. Wellington had 67,661 men, and, according to Siborne and Sir James Shaw-Kennedy, 156 guns. M. Houssaye, in his recent volume on Waterloo, contends that Wellington had a somewhat larger number of guns. Be this as it may, Wellington was decidedly weaker than Napoleon in artillery. Wellington's army was made up as follows :

[illegible]

Sir James Shaw-Kennedy points out, most justly that the numbers of the contending forces give no idea of the comparative strength of the two armies. Napoleon's army was homogeneous, and consisted of Frenchmen, trained soldiers enthusiastically devoted to his person and cause. Wellington's army was the exact opposite of this, and was composed of troops many of whom, from political or other causes, were unwilling to fight against the French. At the height of the action, Bylandt's Dutch-Belgian brigade, on the advance of the French attacking columns, abandoned its ground, retreated through the British line, placed itself on the reverse slope of the position, and, in spite of remonstrances and orders, stood at ease and took no further part in the battle. Some of the troops who came from Germany were imperfectly disciplined and unsteady; this applies especially to soldiers from Nassau. The King's German Legion was better; but a whole regiment of Hanoverian Hussars, with their Colonel at their head, suddenly fled the field and galloped helter-skelter into Brussels. Creevey describes how they rode in wild confusion through the Porte de Namur, along the Rue de Namur, and through the Place Royale, shouting that the French were upon

them. They then spread reports of the total defeat of Wellington's army, which filled with dismay those English in Brussels who were listening to the roar of the cannon, and seeking eagerly for news as to the progress of the battle.

Sir James Shaw-Kennedy estimates that, from half-past eleven in the morning, when the action began, to six o'clock in the evening, Wellington had to fight Napoleon's army with a force considerably weaker. After six o'clock the preponderance against Napoleon became very great; but, notwithstanding that, for two hours Wellington's position was critical owing to the enthusiastic bravery of the French troops. The force despatched by Napoleon to resist Blücher acted with such splendid resolution that they held in check greatly superior numbers for a considerable time. It would be difficult to cite an instance of troops who behaved more nobly than the French at Waterloo. Their last attacks on Wellington, and their resistance to Blücher, are splendid records in the history of war.

There were five separate and distinct attacks on Wellington's army at Waterloo: three of them failed completely; the fourth was partially successful; the fifth was the only one in which the whole British line was attacked. That was also a failure. During these attacks the coolness, judgment, and energy shown by the Duke of Wellington have never been surpassed by any commander. He was ubiquitous, and his personal power was felt all along the line. In this respect he was a great contrast to Napoleon. The extraordinary want of energy, and even listlessness, which Napoleon showed at Waterloo have been ascribed to ill-health. Wellington excited the admiration of all who saw him. Count Pozzo di Borgo, who was present during the action as the representative of the Russian Government, in his official report, lauded Wellington to the skies, although he knew that his enthusiastic praise of the Duke would not be agreeable to Alexander. Marmont, who heard various accounts of the battle a day or so after from eye-witnesses, tells us in his Memoirs that the personal valour and intellectual resources of Wellington astounded men who were themselves remarkable for bravery and for the possession of the highest military qualities. Perhaps the most striking instance of Wellington's self-command was at the moment when the brigades of Ompteda and Kielmansegge were unable to hold their position in the centre of his line. This was the point Napoleon wished to seize. It was left for a moment unprotected; and if the Emperor had shown anything like the active personal energy in taking advantage of the overthrow of the German troops who held it, which Wellington did in repairing the disaster, the position of the British army would have been most critical. When it occurred, Wellington was towards the right of his line, near Maitland's Brigade of Guards. Sir James Shaw-

Kennedy rode up and reported to him that a whole space in the very centre of his line, which should have been held by German troops, was open. Wellington received the information with a degree of coolness which astounded Kennedy, and gave orders at once for the repair of the disaster with a precision which showed how completely he had his army in hand. This was, perhaps, one of the most critical moments of his life. He brought up troops himself to secure the threatened position, and Napoleon was unable to follow up his temporary advantage.

In judging the determination of Wellington to accept battle on the field of Waterloo, it is essential always to bear in mind his arrangement with Blücher. On the 17th of June he sent word to that commander that he would make a stand next day at Waterloo if the Prussian field-marshal would support him with two corps of his army. To this Blücher assented, and further said that he would support the Duke with his whole army. It was only on this distinct understanding that the Duke accepted battle at all. If that arrangement had not been made it would have been the utmost folly on the part of Wellington to accept battle with the motley army under his command, nearly one-half of which, as I have already said, could not for one reason or another be depended upon. How Blücher kept his word everybody knows, and no serious historian in England has ever wished to minimise the value of the support he rendered to the Duke of Wellington.

The difficulty which, owing to the state of the roads, the Prussian army experienced in their move towards Wellington was exceedingly great. The action of Blücher was daring in the extreme; and, if Wellington had not stood his ground at Waterloo, the consequences would have been fatal to the Prussian army. If it is untrue to say the Prussians saved the English army from destruction, it is nothing but the most sober truth to affirm that the steadfastness of the British infantry in resisting the attacks of Napoleon saved the Prussian army from annihilation. If the English soldiers had failed to hold their position, the Prussian army would have been left a prey to Napoleon's victorious battalions, which would have attacked it in front, while Grouchy operated in its rear. The leaders of the Prussian forces, especially Gneisenau and Grolman, knowing well this danger, were naturally anxious to know how the fight was going. About half-past three in the afternoon Blücher sent forward two officers to observe and report on the situation of the British army. One of these was Blücher's adjutant, Count Nostitz, and the other was Colonel v. Pfüel, of the General Staff. They found a plantation called the Wood of Paris unoccupied by the French. They went cautiously through the wood, which was situated south-east of Planchenoit, and, from a position in front of it, they could see the whole battle perfectly. Colonel v. Pfüel remained

where he was, and took a sketch of the battle as it then stood. Count Nostitz rode back to report. Gneisenau asked him what he thought the French would do. Nostitz gave it as his opinion that Napoleon would endeavour to keep the English in check, and turn his forces upon the Prussians with a view of securing his retreat. Evidently Count Nostitz did not think that the English army was on the brink of destruction. This conversation, as I gathered from Bernhardt, must have taken place a few minutes before four o'clock, when the heads of Bülow's columns began to occupy the Wood of Paris.

The day was drawing to its close, and Napoleon determined to strike his great blow for victory. At half-past seven he ordered several battalions of the Imperial Guard and the divisions commanded by Marcognet, Alix, Donzelot, and Bachelu to advance against Wellington's line, while the divisions of General Foy renewed the attack upon Hougomont. This last grand attack was supported by powerful artillery, and what remained of Napoleon's cavalry. It was the only one of five great attacks on Wellington's army which was general. There has been some controversy as to the order in which the Imperial Guard advanced. For practical purposes it may perhaps be best understood by saying that it advanced in two columns: a right column, consisting of battalions of the Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Middle Guard; and a somewhat stronger column to the left. The battalions on the right advanced in a slightly north-western direction towards the right centre of the British line. The left advanced nearer to the Hougomont enclosure towards the right of the British line. These columns did not attack simultaneously. The right column marched up the hill, and came upon that part of the British position occupied by Maitland's Brigade of Guards. The English Guards were lying down. Suddenly, at the order of Wellington, they arose, poured a destructive fire upon the French Imperial Guard; then charged, drove it down the hill at the point of the bayonet, and then returned to their former position. The head of the left column of the French Imperial Guard, in its advance, had its whole left flank exposed to the attack of the brigade led by Adam on Wellington's right. Colonel Colborne, who afterwards became Field-Marshal Lord Seaton, commanded the 52nd Regiment on the left of this brigade. On his own responsibility he placed the 52nd parallel to the flank of the advancing French column, opened fire, and stopped its advance. The French column wheeled to meet the attack, but the fire of the 52nd was followed by a charge which routed the battalions of the French Guard. The 52nd was the pride and glory of Wellington's army. It continued to advance four deep in a diagonal line right across the battle-field till it actually touched the great road from Brussels to Charleroi, which, as we know, ran right through the centre of the scene of action. When the 52nd reached the road

Colborne saw some battalions of Napoleon's Guard which were formed still on the west side of the highway. These battalions of the Imperial Guard were probably part of the battalions already repulsed by Maitland's Guards. They stood in three separate divisions, their right resting on the Charleroi road. Wellington, having already given the signal for his whole line to advance, and having sent word to Reiche, the Chief of the Staff of Ziethen, to request that a Prussian battery, which had been placed on the left of the British line, should cease firing across the battle-field, rode forward to the 52nd. He ordered it at once to charge the French Guards in its front. These battalions of the French Guard were routed in the same splendid fashion with which the 52nd had overthrown the former battalions. It was when watching the attack of the 52nd on his Guards that Napoleon, seeing the day was lost, turned to Count Flahault and said, 'It is the old story since Crecy.' My authority for this statement is the late Lord Acton, who heard it from Count Flahault himself. There are persons still alive, members of the Athenæum Club, who must remember, as I do, that Count Flahault told the same story to Mr. Abraham Hayward. The 52nd, after the overthrow of the French Guards, crossed the Charleroi road, and leaving La Belle Alliance and Trimontion on the right, and after overcoming some further show of resistance on the part of French soldiers, continued its march on the left of the Charleroi road to beyond Rosomme, where it again crossed the highway to its right, and then the regiment stood and bivouacked for the night. They reached this position about a quarter-past nine. The great feat of arms of the 52nd is sufficient to dispose of the assertions of Bernhardt and others, who have stated that no British regiment passed beyond La Belle Alliance on the evening of Waterloo. Wellington went with the 52nd to Rosomme, and, according to Sir James Shaw-Kennedy, it was returning from thence that he accidentally came upon Blücher on the Charleroi road, a little to the south or the French side of La Belle Alliance. M. Houssaye, in his very admirable book on Waterloo, is therefore mistaken when he says that Wellington met Blücher near La Belle Alliance as the Duke was riding in the direction of Charleroi from his main position.

Lamartine has summed up in a single sentence the real truth about Waterloo. 'The victory,' he says, 'was won by Wellington; the complete rout which followed was the work of Blücher.'

The causes of the victory were in the main the want of energy on the part of Napoleon, the extraordinary activity and resolution of the Duke of Wellington, and, above all, the conduct of the British infantry. Every student of history knows the view entertained of the British soldiers of the past by men like Foy, who had fought against them in Spain, by Marshal Bugeaud, who knew them well, by Reille, who, on the morning of Waterloo, expressed himself to

D'Erlon and to others who would listen to him, as doubting whether it would be possible to dislodge from its position by a front attack English infantry commanded by Wellington. I will merely quote, however, the words of the Prussian Field-Marshal Müffling, who was on the Duke of Wellington's staff at Waterloo. Speaking of the British soldiers of that day, he says: 'For a battle there is not perhaps in Europe an army equal to the British; that is to say, none whose tuition, discipline, and whole military tendency is so purely and exclusively calculated for giving battle. The British soldier is vigorous, well fed, by nature brave and intrepid, trained to the most rigorous discipline, and admirably well armed. The infantry resist the attacks of cavalry with great confidence, and, when taken in the flank or rear, British troops are less disconcerted than any other European army. These circumstances in their favour will explain how this army, since the Duke of Wellington has led it, had never yet been defeated in the open field.'

The action of the Germans in determining the result of Waterloo is not a matter of opinion, but of history. Why, however, the Kaiser should have made statements concerning it historically inaccurate and calculated to give offence is a subject worthy of consideration. It is probable that his remarks would not have attracted so much attention as they did were it not for the position of international affairs. It has been the invariable practice of the guides of public opinion in Germany to excite contempt as well as hatred for the nation they propose to attack. For some considerable time before the raid on Austria in 1866, a number of German writers and politicians, known as the Gotha school, were untiring in their efforts to excite contempt for Austria, and they employed all their ingenuity to make their countrymen believe that Austria had been of little or no assistance in the overthrow of Napoleon, and that the Monarchy of the House of Hapsburg was a hindrance to the spread of German civilisation. Previous to the war with France in 1870, those who formed German opinion persistently minimised or ignored the great services France has rendered to the cause of culture, and insisted so strongly that France was a decaying State, that their countrymen entered into the great struggle with their western neighbour full of confidence as well as of enthusiasm. Since the formation of the German Empire, mainly through the writings of Treitschke, who, I venture to think, has had a greater and more abiding influence on the German mind than Bismarck himself, it has been instilled into Germany that the real enemy of Germany is England, and that the English power is a mockery and a delusion. The German people have to be taught that the English nation has a position in the world which it acquired owing to civil dissensions in Germany, and to which it is in no way entitled. All the sins of England, great and venial, from the perfidy of Lord Bute during the

Seven Years' War to the questionable conduct of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1870, in selling, during the war, weapons which passed into the hands of the French out of English arsenals, are all remembered and carefully taught to every schoolboy in the country.

The attempt of the Kaiser to misrepresent the story of Waterloo is a part of this system.

The rapid decline in the international position of England since the death of Lord Palmerston is the dominating factor in the history of the nineteenth century. One of the causes of this decline is, as it appears to me, the system by which a seat in Parliament is a practical necessity for a Minister of the Crown. This system, under former political conditions, worked fairly well. When nomination boroughs existed, it was possible at any moment to secure the entrance into Parliament of men suited for the highest offices of State who, for want of fortune or pliability of character, or because of strength of conviction or other reasons, were unable to acquire or to maintain the confidence of large constituencies. The Reform Bills of the nineteenth century abolished nomination boroughs. The effect of this legislation was clearly enough perceived by men so widely different as Hegel, the philosopher, and Talleyrand, the shrewdest of statesmen. The maintenance in a Reformed Parliament of the old system, under which a seat in Parliament was necessary to enable a Minister to defend his policy before the representatives of the nation, is out of date and mischievous. It hampers the choice of the Prime Minister in the selection of his colleagues, and deprives the Crown of the services of some of the prime intellects of the nation. The great want of England is the adjustment of her political system, so as to secure for her the service of the best of her highly gifted sons.

X At the present moment we have reached a critical period of history. A conflict of interests has arisen between two Powers in the Far East, which not only involves the future of Russia and Japan, but also, to a considerable extent, that of the British Empire. It may be necessary for this nation to take up arms on the side of Japan. The international situation is, however, complicated in the extreme. The cardinal principle of the foreign policy of Germany is to obtain at almost any cost the support of Russia for schemes of aggrandisement. The lengths to which she will go to gratify her eastern neighbour may be seen in the debate in the Reichstag of the 19th of January, in which the action of the German Government in practically handing over Russian subjects who have fled to Germany to the Russian police without any form of trial in Germany was defended by Baron v. Richthofen. Possibly she has some understanding with Russia already, and the fact that Russia has left the Baltic without any of her ships of war points to the conclusion that she counts on German help as regards that sea. Germany,

we may be sure, will follow in a general way the same policy which Prussia followed during the Polish insurrection in 1863. We all know how General Alvensleben was sent to St. Petersburg from Berlin to arrange the well-known Prusso-Russian Convention regarding the suppression of that insurrection. The consequence of Bismarck's policy on that occasion was to acquire from Russia a free hand for his schemes for the spoliation of Denmark, the destruction of the Germanic Confederation, the expulsion of Austria from reconstructed Germany, and finally the conquest of Alsace. Germany is sure to follow this precedent for the furtherance of schemes of aggrandisement. Of these, the most pressing is the scheme for the disruption of the Swiss Confederation, and for the ultimate absorption of Holland into the German Empire.

As regards France, whatever engagements she has entered into with Russia will, we may be sure, be fully met. During her long and glorious history, France has always shown herself conspicuously honourable and even chivalrous as an ally. At the same time, in so far as she is free, we may judge her probable action by considering her real interests. The object of French foreign policy at this moment is the peaceful acquisition of Morocco. To accomplish this, the assistance of Great Britain is of prime importance. Moreover, the interests of the French Colonial Empire touch British interests at many points. France can only benefit by reducing the friction such a situation involves. There is reason to believe that some of the most important questions between the two countries, especially those which affect France in the Mediterranean, are in a fair way of settlement. It would be a sore disappointment, especially to those Frenchmen who look with hope to the acquisition by their country of a great Colonial Empire, if these negotiations with England were not brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I am satisfied, moreover, that war with England would now be exceedingly unpopular with a very large number—perhaps even the majority—of the French middle classes. France has begun at last to realise that the differences between her and England in recent years have owed their bitterness, if not their existence, to the ingenuity of a third Power, which has used them to the detriment both of England and France.

As regards Germany, she cannot enter into a conflict with England for the present. Such an event would result in a dislocation of trade, and consequent increase of discontent among the already discontented masses of her people, and the disaffection now spreading even in the army might develop to such an extent as might bring about that German Revolution which Heine used to prophesy.

The plain course for our statesmen to pursue in the present crisis is to give Germany visible proof that England is determined, and

has the power, to shape her own policy in accordance with her own interests. They will make no impression on the German mind by uttering feeble platitudes about the terrible consequences of war. These are treated in Germany with the derision they deserve. In that country more than anywhere else in Europe men realise that antagonism is a universal law in nature, and that there are certain international problems which can only be solved by blood and iron.

There are many faint signs visible that England is at last waking up to this truth, and to the necessity of a consistent and comprehensive foreign policy, which, if upheld without infirmity of purpose, would at once alter radically the relations between Great Britain and all the Great Powers. Contempt for England would give way to respect, and we should hear no more speeches from the Kaiser or his Ministers of the kind to which we have been recently accustomed.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

A COLONIAL COMMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE WAR COMMISSION

IN no part of the Empire has the Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, together with the evidence on which the Report is founded, been read with deeper interest than in the country which was the actual theatre of the war. It must be confessed, however, that surprise and disappointment are felt at the fact that no colonial officer was examined by the Commission; and, what is perhaps of more importance, South Africa was not represented by any member of the Commission. Lord Strathcona watched over the interests of the Canadian contingent, and Sir Frederick Darley represented the Australian troops; and both these gentlemen took good care (and very properly so) that the services rendered by their fellow-countrymen were fully recognised, and that their actions were not misrepresented in any way. Remembering that South Africa put into the field from first to last 60,000 men, or double the force of all the other colonies collectively, it might have been well to appoint a member on the Commission holding the same relative position to South Africa as that held by Lord Strathcona to Canada. The omission to call any colonial officer as a witness is much to be deplored. It is obvious that the colonial officers who held high commands during the war had exceptional opportunities of forming opinions on many points of the greatest importance in connection with the subjects to inquire into and report upon which was the duty of the Commission. And it is clear that the evidence given by colonial officers would have been unbiassed by any hope of future promotion or fear of offending those in high places. As a result of the omission above referred to, evidence given by Imperial officers, which would certainly not have been allowed to pass unchallenged, was accepted as final and conclusive. I refer more particularly to the answers given in regard to the organisation and officering of the Colonial irregular corps. The statement was more than once made that colonial irregulars *preferred* being commanded by Imperial officers of the regular army. Even so great an authority as Lord Roberts himself said, in answer to Question 10234, that such was his belief. Now I think that every colonial officer of ex-

perience—even those who have themselves served in the Imperial army before becoming settlers in South Africa or the other colonies—would question this opinion. Their experience would probably be that it is a very difficult thing at first to reconcile colonials to being commanded by Imperial officers. It is perfectly true that they fully appreciate the advantage of having a due proportion of trained officers in the corps to which they belong. What they really object to is the somewhat overbearing manner of a certain proportion of the Imperial officers. The modern British officer is too apt to use strong language in finding fault with any little lack of smartness or trifling mistake. This is deeply resented by colonial soldiers, who are often men of good position in private life, and in any case do not in ordinary times recognise distinctions of rank; they only submit to military discipline as a necessity when under arms. There are Imperial officers, however, and a large proportion of them, who soon acquire the knack, for such it is, of commanding colonial irregulars and of making themselves respected and popular with their men. But it is only natural that colonists should, other things being equal, prefer to be commanded by men who know them and understand their peculiarities and prejudices. The Canadian officers who had passed into the Service through the Kingston Military College were at once on excellent terms with the irregular troops. The efficiency of these officers has been testified to by the Commander-in-Chief in his answers to Questions 10270 and following. He specially mentions Sir P. Girouard and Captain Joly de Lotbinière, both Royal Engineers, and adds that there were officers in regiments of the line from the same college who were also highly efficient. This would seem to point to the fact that it would be most desirable to found similar institutions in the other great colonies, South Africa and Australia. The Kingston College differs in some respects from Woolwich and Sandhurst, where the curriculum is exclusively military. At Kingston a large number, indeed the majority, of the cadets who succeed in passing the final examinations enter civil life as surveyors, civil engineers, mine-managers, &c., as it is a recognised fact that the course of instruction specially fits them for these professions, and is the best procurable in the country. To a considerable extent the same remarks apply to West Point, the great American military college. That such institutions are of the greatest value to the countries to which they belong is clear from the evidence given by many high authorities as to the difficulty experienced in obtaining a sufficient number of trained officers for the various emergency forces raised during the war; and it would certainly solve the difficulty of finding colonial officers for colonial troops. Men who had passed through military colleges conducted on the same principles as Kingston or West Point would, even if they had spent some years in civil life, be invaluable under circumstances similar to those of the late war; all the more so if they had been attached to some volunteer

or militia corps in the intervening time. They would be habituated to discipline, have a thorough theoretical knowledge of an officer's duties, and at the same time be in sympathetic touch with the men of the colony to which they belonged. They would, in fact, form a reserve of officers. Whether some arrangement could be made by which the services of such qualified men could be available when required is a point well worthy of consideration. But enough has been said to show how desirable it is that every effort should be made to found military colleges of the most approved type in each of the great British colonies, as being of advantage not only to the individual colony but to the Empire at large.

The next point which strikes a South African colonist in reading the evidence laid before the Commission is contained in that portion of it which relates to the siege of Kimberley.

There are probably few Englishmen who did not at the time read with the deepest interest the accounts published of the many romantic incidents of the siege, from the time when the late Mr. C. J. Rhodes succeeded in getting into Kimberley by the last train which made its way through the rapidly closing lines of the Boers, to the relief by the famous ride of Sir John French and the Cavalry Division; and even to those who were not behind the scenes or were not upon the spot, the ungenerous terms in which Mr. Rhodes's share in the historic defence is mentioned must come as a shock. But those who know the true history of the siege, who have been on the spot, have studied the defence carefully, and are thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances, can only express their deep regret that British officers could have allowed professional and personal jealousy to carry them so far away from a just appreciation of the services rendered by others. The evidence given by the officer who commanded the garrison of Kimberley is not so remarkable for the implied charges against Mr. Rhodes as for the omission of any mention of services rendered by him or by any of the defenders of the town, other than the Imperial regular forces. For instance, in his answer to Question 21881, relative to the raising of the Kimberley Light Horse, he says, 'Yes, I think that there were only twenty-one or twenty-two mounted infantry sent up to Kimberley, and, of course, that number, with a perimeter of nearly twelve miles, was positively dangerous and ludicrous. And in the town itself *I had to raise* a mounted corps for which the Governor (Lord Milner) gave me authority.' He entirely forgot to mention that this corps was practically raised, equipped, and mounted at the expense of Mr. Rhodes and by the aid of his great influence in Kimberley.

Take, again, General Kekewich's answer to Question 21917: 'And your own shells were 2,141 in number?' 'Yes, they were 7-pounders, and quite outranged by the Boer guns of course.' Question: 'You had nothing bigger?' Answer: 'Nothing bigger.' Yet perhaps

the most interesting episode in the siege of Kimberley was the construction by Mr. Labram, an *employé* of the De Beers Company, of the gun known as 'Long Cecil,' which did excellent and most effective service during the siege, as we know not only from the observation of our own garrison, but from the testimony of the Boers themselves. This gun, carrying a shell of from fifty to sixty pounds, was manufactured from a block of steel in the workshops of De Beers, the time employed in its manufacture being about three weeks. The ammunition, it is needless to say, was also made on the spot. It is doubtful if any piece of ordnance of anything approaching to the size and efficiency of 'Long Cecil' has ever been constructed under similar circumstances or in so short a time. The gun itself is carefully preserved at Kimberley as a memento of the siege, and will be placed at the foot of the handsome memorial (now being built) to those who fell. Although some 300 rounds were fired from the gun, the rifling—to the eye of a non-expert—still appears perfect. The designer of 'Long Cecil' (Mr. Labram) was unfortunately killed by a shell from the Boer 94-pounder. Ordinary people may be forgiven for thinking that the existence of a gun with such a history as this ('Long Cecil') could not well have been forgotten when the questions above referred to were asked.

General Kekewich makes some criticisms on the conduct of the Cape Police which, to colonial officers who know the circumstances, do not seem entirely justified by the facts. He states, in reply to Question 21870: 'For a long time the Cape Government had been working the Cape Dutch element into it, and no doubt the bad way in which the Cape Police behaved, in the early part of the war, was owing a great deal to that; they crumpled up entirely everywhere. I do not mean to say they fought badly when they got into Kimberley; when we got them together they fought very well. But all the posts I had arranged for north of Kimberley (four distinct posts with from 100 to 150 men at each place) practically came into Kimberley without firing a shot.' Did it never occur to General Kekewich that if a lengthened defence of these posts had been attempted, the Cape Police would never have got into Kimberley at all? The officers in command of these detachments thoroughly understood the enemy they had to deal with, and the folly of trying to hold isolated posts, with no proper supplies, against the overwhelming forces of the Transvaal. If they had not exercised a wise discretion, Kimberley would have been deprived of over 600 of its garrison—none too strong as it was; and the Boers, with little loss to themselves, would have obtained the arms and ammunition in the possession of these detachments. Nor should it be forgotten (although it frequently is, in the evidence given by Imperial officers) that there is a wide distinction between the Cape Police and the Cape Mounted Riflemen. The former are policemen first and soldiers afterwards; the latter are a regiment of regularly

trained soldiers, to whose grand fighting qualities the Imperial cavalry officers who served with them will, I know, bear willing testimony. This will explain the fact that at the beginning of the war the Cape Police would undoubtedly have been the better for a little more organisation ; but this was soon remedied. General Kekewich himself states that they fought well when in Kimberley, nor should it be forgotten that a detachment of these very men, forty-four in number, under the command of Major Berrangé, C.M.G. (himself a member, by the way, of an old Dutch family), fought as the advance guard of Lord Methuen's column (when that officer was wounded and captured), and stood until every man was killed or wounded, except the officer commanding, who had a marvellous escape, having seven bullets through his clothing. It may be added that, had Major Berrangé's warning and advice been acted upon, the disaster itself would in all probability have been averted. From the first, the officers of the Cape Police were excellent, and were, as a matter of fact, too wise to expose their men to be sacrificed for no sufficient object. General Kekewich had no special knowledge of the country at the time, and may have been ignorant of the excellent reasons which the Cape Police officers had for acting as they did.

Very serious allegations were made against Mr. Rhodes and the leading citizens of Kimberley after the siege ; and these charges came from officers so high in command that they naturally attracted more attention than would otherwise have been the case. The statements made were to the effect that Mr. Rhodes and the people of Kimberley had threatened to surrender if speedy efforts were not made for the relief of the town. In justice to General Kekewich it must be allowed that his evidence on this point is absolutely fair and practically disproves the charge. He says in answering Question 22031 : ' You do not suggest for a moment that Mr. Rhodes ever wished to surrender ? ' ' No, I do not, not to surrender.' He (General Kekewich) had previously stated that he had never used the word ' surrender ' in any kind of way. His complaint against Mr. Rhodes appeared to be that he (Mr. Rhodes) ' had given a great deal of trouble.'

In answer to this I cannot do better than quote the words of the present chairman of De Beers, when speaking at the general meeting of the Company. He says : ' Military gentlemen said that the late Mr. Rhodes gave them trouble. Well, gentlemen, there is only one remark I will make upon that. Where men were—I will not say incompetent, but—not up to the mark, Mr. Rhodes generally did give them trouble. But he did not give trouble where people were striving to do their duty, and doing it not only with zeal but with the necessary intelligence. I speak feelingly because I am thinking of my own son-in-law Major Scott Turner of the Black Watch, who never had any trouble with Mr. Rhodes.' This explains the situation in very moderate terms. To those who knew Mr. Rhodes, and who knew what the capture of Kimberley by the Boers meant to him, the idea of his sug-

gesting surrender is too absurd for consideration. It must be remembered that the actual defence of the town was not the only problem which had to be dealt with. The feeding and, as far as possible, the protection from the effects of bombardment of a large population, including a vast number of women and children, had to be thought of, and it was especially in this direction that Mr. Rhodes's great business capacity was of the utmost value. Soup kitchens were organised, the chief ingredient of the soup supplied being horseflesh, the only meat procurable during the latter days of the siege; and during the bombardment arrangements were made by which the women and children were taken down the mines, out of harm's way, whilst the large native population was kept employed, either in the mines or on works of public utility. Roads were constructed and avenues of trees planted, and by this means the natives, who might easily have become a serious source of trouble, were kept quiet, and usefully employed. This side of the history of the siege is little known to the general public.

If the whole of the many subjects of interest dealt with by the Commission were to be discussed, not one but many articles might be written. It is only proposed to deal here with those questions on which the opinions of Imperial and colonial officers are not fully agreed. It is apparently admitted that serious strategic errors were made at the beginning of the war; but it is somewhat strange that the mistake which, in the opinion of most of those on the spot, had the greatest effect in prolonging the war is scarcely noticed. I allude to the abandonment of Stormberg Junction, a post which in October and the early part of November, 1899, was held by two companies of the Berkshire Regiment and a naval detachment of about 300 men from Simonstown. If the map of the Cape Colony is consulted, it will be seen that the position is one of the greatest importance from a military point of view. It commands two railway lines—the junction line between the Midland and Eastern systems, and the Eastern system running south at a point where it was peculiarly open to attack. It was understood that the officer in command of the Berkshires had reported that he could not hold it with the force at his command. But the officer in question was well known as holding most absurdly pessimistic views, and his unsupported opinion ought not to have prevailed, in a matter of such vital importance. To anyone with a fair knowledge of the country and the enemy, there seemed no difficulty whatever in holding the position, naturally a strong one, and strengthened by entrenchments, which could have been still further improved, for the two or three weeks which might have been necessary to bring up reinforcements from the south. A strong irregular force was in process of formation at Queenstown; a volunteer battalion—the Kaffrarian Rifles—was being equipped at East London; and General Gatacre, with part of the Third Division, was under orders for

Queenstown ; so that if the place had been attacked (which to anyone who understood Boer limitations was very doubtful) relief would not have been long in coming. Immediately on the Stormberg being vacated, the evil effects of the step became apparent. Both railways were at once cut, and the rebels, much encouraged, made Stormberg their headquarters, with a Free State Commandant (Ollivier) in command. The position of the invading Boers at Colesberg was immensely strengthened, as Stormberg was the natural base for a movement to outflank them by an advance to the banks of the Orange River, when our strength should admit of such an expedition. The mistake that had been made was at last, and when too late, fully understood, and it was apparent that the position must be retaken. This led to the sad disaster of the 10th of December, when General Gatacre, with the Third Division, was repulsed with heavy loss. Of the immediate causes of this repulse it is not necessary to speak here ; but, apart from the fact that it ought never to have occurred, its results were to lengthen the war by at least six months.

Among the subjects on which colonial officers could have given valuable information was the transport department. In this a great economy could have been effected by the purchase outright of all the plant required. The contract system was preferred, because it was the system to which the heads of the department were accustomed. Like most military departments, they are very conservative, and are opposed to innovations of any kind ; but it can easily be shown that a saving of one million, at a very moderate estimate, would have been the result of adopting the plan suggested. It is only fair to say that the contracts were well carried out, and no one can reasonably blame the contractors for allowing a large margin for profit, under the circumstances and considering the risk run ; but there was really no reason why the expense of the war should have been added to in this quite unnecessary way.

The remount question has been very fully discussed both in the Press and before the Commission. All that need be said about it here is that the practically unanimous opinion of all the authorities examined points to the superiority of the Cape-bred horse over all others for rough work in the field. This being the case, it would seem an excellent plan to establish large Government stud-farms in South Africa for breeding troop horses for future needs. There are large districts, more particularly in Cape Colony, which are admirably adapted from climate and the nature of the soil (containing a good proportion of lime) to the raising of horses possessing exceptional bone and substance. The Imperial Government have already acquired a tract of land in one of the best of these districts (Middelburg), and other equally good estates could be purchased, where horse-breeding could be economically and profitably carried on. Cape horses are not only well fitted for use in South Africa, but stand hard work and exposure better than any other type of horse in India or elsewhere. The Reports

of the general officers who commanded flying columns in India during the latter part of the Mutiny of 1857-8 confirm this fact. The reason why it was found impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of horses from the Cape for India was simply that when sheep-farming was introduced into the horse-breeding districts of the Colony, the returns from sheep were found to be quicker and consequently more remunerative than from horses, and horse-breeding consequently declined.

Great attention was very properly devoted by the Commission to the health of the troops employed in South Africa and to endeavouring to obtain some satisfactory explanation of the high rate of mortality from enteric fever in the camps. This is a subject on which very valuable information could have been given by the P.M.O. of the Colonial Division, Colonel Hartley, V.C. This division, during the eight months of active service it went through before being broken up, lost only eight men from accidents or disease of all kinds, its strength varying from 2,500 to 3,000 men, many of them very young. The number of enteric cases was very small, and the proportion of fatal cases very low. The explanation of this comparative immunity from disease was stated by Colonel Hartley in an official report to be, that the men of the division were throughout well fed and well supplied with blankets (three each) during the intensely cold weather which prevailed in the winter of 1900 in the eastern part of the Orange River Colony. Tents were carried and used whenever it was at all possible to do so; and although doubtless this added largely to the amount of transport which had to be provided, still the saving of life and the maintenance of efficiency justified the expenditure, the more so as most of the waggons and oxen employed by the Colonial Division were captured from the enemy, and cost the Government nothing. To this must be added, as tending to maintain health, the frequent changes of the camps and the care taken to keep them in a sanitary state. Probably the good feeding and the extra blankets had more to do with the matter, in enabling the men to resist disease, than anything else. An Imperial regiment, attached for a short time to the Colonial Division at Senekal, had been for some time on half, and even quarter, rations. The men had only one blanket each—in some cases, indeed, had only one blanket between two men—and this, at a season when on more than one occasion nineteen degrees of frost were noted in the camp in the early morning. It can hardly be wondered at that men under these circumstances should have succumbed to enteric or to any other of the many diseases which are liable to attack men reduced below their normal strength. The excellence of the climate in the Orange River Colony was undoubtedly the saving clause which prevented far greater losses from disease than actually occurred. There were defects in some of the field hospitals, chiefly due to the want of a sufficient number of trained hospital orderlies, and the total absence of any lady nurses, and not to any lack of interest or slackness on the

part of the medical staff, who did their best under the difficulties with which they had to deal. The strong feeling which prevailed at the beginning of the war against taking lady nurses into the area of active operations was much modified before its close, and in future it is probable that their services will be more largely utilised. The impossibility of improvising nurses from the ranks caused a great deal of what should be unnecessary suffering. The touch of humour, seldom absent from the gravest discussions, is furnished in this case by Sir Ian Hamilton, whose evidence it may be said is on the whole admirable, and such as would be endorsed by any officer, colonial or Imperial, who had a thorough grasp of the subject dealt with. But in his answer to Question 10920 he asserts his ability to resist feminine influence in a positive way that few men who had reached mature years would venture to imitate. If all officers holding equally high positions have the same strength of mind, much must remain unaccounted for.

There is one matter on which all will agree, and that is the clearly established fact that Great Britain has in her colonies a grand reserve of military strength. The keenness and military spirit displayed by the over-sea colonials—the Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders—was, indeed, surprising, remembering that Australia has never had any fighting forced upon her within her own territory ; that New Zealanders of the present generation have only the legends of Maori wars to incite them to imitate the deeds of the past generation ; and that the same may be said of Canada, her recent wars having been on too small a scale to affect the bulk of the population. In South Africa it is different. Native wars have been so constant, that a very large proportion of the colonists have had a most valuable military training. The volunteer regiments of Cape Colony and Natal have records of services performed, not inferior to those of many Imperial regiments ; the result being that in these corps discipline is excellent, their prestige giving them a great advantage. Handled by officers who understand them, they are indeed capable of great things. The material, then, being present, the problem to be solved is how it can be organised so as to be available for the defence of the Empire as a whole, or for any portion of it which may be exposed to attack. The desirability of founding military colleges, on the same plan as the highly successful Canadian institution, for the purpose of training sufficient officers to supply the cadres of the troops belonging to, or to be raised in, each colony, has already been mentioned. Whether it would be possible to devise any system of fixed contingents by which each colony would supply a force in proportion to its population, or whether the Imperial spirit which proved itself all-sufficient during the late war should be trusted to in the future, are matters for consideration. But it is clearly not only the duty but the interest of every colony under the British flag to be ready to assist any other portion of the Empire, as she hopes to be assisted, should the necessity unfortunately arise.

EDWARD YEWD BRABANT.

JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH KOREA

WHEN a great and powerful nation is determined to take possession of the territory of another which is insignificant and weak ; when it conscientiously believes that, in order to secure its safety and future material development, the incorporation of the weak within its dominions is essential ; when, on the other hand, a third nation, also great and powerful, is decided that this incorporation will constitute a menace to its own safety, and is determined that the weak must either remain independent or be appropriated by none but itself ; when the first is flushed with the unbroken success of a long career of territorial expansion, achieved sometimes by diplomacy, but as frequently by force of arms, and has, in public at least, unbounded confidence in its military strength ; when the third has equal confidence in its strength, is actuated by the most fervid patriotism, is high-spirited, of unquestioned valour, of absolute unanimity, and throughout two thousand years of history has never known defeat—then an *impasse* is created from which the only outlet is war. Russia has decided that the coast line of Korea is essential to the completion of her own Asiatic littoral. On the eastern coast of Siberia her harbours are closed by ice and useless to her throughout the winter. The coast of Manchuria is ill provided with harbours ; even that of Port Arthur is of insufficient depth and dimensions to afford adequate shelter to a fleet or even to single battle ships of the present-day tonnage. That of Korea, on the other hand, has several harbours which fulfil every naval requirement. Pre-eminent among them is Masampho (called Douglas Inlet on the English charts), in the extreme south of the peninsula, almost directly facing the Straits of Shimonoseki, and less than sixty miles distant from the Japanese island of Tsushima. It is capacious, deep, sheltered, and capable of being rendered impregnable to attack from the sea at little cost either of money or engineering skill. It is free from ice all the year round. It is less than 900 miles distant from Liaoyang, a station on the Trans-Asian railway, and for 300 miles of this distance a railway, constructed by Japanese, is already far advanced on the road to completion, so that it could speedily be brought within the effective sphere of Russia's military land system. Its possession would give any strong naval

Power holding it almost complete command of the Chinese seas, providing a secure basis from which effective blows might at any time be struck at either Japan, China, or our own Far Eastern Colonies. To Japan it would, in the hands of an aggressive Power of unbounded covetousness, be a perpetual danger. It is no wonder, therefore, that, considering this port the key of Korea, and Korea again the key of Asia, Japan has determined that neither must fall into any hands but her own—that this condition must for ever be the very foremost plank of her foreign policy—and that that policy must be maintained at all costs and all risks so long as a single Japanese fighting ship or man remains. It seems impossible that either Power can now withdraw from the position it has publicly assumed. For Russia to do so at the dictation of a Power hitherto believed by all Chinese to be infinitely weaker than herself would be to inflict a blow upon her Asiatic prestige for which she would have to pay dearly in the enhanced difficulty of guarding her Siberian frontier, coterminous with that of China for 3,000 miles, against predatory Chinese bands. For Japan to do so would be merely postponing an evil day, when she would either have to fight on far less favourable terms than she can now do or undergo a complete effacement as an influential Power in the Far East. There seems to be no escape from war between the two Powers, and in all human probability the first blow will have been struck before these lines see the light of publicity.

Should this anticipation, so far as the fact of the outbreak of war, apart from the time at which it takes place, prove correct, it will be the fourth foreign war in which Japan has engaged, and of every one Korea has been the subject. In the mythological days of her history Japan is said to have successfully invaded Korea and to have received the submission of its king, who declared that until the rivers flowed backwards he and his kingdom would for ever remain tributary to Japan. In this fact the Japanese hold implicit faith, though its date was long prior to the commencement of authentic history, and the miraculous incidents that are gravely alleged to have accompanied the invasion are sufficient to throw doubt on the whole story. Fourteen hundred years later Korea was a second time invaded, and in regard to this invasion we are treading on firm historical ground. Japan was then ruled by Hideyoshi, a great and successful general, whose ability had raised him from low degree to the position of Regent of the Empire. Absolute in Japan, he resolved to crown a long and unbrokenly successful military career with a second conquest of Korea, which was invaded by his troops in 1592. During the following six years the whole country was overrun and devastated from end to end. The Koreans, utterly inexperienced in war, armed only with primitive weapons, even then accustomed to rely for protection on China, could offer but a feeble resistance to the Japanese veterans, fighting with firearms and led by skilful and experienced generals.

Assistance was sent to them from China ; but the Japanese, though meeting with some slight reverses, were finally victorious everywhere, and the whole of Korea was prostrate before them. In 1598 Hideyoshi died, and the Japanese withdrew, but they left behind them a ruin from which Korea has never recovered. That, prior to that invasion, her people must have possessed a high degree of industrial and artistic skill is shown by the spoils brought back by Hideyoshi's soldiers, some of which are now among the principal ornaments of the beautiful temples at Nikko. Not only were the productions brought back, but the artists themselves, and Korea, having lost all her experts, has since then attained no higher level of industry than the manufacture of very fine matting, paper, and rather coarse brass work, and Korean art is a non-existing quantity. So deeply did the iron sink into the soul that the bitter memory of all the long-continued horrors of that invasion still lasts among the Korean peasants, who to this day speak of the Japanese as 'the accursed nation.'

From the beginning of the seventeenth century Korea regularly sent embassies with tribute to Japan. But at the same time she always acknowledged the suzerainty of China and looked to China for protection from foreign foes, even for help in domestic troubles. Her religion, law, custom, and thought were always in sympathy with those of China. In 1871 Japan started on her career of Western civilisation, ostensibly, never in actual reality, flinging entirely aside at one *coup* every principle that had heretofore guided her. News of her action reached Korea, who not only refused to send further tribute but openly and insultingly taunted Japan with her desertion of Chinese civilisation and her adoption of the manners and customs of the despised Western barbarians. When this became publicly known an outburst of indignation caused the entire Samurai class of the people—none other was then of any political count—to clamour for a third invasion of Korea. But every interest of Japan was in favour of peace. Her resources were exhausted by her own revolutionary war ; a new and inexperienced Government, ignorant of even the elementary details of international politics, and hated by a substantial section of its own people, was in office ; the death knell of her old military system was already being rung, and as yet there was no new one to replace it ; and facilities both of land and marine transport were entirely wanting. Wise counsels prevailed. War was not declared and Korea was left alone. The nation was, however, deeply indignant, and so far did discontent proceed that a rebellion broke out in one of the southern provinces. Continental diplomatists in Japan had at that time little knowledge of the country ; scarcely a single member of the staffs of their legations had any of the language. One worthy member of the corps, reporting on the condition of affairs to his Government, stated that so great was the outburst of patriotic feeling that he scarcely ever passed through a street of the

capital without meeting a Japanese who was crying at the top of his voice, 'Koree! Koree!' which means, he wrote, 'To Korea! To Korea!' and who was always surrounded by many sympathisers. 'Koree,' more properly 'Kori,' is the Japanese word for ice, the taste for which in summer had just then sprung into existence, and the bellicose patriots of the worthy diplomatist, who himself gravely told what he had written at a dinner party at the British Legation, were ordinary hawkers calling out their wares. The diplomatist's accuracy and perspicuity were on a par with those of many subsequent critics of Japan, English not excepted.

Korea was left alone in her hermit-like seclusion. Nothing was known in Tokio as to what was occurring there except to the Japanese themselves, who always maintained a small settlement at Fusan, the most southern port, and they would not tell. Even then, thirty years ago, rumours of Russian activity began to gain currency, and reports were circulated that the Russians had established a basis in Korea. In 1861 they had attempted to do so on the Japanese island of Tsushima—had in fact landed, planted a flag, and erected buildings—when they were politely requested to 'move on' by an English man-of-war. It was now said they were repeating this course at Korean ports, and another English man-of-war was sent to investigate the actual condition of affairs. It was the lot of the present writer, who was then on the staff of the British Legation, to be sent with her, and the outlying islands and southern ports were examined. No Russians were found anywhere. The Japanese settlement at Fusan was visited, and its condition recalled in some degree that of the old Dutch settlement at Desima, in Nagasaki, where for 200 years a few members of the Netherlands Trading Company were suffered by the Shoguns of the Tokugawa dynasty to reside and trade under very humiliating conditions. The few Japanese who were at Fusan were virtually close prisoners. The resident stated that he had not been outside the limits of the settlement for over six months. Trade was represented by an occasional junk from Tsushima, and all traffic with the natives was carried on on the outskirts of the settlement, the neighbouring Korean town being forbidden ground. In the man-of-war, which remained in the harbour for a few days, there was naturally a desire to visit this town, but strict instructions had been given to the commander to carefully avoid everything that might entail the risk of a conflict with the natives. The Koreans are, perhaps, the most expert stone-throwers in the world, and their skill in that respect would put even a Belfast Orangeman to shame. When we were told that huge piles of stones were collected on the road to the town, with which to welcome us if we endeavoured to approach it, our curiosity had to remain ungratified. Later on in the same year (1875) an incident occurred which became the *proxima causa* of the opening of Korea to the world. A gunboat, while surveying the coasts, was fired on by a

small fort. The fire was promptly returned, and a landing party destroyed the fort, and brought away with it spoils of war in the shape of guns, banners, drums, &c., all of which were exhibited in the military museum at Tokio. The insult to the flag had been most amply revenged, but once more the pride of the Japanese people was keenly roused and punitive measures called for. Japan was now in a very different position to that of 1871, and felt herself able at all points to impress her will upon such a Power as Korea. A great expedition was prepared, though it was much stronger in appearance than reality; two of the ablest members of the Government, a great soldier and a still greater diplomatist, accompanied it; but when it reached Korean shores diplomacy took the place of force, and a treaty was concluded by the terms of which two ports were opened to the trade and residence of Japanese subjects. Other nations soon followed Japan's example, and Korea was at last open to the world.

Throughout all the negotiations she had been treated both by Japan and the other nations as an independent kingdom, with which diplomacy was to be conducted on a footing of perfect international equality. But, while assuming or consenting to this equality *vis-à-vis* Japan and European Powers, Korea still clung to China's suzerainty, and China retained a controlling influence in her affairs, both foreign and domestic, an influence which was invariably exerted to keep the Koreans within their old limits of narrow-minded conservatism and prejudice. Japan was not fortunate in many respects. Rowdies of the worst class—and a very offensive and truculent class it is, *pacc* the politeness and suavity that are so eminently characteristic of the Japanese people in general—were to be found in numbers at the open ports, and their treatment of the docile, broken-spirited natives was not such as to soften the traditional hatred of the latter. In 1882 the legation at the capital was attacked and burned by a mob, and the Minister and his staff, which included a few policemen, trained to bear arms, did not escape without loss of life. Their cool courage, however, kept them together, and the majority succeeded in reaching the coast, twenty miles distant, where they were rescued by an English man-of-war that fortunately happened to be surveying in the neighbourhood. The legation was soon rebuilt and occupied, but for its protection from that time Japan claimed and exercised the right of maintaining a force of troops in the capital, just as in the early days of her own foreign intercourse England and France had both stationed troops in Yokohama to secure to their countrymen resident there the protection which could not be relied on from the tottering Government of the Shogun. This right was recognised by China, and by a convention arranged between the two countries in 1885 it was agreed that both should have the privilege of stationing troops in Korea, but that due notice should be given by each to the other of any intention to exercise it whenever it became necessary.

The history of the succeeding nine years is one of constant bickerings between the two countries. Japan was neither well nor judiciously served by her representatives at the capital of Korea. China was, on the other hand, always represented by an able, determined, and astute agent, who maintained a controlling voice in all matters of internal Korean policy. Throughout this period the Korean Government showed no improvement on what it had been when the country was opened to foreign residence. It continued hopelessly corrupt and at the same time weak and vacillating, its sole guiding principles being the selfish ones of personal or family aggrandisement. All important offices were exclusively held by members of the Queen's family, who were devoted to the interests of and ready to obey any orders that emanated from China. The Japanese, already recognising how deeply the welfare of Korea affected their own national security, were earnestly anxious to promote salutary measures of reform in the administration, but found every effort thwarted by Chinese interference. The wretched people, ill governed, taxed beyond all limits of endurance, and ruthlessly plundered by extortionate and unscrupulous farmers of the revenue, were on several occasions driven into open insurrection, but in every instance the outbreak was suppressed either by the Government itself or by the aid of Chinese troops. At last, in 1894, a more serious outbreak than usual occurred, and a fresh force of the best Chinese troops, a portion of the army efficiently drilled and well equipped at Tientsin by Li Hung Chang, was promptly sent to crush it, notice of its despatch being at the same time communicated to the Government of Japan, as required by the terms of the Convention of 1885. Japan's patience was now exhausted. She, in her turn, also sent troops, who occupied the capital, insisted that the suppression of the rebellion should be accompanied by a thorough reform of the administration, in order to assure future peace, order, and good government, and definitely refused once and for all to recognise China's continued suzerainty. The China and Japan war followed. Everywhere, both on sea and land, Japanese arms were victorious, and when peace was made one of its conditions was the acknowledgment by China of the absolute independence of Korea. Her active interference in the internal affairs of the kingdom was at an end along with her suzerainty, and Japan, raised to the position of a great Power by her victories and the evidence she had given of military strength, deficient in no detail of skill, organisation, and valour, at last seemed to have within her grasp a free field for promoting in Korea those reforms which had proved so much to the advantage of her own progress. Ill-fortune, however, continued to pursue her, and new difficulties arose in place of those which had been caused by China.

After the conclusion of the war the King of Korea turned to and placed his reliance on Japan. The hatred of the powerful family

of the Queen, the members of which found themselves threatened with the loss of their offices and all the cherished opportunities of illegal enrichment which those offices gave, on the other hand, continued in an intensified form, and the influence of the family was still strong enough to constitute a serious obstacle in the paths of effective reform. Japan was once more most unfortunately represented at the capital by a soldier who showed himself entirely destitute of tact, foresight, or even the most ordinary discretion. What share he had, how far he was directly responsible for what occurred, is not publicly known, but that he had some was evidently recognised by the Japanese Government itself, as he was removed from office and has since never been employed again in any official capacity. Be that as it may an outbreak occurred in the Korean capital in 1895. A party of Korean malcontents, accompanied and aided, if not actually led, by Japanese soldiers, broke into the palace and murdered the Queen and a great number of her relatives. All the gruesome details of this unhappy incident, as great an outrage on humanity, as ruthlessly and cruelly perpetrated, as the recent murder of the Queen of Servia, are told in full in Mrs. Bishop's admirable book on Korea. Its direct consequences were that the King, terrified both by the Japanese in his capital and by a section of his own subjects, fled for refuge to the Russian Legation, and from that moment Japanese ascendancy was at an end, and Russia, as a dominant factor in all the details of Korean politics, stepped into the place that was formerly occupied by China. The Minister who had served his country so ill was replaced by Baron Komura, at the present moment Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose diplomatic ability was as conspicuous as the lack of it in his predecessor. But it was too late.

The possibility of Russian aggression in Korea has always been contemplated by Japan, ever since she began to direct her attention to foreign politics. When the collapse of China as a military Power was followed by the Russian occupation of Manchuria, and at the same time the Trans-Asian railway was completed, what originally appeared to be only a contingency of the remote future became a present and immediate danger. Japanese statesmen have never allowed any mistake to become current as to their views on Korea, which have had the hearty and unanimous support of the people and their parliamentary representatives and of the press. Whatever differences may prevail as to internal affairs there has never been a shade of discord as to this element in their foreign policy. Failing her continued independence, Korea must come under the protection or into the possession of Japan, and of Japan alone. Russia was now within easy striking distance of Korea, and the actions of her agents have showed that they are ready to take every advantage of all opportunities offered to them to extend their country's dominions by foul or fair means. History repeats itself, and there is a curious similarity

between the events antecedent to the China-Japan war of 1894 and those which have gradually led up to the present crisis. Just as before the war the Chinese agent was all-powerful and able, by his own strength of character, backed by what was believed by all the world to be a great military Power, to impose his will upon the timorous, ignorant, and dishonest Government, so in recent years the most influential figures in the capital have been the Russian representatives, always able, determined, and unscrupulous, steadfastly pursuing one well-defined object, backed not only by a great military Power but by the personal gratitude of the Korean King (now Emperor) for protection in the past and relied upon by him for a continuation of that protection in the future. Japan has not again fallen into the errors of entrusting her interests to incapable agents. She has sent her best men to Korea ; but it would require not one but many decades to wipe out the memory of the unhappy event of 1895, and her representative has always been in the cold, while that of Russia is freely admitted to the innermost confidence of the King and his ministers. But as she had done with China so Japan, struggling against all difficulties, has earnestly endeavoured to come to terms with Russia by diplomacy, and to secure Korea's safety by peaceful measures.

With those objects in view she has concluded two formal conventions with the Russian Government, the first arranged in May 1896 between the representatives of the two empires at the Korean capital, one of whom was Baron Komura. It provided that, pending the establishment of order, each Government might maintain in Korea a maximum force of 800 troops for the protection of its legation and existing settlements at the capital and at the principal open ports, and that the Japanese might, in addition to this, maintain a further force of 200 gendarmes, to be stationed in small detachments at various points along the telegraph line from Fusan to the capital, these 200 gendarmes being thus spread over a distance of nearly 300 miles. This telegraph was originally erected for military purposes during the China and Japan war, and its continued maintenance on the conclusion of the war was sanctioned in proper official form by the Korean Government. Russia has heretofore had no settlements and few subjects in Korea, and not even a pretence of commercial interests. She has, therefore, never had any occasion to avail herself of the terms of the Convention. Japan has, on the other hand, important settlements at every port open to foreigners. The aggregate number of resident Japanese, engaged solely in commercial or industrial pursuits, exceeds 23,000. They have large vested interests in real property, three-fourths of all the foreign trade and shipping are in their hands, and if the purely commercial interests of Japan in Korea are far subsidiary to her political they are by no means of an insignificant nature.

By the second convention, concluded at Tokio in 1898 between

Baron Nishi, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Baron Rosen, the Russian Minister, both Governments 'definitely recognised the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually pledged themselves to abstain from every direct interference in its internal affairs;' and that of Russia further pledged itself 'not to obstruct the development of industrial and commercial relations between Japan and Korea.' All these undertakings of both conventions were faithfully observed by Russia, as long as it suited her to do so, and that period lasted only until her military resources in the Far East reached a stage of development which she thought would enable her to meet Japan on equal terms.

When the Korean king was, under the circumstances already described, a refugee in the Russian Legation in his own capital in 1896, it appears that a concession was granted by him to a Russian subject for cutting timber in the valley of the river Yalu, on the north-western frontier. This concession, obtained under circumstances sufficient to vest it with very grave suspicion, has never been made public; its exact terms are unknown, and nothing was heard of it till the summer of last year, when Tokio was startled by the news that large numbers of Chinese labourers had been drafted from Manchuria across the Korean frontier, and that timber-felling on an extensive scale under Russian direction was begun. Further news soon came that the labourers were being followed by soldiers, both of the regular infantry and Cossacks, who, it was alleged, were necessary to protect them from the mounted Chinese bandits that infested the wild districts in Manchuria immediately to the north of the Yalu. Land was required to provide quarters for the soldiers and Russian settlers, and though the sale of land to foreigners outside the limits of the recognised settlements is forbidden by Korean law a large tract of many hundred acres in extent was purchased, it was said, from the Korean owners. This land is situated at Yong Ampho, a riverside port on the Yalu, about fifteen miles from its mouth. Substantial dwellings, sawmills, and other buildings were promptly erected on it, the river frontage embanked, and every intention displayed of creating a large settlement. A little further up the river, on the Manchurian side, is the port of Antung, which has been opened to foreign trade and residence by the treaty signed by China and the United States on the 8th of October last, the ratifications of which have just been exchanged. A small island lies in the river midway between the two ports, so that the crossing is easy, and it was at this place that the Japanese invading army first entered Manchuria from Korea in the war. Yong Ampho is capable of being made into an excellent harbour at little cost; it is, in fact, said to be one of the ten best harbours in Korea. If its possession is combined with that of Antung, on the opposite bank of the river, and now, like the rest of Manchuria, in Russian occupation, the estuary and entire length of the Yalu can be

closed to all approach from the sea. A fort was soon erected on the highest part of the acquired land, guns were mounted, and a garrison established in it. A second fort was commenced on the Manchurian side, on a cliff commanding the river, a few miles further up. The timber-cutting was at the same time extended far beyond the limits contemplated in the original concession. The Korean Government in vain protested strongly against these proceedings. The local governor of Wiju, the most important frontier town and the capital of the prefecture, who was ordered to stop the illegal sale of real estate, reported that the Russian methods rendered him powerless—that the Russians simply took possession of the land in the first instance, with or without the consent of the native owners, and went through the form of buying it afterwards. The Russian representative, in answer to the Korean protests, declared that the ‘valley of the Yalu’ included not only the line of the river itself throughout its entire length, but all its tributaries and all the adjoining districts, and that a concession to cut timber implied the privilege of exercising every operation incidental to it, in no matter how remote a degree. He claimed, therefore, the right to construct railways or roads, erect telegraphs, acquire land for building purposes without any specific license from the Korean Government to do so, and to take whatever military measures appeared to be prudent for the protection of the Russian settlers engaged in all or any of these works.

Japan had before her eyes the object lesson of Manchuria. Russia had, commencing with the leasing of a small portion of the Liao Tung peninsula, gradually extended her military occupation over the whole of Manchuria. It was true that she had promised to evacuate it on specified dates, but when the time came for the fulfilment of the promises, made with every formality that can bind a nation, they had been disregarded with cynical effrontery. Garrisons, instead of being withdrawn, were strengthened; forts and barracks were built in the best strategic positions—hastened on by working day and night—and every indication was given of an intention to make the occupation permanent. Might not the same happen in the case of Korea? From the small tract of land leased at Yong Ampho—illegally leased, it may be, but securely occupied under the lease—would not Russia gradually, as she felt herself strong enough, extend herself southwards throughout the entire Korean peninsula?

As Japan had done with China nearly twenty years previously, so now again she appealed to diplomacy. The Japanese Minister urged the Korean Government to declare both Yong Ampho and the town of Wiju, further up the river, open to foreign trade and residence. The interests which all foreign nations would then acquire in the district would be an insuperable bar to its becoming an exclusive sphere of Russian influence. He was strongly supported both by the British and United States representatives, but the Russian Minister

promptly interfered and peremptorily forbade it. The Government, absolutely under his influence, though at first very ready to act upon the advice which had been given to it, lost courage and yielded, and the district was not opened. Both the conventions that have been quoted were thus violated by Russia in their most essential items. She had stationed troops in Korean dominions without a figment of pretence that they were necessary for the protection of existing settlements, and she had acquired land in places not open to the residence of foreigners in defiance of the provisions of Korean law. In both respects she had outraged the sovereignty of Korea as an independent kingdom, which she had solemnly bound herself to recognise. She had then impeded the development of Japanese trade and industry by arbitrarily preventing the opening of new ports and undisguisedly exposing her intention to reserve an entire district for the exclusive occupation of her own subjects and to close them for ever to Japanese enterprise. All these facts were duly chronicled in the Tokio press, and the spirit of the Japanese was deeply moved, but at the same time the entire nation exhibited a degree of patience and self-restraint which testifies to the existence in their character of a phase heretofore unsuspected even by those who know them best. Their national pride was already outraged by what had occurred in regard to Manchuria. A small portion of it had been ceded to Japan in 1895 as part of the spoils which she had fairly won in war. From that she had been forced to withdraw by Russia and the two European Powers that acted in conjunction, on the grounds that her occupation of the Manchurian littoral was prejudicial to the continued peace of the East. Japan had then no choice but to submit. She was exhausted by the war she had just concluded, her military magazines depleted of stores, and her ships, after six months' continuous buffeting in the winter seas of North China, in no state fit to face fresh enemies. But the humiliation then sank into the hearts of the nation, and when, a few years later, Russia not only took possession of the very district from which Japan had been ejected, but plainly evidenced her intention of absorbing the whole province of Manchuria, a bitter sense of injustice was added to the humiliation.

Japan has great commercial interests in Manchuria, both actual and potential. It is a country eminently suitable for the residence of her subjects, whose yearly increasing numbers demand fresh outlets for their industry. But these interests are shared by all the Western nations—England, the United States, and Germany—who are the chief competitors in the trade of the Far East, and Japan is now ready to forget the past and to ask nothing more for her own people than the full enjoyment of the commercial rights and privileges that are granted by treaty to her and other nations. If the safety and independence of Korea can be adequately secured she has no mission to act as the general champion of the world in regard to Manchuria, and she is willing on these two conditions to recognise the special interests which

Russia has already acquired, which involve among them the efficient military protection of the railway to Port Arthur. But the safety and independence of Korea are of vital moment to her own national existence. Every menace to them is a direct menace also to her material and political interests, far beyond what it can be to those of any other Power, and she can assent to nothing which will either directly imperil them now or threaten to do so in the future.

There were, of course, exceptions to the general calm with which Russian proceedings were received. In June certain professors of the Imperial University of Tokio, all well known and distinguished men, issued a violent manifesto in which they urged the adoption of force for the immediate expulsion of Russia from Manchuria, if that expulsion could be obtained in no other way. If the Russians acquired possession of Manchuria, they said, how could the independence of Korea be secured? and if Russia ever became mistress of Korea would Japan not be the next object of attack? The Diet, on its meeting, gave signs of restiveness, and the press has had its loud-voiced Jingoës. But the professors received no support from the nation; their bellicose suggestions were unreservedly condemned in the leading journals; the Diet was promptly silenced, and the majority of the press—all the leading and most representative journals—have counselled negotiation with Russia as long as negotiation gave the slightest hopes of success. There is, however, a limit to all things, including the patience of the most long-suffering nation. While the negotiations have been protracted by Russia to the very extreme limit of ordinary diplomatic courtesy Japan has, at the same time, seen her steadily strengthening her military position, adding to her already large and powerful fleet in Eastern waters, pouring reinforcements into Manchuria as fast as they could be transported across the continent, concentrating her troops in strong strategic positions, and in every sense more firmly closing her grasp on the whole of the district which she had solemnly promised to evacuate, and everything that she did was believed in Japan to be preparatory to an ultimate march on Korea. The wonder is that Japan, in the face of the continued provocation she has received, has not struck before. Now she may perhaps be driven into striking the first blow; but even if that be so the war will on her part be as purely defensive as any that has ever been waged in history, and will be entered upon by her with the utmost reluctance, actuated by no selfish motives of aggression, only as the very last resource for the preservation of what she considers essential to her national safety. No nation can be more anxious for peace, but if guarantees for the future immunity of Korea from Russian aggression, more substantial than covenants and treaties, cannot be obtained without war, then war must be undertaken, no matter what its cost, no matter how uncertain its outcome or the terrible wide-world issues it may ultimately involve.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

IN some respects the current of political affairs has been moving rapidly in Australia, and for that reason it is interesting to see how far the religious difficulty in primary education has been solved by the Governments at the other side of the world.

It is very generally understood in England that the primary education of the Australian States is in the direct charge of the various State Governments, that it is supported not from rates but from taxes, and that it is administered not by local bodies but by Government departments. It is not so generally understood that the religious difficulty has been admirably met in some States, while in others religious privileges have been reduced to the vanishing point. The various Acts dealing with primary education were passed during the decade commencing 1870, and in all, with the exception of that of New South Wales, it was provided that *only* secular instruction shall be given during school hours and by *school* teachers in any State school building, while it was further provided that religious teaching may be given by clergymen of various denominations, or their representatives, in the State school buildings, but *not during school hours*. The Queensland State Education Act of 1875 can fairly be taken as representative of others in this respect. Clause 5 provides :

In State schools and provisional schools secular instruction only shall be given, and no teacher shall give any other than secular instruction in any State school building. Provided that such restriction shall not apply except during school hours to any teacher in any school receiving aid under the twelfth clause of this Act.

But nothing herein contained shall prevent State school buildings from being used for the purpose of giving religious instruction or any other purpose permitted by the regulations at such times (other than those set apart for giving secular instruction therein), and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the regulations.

The result of these Acts from a religious point of view will not surprise many. In the first flush of victory the exponents of secularism logically excluded everything that might be considered to entrench upon the peculiar work of the Churches. They were guilty even of the vandalism of excising from the late Mr. Longfellow's *Wreck of the Hesperus* the verse commencing 'And the maiden raised

her hands in prayer,' although it is only fair to add that in the Victorian edition of the school readers the verse is said to have been replaced, while in Queensland, where the poem still remains in a mutilated condition, many passages of a more distinctly religious character are read in school. It was, of course, assumed in these Acts that religious and secular education could be separated, and that the State and the Churches would be fully able to undertake their respective share in the work naturally apportioned to them by this division. The State, on the whole, has succeeded admirably in the narrow lines indicated for itself, but the Churches not unnaturally have failed to fulfil an impossible task. The so-called opportunities for giving religious teaching outside school hours have been found to be useless for two reasons. In the first place, they add to the school day, which is sufficiently long already, and secondly, they place religious teaching in competition with tops and marbles, which is not calculated to impress the average boy with the dignity of religion or with a love for religious ministrations. As a matter of fact, numbers of devoted clergymen endeavour to take advantage of the provisions of the Acts either in the State school buildings or by holding daily instruction classes in their respective churches. A few are successful in gathering together interested bands of children, and the amount of good they do in the desert of secular teaching is incalculable. But even these successful ones, with scarcely an exception, allow that the number of children that pass through their hands is infinitesimally small compared with those whose inclination leads them to outdoor games, and whose parents do not exercise any compulsion upon them. In the vast majority of schools the provisions are inoperative either through the remoteness of the school or because the number of pupils is so great that a dozen men would form too small a band to effectively undertake the task during the very restricted time allowed by the Act.

The religious bodies have also tried to cope with the task by Sunday schools, and here, again, the work done has been almost incalculably beneficial to individual children. But it must be remembered that while Sunday school teaching may be an excellent addition to religious education, it can never take the place of the regular daily instruction in the schools. The Sunday school teachers, for the most part, are untrained in the art of teaching, while the time for teaching is absurdly inadequate. Again, the Sunday schools only reach in Australia, as in England, a portion of the whole number of children. Some years ago the writer had occasion to compare the various Church statistics of the number of children attending the Sunday schools of Queensland with the Government statistician's estimate of the number of children in the State. Unfortunately the exact results of those inquiries are not available in England, but it was found that almost half the children of the State in question did not attend any Sunday school,

while only a small percentage attended regularly. A public statement upon the 'failure of Sunday schools' to realise the anticipations of the first framers of the State Education Act called forth much angry comment at the time, but the net result of the controversy was that the Church of England children were allowed to be more neglected than those of other religious bodies, this being largely due to the fact that in Queensland the Church of England is the largest body numerically, and includes among its adherents the most isolated people in the State. As a further result of the controversy a certain head teacher of one of the largest Brisbane State schools conducted a private religious examination of his pupils. He discovered an abysmal ignorance of the simplest Biblical knowledge among children who did not belong to any submerged residuum of the population, and who all had the opportunity of attending Sunday school. The discovery was not surprising, for it is the rule, and not the exception, for teachers to find children ignorant of the simplest facts of the Gospel, and the writer has found more than one ignorant of the name of the Saviour.

The ultimate effect of this divorce of secular and religious teaching will probably not be fully recognised for some time to come. Conduct is still largely dependent upon subconscious motives, but the signs of the times are already evident. It is in itself suggestive that the Queensland Education Department is issuing printed cards containing moral precepts and rules of conduct for use in the State schools. Concerning the rules themselves there is little to say but good. It is when the reason for their validity is sought that their inadequacy becomes apparent. Let it be said, for instance, that there is a rule inculcating obedience to parents. Filial obedience is admirable, and is probably essential to the progress of national life. The idea is a useful one to instil into the juvenile mind; but suppose some budding Socrates asks why he should obey his parents. A well-known Sydney University professor tells the story of a distressed father who asked a Melbourne State school teacher to remonstrate with his habitually disobedient son. The State school teacher argued earnestly from a purely secular standpoint. The father clothed and fed him, and the boy should bear these benefits well in mind. The offender looked down at his clothes and disallowed the reasonableness of this sanction for conduct in something like the following words: 'My clothes don't cost father much, and I don't reckon that beef and rice pudding is any sort of tucker. I don't think I shall do any different, sir.' It may be argued that the father was not worthy of the boy's respect. Probably he was not, but the boy had none the less found out the weakness of the particular sanction for conduct. If the State school teacher had gone a step farther in his argument, he would probably have received an answer not unknown in England, that the boy had not asked to be brought into the world. It is here only possible to vouch for the veracity of the relater of this anecdote, but all intelligent

teachers have long recognised the fact that the better kind of the Australian youth demands an intelligible sanction for his moral conduct. Some years ago the writer was speaking to a confirmation class of youths drawn mostly from the local grammar school upon the eighth commandment, enforcing the precept of honesty upon the basis of true self-interest. The boys were both intelligent and receptive, but a few days later one of them remarked : ' I have been thinking over what you said, and it certainly must be a great advantage for a man to have a good character and reputation. I have, however, no money, and will find it difficult to get a start in life. If I could get that start by winning a prize in Tattersall's sweeps, or even by a bit of the sharp business which the majority of men would not think wrong, I think, on the whole, I should do better than by following your advice.' The boy was as frank as any English public-school boy, but he had been brought up in another atmosphere than that which regards Christian sanctions as an integral part of education. To his teacher his words demonstrated the weakness of utilitarian reasons for conduct, and the necessity for prefacing all Christian rules for moral duties in the stern language of Holy Scripture—' God spake these words.'

In New South Wales, however, a far more liberal and reasonable system of education has prevailed. The Public Instruction Act of that State was passed in 1880, when the secular wave which swept over the continent had probably lost much of its strength. It provided the following sections :

(7) In all schools under this Act the teaching shall be strictly non-sectarian, but the words ' secular instruction ' shall be held to include general religious teaching, as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology.

(17) In every public school four hours during each school day shall be devoted to secular instruction exclusively, and a portion of each day, not more than one hour, shall be set apart when the children of any one religious persuasion may be instructed by the clergyman or other religious teacher of such persuasion, but in all cases the pupils receiving such religious instruction shall be separated from the other pupils of the school. And the hour during which such religious instruction may be given shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the Public School Board in consultation with the teacher of such school and the clergyman of the district, or such other person as may be duly authorised to act in his stead, and any class room of any public school may be used for such religious instruction by like agreement. Provided that if two or more clergymen of different persuasions desire to give religious instruction at any school, the children of each such different persuasion shall be so instructed on different days. Provided also that the religious instruction to be so given shall in every case be the religious instruction authorised by the Church to which the clergyman or other religious teacher may belong. Provided, further, that in case of the non-attendance of any clergyman or religious teacher during any portion of the period agreed to be set apart for religious instruction, such period shall be devoted to the ordinary secular instruction in such school.

(18) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the last preceding section, no pupil in a public school shall be required to receive any general or special

religious instruction if the parents or guardians of such pupil object to such religious instruction being given.

The definition of the word 'secular' is, to say the least, notable. It may be in perfect harmony with the meaning of the Latin term to which it owes its origin. It is certainly in accordance with that Christian idea of education which refuses to separate the moral from the intellectual. But it is illogical from the purely legal point of view. Illogical however as it may be, the religious provisions of the Public Instruction Act of New South Wales have worked well for twenty-three years, and form perhaps the most successful and fair attempt made in any part of the world to deal with this problem of education. The text-books used by the public-school teachers of New South Wales are the Irish National series, which were framed to meet the requirements of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in Ireland; and are nothing more or less than paraphrases of the Authorised and Douay versions of the Scriptures. They may need revising, but they are good text-books because they are faithful to the entirety of the Scriptures. In 1899 opportunity was afforded the writer of witnessing instruction given under Clause 7 in the Fort Street School, which is one of the largest city schools in Sydney. The teachers seemed to be drawn from every religious section of the community, and in all cases the lessons were admirably given. The headmaster gave a lesson to a large senior class of boys upon the 'Sermon on the Mount,' and it was deeply impressive to see the forest of arms lifted up by those young striplings when the teacher asked successive questions from the great exposition of Christian conduct. It may be interesting to state that about twenty Jews left the room, before the class opened, to receive special secular instruction. If the Bible lesson had been taken from the Old Testament they would probably have remained.

Clause 17 is largely used throughout the State, and especially in the Sydney diocese, where an admirable system of diocesan inspection and examination prevails.¹ The Church of England is said to take much greater advantage of the privilege than any other religious body, but the sum-total of the special instruction given has been lately stated in Sydney by the Minister for Public Instruction to be inadequate. It is seldom that any class received more than one hour's special instruction during any one week, and to give this in almost any school requires the constant work of at least one man

¹ The *New Zealand Guardian* for December 1903 states that in the Sydney diocese there are 431 schools, and in 220 of these special religious instruction is given in accordance with Clause 17 of the Act. During the last twelve months for which statistics were available, 7768 visits were made by the parochial clergy and 8140 visits by salaried teachers paid from the diocesan funds, making a total of 10,908 visits. The total number of lessons given during the year was at least 14,048. The average number of lessons given in each school during the same period was at least 32.6.

from 9.30 A.M. to 4 P.M. on a given day. The day and hour for each class are settled by the head teacher and the local clergymen at the commencement of the half-year.

The Department of Public Instruction for the State of New South Wales is justly proud of the working of the Act, as may be seen from the following official report :

Section 7 of the Public Instruction Act provides that general religious teaching shall form part of the course of secular instruction. This religious teaching is placed on exactly the same footing as geography, grammar, or any other subject. At the annual inspection of schools the failure of any class to reach the standard in Scripture would tell against the teacher, just as satisfactory work would tell in his favour. In the junior classes, when children are unable to read, all lessons are given orally, in the form of lectures, and generally cover a complete course of Old and New Testament history. In classes above the second, the Irish National Board's Scripture lesson-books are regularly read. There are two volumes of Old and two of New Testament which have to be gone through. The standards, pages 34 to 43, under the heading Scripture, show how the lessons are distributed. All teachers, irrespective of creed, are required to teach these Scripture lessons, and in no case has any refusal to do so taken place, nor has any complaint ever been made to the department that the lessons have been ridiculed or made light of. Section 18 of the Act and 118 of the Regulations allow a parent to withdraw his children from all religious instruction by notifying his wish in writing to the teacher. As a matter of fact, such notifications are so few that for statistical purposes they may be said not to exist. The general outcome of the instruction is that all pupils receive a substantial knowledge of Scripture history, and are made acquainted with the moral teaching contained in the Bible.

With the view of obtaining a wide expression of opinion upon the question as to whether the Irish National Board Scripture lessons are advantageous in promoting the moral and intellectual education of the pupils in public schools, a circular was addressed to all inspectors of schools under this department, requesting them to state their views upon the matter. It was found that the large majority of these officers expressed a decided opinion that the Scripture lessons are calculated to exercise a beneficial effect upon the pupils both morally and intellectually. The following extract from the report of one of our most experienced inspectors may be taken as representing the true value of the lessons: 'In cases where teachers deal with the books as they would with ordinary class-books, giving an intelligent exposition of the subject-matter of the lessons, testing by examination to what extent the pupils comprehend its scope and meaning, and dwelling with judicious force and impressiveness upon such points of religion and morals as these lessons inculcate, there can be no doubt whatever of the benefits accruing. I believe that, in about 50 per cent. of our schools, these lessons have been so treated.'

Outside this 'general' religious instruction, Section 17 of the Act provides for what is called 'special' religious instruction. Any recognised clergyman, or other teacher, authorised by his Church, has the right to give to the children of his own denomination one hour's religious instruction daily. Unlike the general instruction, this may consist of worship and purely sectarian teaching. It is given during the ordinary school hours, and where two or more clergymen of different denominations visit, the teacher, the clergymen, and the School Board find no difficulty in making arrangements to suit all concerned. As a rule, no teacher of special religious instruction visits more than once a week.

There are no sectarian difficulties in working the clauses providing for general or special religious instruction, because the system has always formed a

part of the school routine of the Colony, and probably only a small percentage of parents would like a change made, unless it were in the direction of giving more, and not less, religious teaching.

The above report is a highly impressive document, and has special bearing upon many difficulties which are forcing themselves upon the attention of thoughtful people in England. It shows that some of the dangers which many suppose will accompany the entrance of various religious ministers into primary schools are practically non-existent. The right of entrance is highly valued by the Church authorities, and even where it is not exercised by the parochial clergy children receive in the public schools of New South Wales (which answer to the State schools of Victoria and Queensland) instruction which forms a sound and valuable basis, in the case of Anglicans, for more distinctive Church teaching, while the best antidote for any incipient 'undenominationalism' is found in the clergy taking advantage of Clause 17.

It is also interesting to note that in Australia the present stream of educational opinion seems to be setting back from the direction in which it is apparently flowing in England. Western Australia has frankly adopted into its own enactment both Clauses 7 and 17 of the New South Wales Act. Tasmania has only gone so far as to allow the clergy to teach their own children during school hours. Victoria for some time has been agitating for provisions not very dissimilar to those of the London School Board. While in South Australia and Queensland the Church of England, the Presbyterians, the Lutherans, the Baptists, and the Methodists have united in demanding the introduction into the Education Acts of their respective States of privileges similar to those enjoyed in New South Wales. Two years ago, at the late Premier's suggestion, the writer, acting in connection with the Bible in State Schools League, organised a referendum to the parents of children attending the State schools of Queensland. In round figures 23,000 parents expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of the New South Wales religious clauses, only 1400 expressed themselves unfavourably, and about 3000 declined to express any opinion. The referendum was naturally imperfect from the fact that the Education Department only supplied somewhat ancient school lists; but the result represented such a weight of opinion that Mr. R. Philp promised to conduct at the coming general election a State referendum, which he had previously declined to do, and then to abide by the result of that appeal. Since that promise was made there has been a change of government in Queensland, and whether the new Premier, the Hon. A. Morgan, will have the wisdom to test the country's desire for educational reform remains to be seen.

The whole development of primary education in Australia is also instructive as bearing upon the course of affairs in England.

In early days [writes Mr. T. A. Coghlan, the eminent statistician of New South Wales] the religious bodies were naturally the first to build schools and provide teachers, but there was always a large proportion of persons who objected to denominationalism, principally those who belonged to denominations which were not subsidised by the State; hence there arose a national or non-sectarian system which has in course of time almost monopolised the educational field.

Mr. Coghlan further sums up the development in New South Wales, which may be taken as a fair type of that in other States, as follows :

In New South Wales, for many years, a dual system of education was in existence. The four State-aided denominations—the Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan bodies—had schools supported by annual votes from Parliament, administered under the control of the head of each denomination for the time being. There were also National schools, likewise supported by the State, but under the control of a Board appointed by the Government. This plan was found to be costly and wasteful in the extreme, for in many country towns there were in existence several small and inefficient competing schools where the total number of children was not more than sufficient for one well-conducted establishment. So strongly was this evil felt that changes in the law were made from time to time, until at length the denominational system was abolished altogether, and one general and comprehensive plan of public instruction adopted in its place. This reform was not accomplished without much agitation, extending over a considerable period. A league was formed with the object of securing the establishment of secular, compulsory, and free education, and in 1880, under the auspices of Sir Henry Parkes, the measure establishing the present system became law. Education in the public schools is now non-sectarian, though facilities are afforded to clergymen to give religious instruction within specified school hours to children whose parents belong to their denomination and desire that this instruction shall be given.

The buildings belonging to the State-aided schools remained after the aid was withdrawn the property of the respective Churches, and in the majority of cases were gradually closed as the stress of competition with the State schools was felt. There are, however, still existing in the Commonwealth some primary schools, belonging principally to the Roman Catholics and Church of England, which received no grant from the respective Governments of the various States. Exact statistics for these schools are not procurable, but the enrolment of State school pupils for the year 1901 numbered 593,824, or a percentage of 15·61 of the whole population, while the enrolment of all the private schools (which include secondary schools) amounted in the same year to 150,105; that is, a percentage of 3·95 of the population. Private schools are said to have increased largely in New South Wales since 1891.

Any reader of this article will notice that, granting much dissimilarity in detail, the state of affairs in New South Wales in the seventies was not altogether dissimilar in point of fact to what it is in England to-day, and some will feel strongly that the ultimate end

of the present educational disputes must be found, as it was in Australia, in the Government taking over all primary education to which it extends support from either rates or taxes. That this will be highly unacceptable to many of the most earnest and devoted Churchpeople in the country who can doubt? It was very disagreeable to Churchmen in Australia, and the echoes of a storm of a quarter of a century ago can still be heard, testifying to its strength when it raged throughout the six States of the Commonwealth. The whole system of State-conducted education which emerged from the storm has, however, 'proved in the highest degree creditable to these young communities.' This can be affirmed without reserve of New South Wales and Western Australia. It must be modified with regard to the other States where religious and secular education are divorced, and where the system is helping to make a religious desert for the sake of maintaining denominational peace.

The Durham Concordat, which has rightly attracted so much attention in England, will strike Australians as being a definite step towards the position which they have reached. It will also strike them as an honest attempt to arrive at a *modus vivendi* between Voluntary and Provided schools until the natural end of the controversy. From a Churchman's point of view it safeguards the Church's right to the school buildings by the County Council's payment of a legal rent. It provides for some instruction in Biblical knowledge, and it allows the principle that the clergy have the solemn right of teaching Church children those tenets which they believe are generally necessary for salvation. The chief flaws in the Concordat seem to the writer to be that there is no assurance that the Biblical primers will be so full as to be acceptable to Churchmen. Little could probably be said in reason against the Irish National Readers, or the London School Board books, but much could justly and strongly be urged against the Biblical lessons of certain Municipal School Boards. Probably no thoroughly satisfactory assurance can be given until the next Education Bill has been framed and passed. Again, the Concordat appears to fail through the County Council's timidity with regard to the entrance of the clergy, or their representatives, into the schools. Why should the clergy be restricted in their entrance to one day, and for their lesson to any particular hour, provided that steps are taken to ensure that none attend their classes except those whose parents desire it, and that the school curriculum, when once arranged, shall not be disturbed during any one half-year? There are others beside Church of England clergymen who think that all religious instruction should be given by distinctly religious agents, and their right should be safeguarded, provided that this liberty does not interfere with the liberty of those who think otherwise. An ingenious person can doubtless revel in imaginary complications which may arise. The verdict of experience in Australia shows that complications do not arise. Few clergymen can go on more than

one day in the week to any school, although many devote the whole of that one day to the greatest of all works, going from class to class, according to definite school routine, and working in perfectly good relations with the teachers. Indeed, the answers to many questions put to both clergy and teachers in New South Wales are almost invariably alike. The clergy say, 'We receive nothing but kindness and consideration from the teachers.' The teachers say, 'We find that the children are the better for special instruction, and we wish the clergy would come more frequently.' Apropos of this it is not plain that the Durham County Council contemplate allowing the clergy the right of entrance into the Provided schools with the same restrictions as in the Voluntary schools. To an Australian this seems natural and fair, while in return he would think that it is only right that the representatives of other religious bodies should be admitted to teach their own children who may attend any Voluntary school.

The airy assertions of certain doctrinaires that the clergy can teach just as effectively before or after school hours as in them fail when touched by the verdict of experience. The writer has had exceptional opportunities for inquiring into this matter in many parts of Australia, and he has no hesitation in saying that such provisions are practically useless and visionary. Those who offer them are only offering the veriest shadow of religious education to the children. And, on the other hand, to those who know by sad experience what are the effects of purely secular education it sounds little less than wicked and indescribably foolish for clergymen to say that they will have nothing else if they cannot get all they want. For a large number of children a secular system means spiritual starvation. The individuals will suffer earliest from the folly of those who should be the first to supply their spiritual needs. The nation will suffer the most when the grandchildren of those who have never learned to know God have multiplied and possessed the land.

GEORGE H. FRODSHAM
(*Bishop of North Queensland*).

THE NEBULÆ

IN its strictest meaning the name 'nebula' belongs to such hazy, or cloud-like, objects in the sky as the spectroscope has definitely proved to be of a gaseous constitution. It may, however, also be applied to a far larger number as to whose nature great uncertainty still exists, no telescope having yet resolved them into stars, while at the same time their light does not give a gaseous spectrum. On the other hand, those objects which the defining power of a very large telescope proves to be composed of myriads of stars, although they present a nebulous appearance in smaller instruments, owing to the overlapping of the stellar images, are properly termed star-clusters.

In this article 'nebula' will have the wider of the two above-named meanings; and embrace the much larger class as to whose material composition we have no definite knowledge, as well as those which are known to be vast masses of gas.

Such nebulae are very numerous. About ten thousand have been catalogued by telescopic observation. But the number recently revealed by prolonged photographic exposures is so great that it would seem that they may no longer be counted merely by tens, but more probably by hundreds, of thousands.

It can never be forgotten that Sir Wm. Huggins was the first, in August 1864, to prove with his spectroscope that any nebula was really gaseous—a great achievement, the importance of which, apart from its own intrinsic merit, was all the more vividly appreciated because of its opportuneness. It came at a time when Lord Rosse's great reflector, six feet in diameter, had resolved into stars several hitherto so-called nebulae, which had obstinately remained cloud-like in all other telescopes. A widespread opinion had consequently obtained credence, not only among the general public but also among many professional astronomers, that greater telescopic power would resolve into constituent stars *all* the nebulae. If so, their still unresolved nebulous appearance could only be due to the enormity of their distance. They were spoken of as, in all probability, '*universes*,' similar to our own universe of stars, but isolated from it at distances almost inconceivably great, and far beyond its utmost boundaries.

The spectroscope, however, at once overthrew this hypothesis in the case of all which it proved to be gaseous. It showed that they

would still present a nebulous appearance, owing to their actual constitution, whether their distances from the earth might be greater or less. And it therefore also followed that they need not necessarily be beyond the confines of our own stellar system in order to present that appearance. This supposition, as we shall presently see, has been confirmed, until it approaches certainty, by various lines of subsequent investigation.

It is true that the hypothesis of universe beyond universe, occupying the furthest depths of space, until so distant that each would appear as a mere faintly-shining spot of light, was so fascinating that it was very hard to kill. It seemed to many to give a glory and a grandeur to the heavens around them which they could not bring themselves to resign.

It is, however, very grievous to find how little more of at all equal importance has been discovered with regard to *nebulæ* during the forty years that have since elapsed. In common with most of the other branches of the great science of astronomy it seems, at the present time, that nebular astronomy is teaching its students many a lesson of humility and patience. As the result of all the observations continuously amassed and discussed difficulties arise to puzzle and bewilder far more rapidly than they are solved. We climb on to the next rung of the ladder, but our higher standpoint only affords a wider view of the unknown, whose unsolved problems are thereby multiplied in a ratio far exceeding the amount of fresh knowledge gained.

It is not possible at present, for instance, to say with any certainty what is the distance from the earth of any single nebula; or what the precise constitution of the matter in it, even when it is chiefly gaseous; or what its temperature, or the effective cause of its light; or from what vapours the most characteristic lines of the spectra of the gaseous *nebulæ* arise.

In spite, however, of such a confession of ignorance, I will now endeavour to bring together a few of the most important suggestions of recent date as to the puzzling characteristics of these very remarkable bodies.

To do so at the present time may also be the more appropriate, since recent investigations into the nature and action of ions and electrons, of Röntgen and Becquerel and Blondlot rays, and above all, of the varied and well-nigh marvellously energetic emanations of radium cannot but suggest that, before long, some unexpected explanation may be found of the cause and maintenance of that luminosity in the *nebulæ* which is one of their greatest mysteries; in addition to which the later photographs of the recent new star in Perseus have further increased the interest of this subject, by showing that there may very probably be many additional *nebulæ*, unseen because unilluminated, scattered in the midst of the star-strewn heavens, besides all those whose light it is so difficult to explain.

I have said that we are unable to speak definitely as to the actual distance of any nebula from the earth. With a few of the stars it is otherwise. In their case the shift of the earth's position, in the course of six consecutive months as it circles round the sun, produces a very minute, but nevertheless measurable, change in the directions in which they are seen, from which change of direction, technically termed parallax, their distances can be calculated. It results that the very nearest of the stars is at a distance of at least twenty-five millions of millions of miles from the earth; while all, except about forty, must be more than ten times as far away. The faintest visible to the naked eye (although some may be in themselves much brighter, or larger, than others) are probably, upon an average, a hundred times as distant as the nearest star. And beyond these, myriads upon myriads are at distances which, although finite, defy all accurate calculation.

No such measurable parallax, from which its distance might be deduced, has, however, yet been found for any nebula; one reason being that it is impossible, in such hazy, ill-defined bodies, to select sufficiently definite points from which to make the very delicate and accurate measurements needed. Nor can we judge of the comparative distances of various nebulae in another way, which is useful in the case of stars. The stars, in general, possess certain small movements (determinable by telescopic observation) along the surface of the celestial sphere, which are termed proper motions. Although these movements are very small, some are much larger than others, and it is reasonably concluded that, upon an average, those stars which in this way appear to move the more rapidly are nearer to the earth than those whose corresponding movements appear to be slower. But no movements of this kind have been detected in the nebulae; it may be because suitable observations have not yet been sufficiently long-continued; but chiefly, no doubt, for the reason already mentioned—viz. the lack of clearly defined points within their confines from which to make precise measurements.¹

In neither way, therefore, has it been possible, up to the present time, either definitely to calculate the distance of any nebula, or even (except perhaps very slightly from the spectroscopic observations referred to in the footnote) to judge whether any given nebula may be nearer, or further away, than some of its compeers. It may, however, be hoped that, in the course of time, some definite solution of the problem of nebular distance may be attained, in a few cases, by the measurement, through a long series of years, of photographs specially taken for that purpose, in which some particularly well-defined

¹ The nebulae, nevertheless, doubtless possess such proper motions, although they are as yet undetermined; for it has been found, by the aid of the spectroscope, in a few instances, that they have, in the perpendicular direction (*i.e.* towards or from the earth), velocities comparable in magnitude with those of the stars. Such observations are, however, so difficult and so few in number that they have afforded very little help towards any judgment as to the relative distances of the nebulae in general.

part may exhibit a permanency of form and brightness sufficient for accurate and repeated measurements of its place.

Nevertheless it is meanwhile very interesting to notice, as I will now proceed to explain, that various lines of argument, founded upon altogether independent classes of observations, combine, in a most remarkable manner, to show that stellar and nebular distances are of similar magnitude, and that both classes of bodies, as already stated, are consequently mingled together.

For instance, the well-known group of the Pleiades seems to be much infolded in nebulosity, more and more of which is apparent as the length of exposure and the sensitiveness of the plates used for its photography are increased. Of this nebulosity portions are seen to be clearly attached to certain of the principal stars, either surrounding them, or radiating from them in sprays and spirals; while, in some parts, it runs along almost like a rope, or ribbon, from star to star. It cannot but be, therefore, that the stars of the group and much of this nebulosity must be mixed together, and practically at the same distance from the earth.

On two occasions temporary stars have shone forth almost exactly in the middle of a nebula.² This coincidence of so central a position makes it almost certain that the stars were situated *in*, and not merely seen projected upon, these nebulae.

Again, as was first noticed by Sir Wm. Herschel, a certain number of individual stars are surrounded with nebulosity, its amount varying, in all gradations, from a barely visible, hazy halo to an appearance which is almost entirely nebulous with only the faintest glimmer of a stellar point in its centre. Nebulosity, thus attendant upon any star, must of course be at the same distance as the star.

Once more, Sir Wm. Huggins, by comparing the bright lines in the spectra of certain stars in the central part of the great Orion nebula with those in the spectrum of the light of the nebula itself, found indications that these stars are physically bound up with it; while Professor Keeler, as well as Professor Campbell, although upon somewhat different grounds—viz. by observations of the absorption-lines of stars apparently seen upon it—have also pronounced in favour of a definite connection between some of those stars and the nebulosity.

Further, there are two remarkable objects in the southern heavens which look almost as if matter had been sent along some channel out of the Milky Way to form them. They are called the Nubecula Major and Minor, or sometimes the two Magellanic clouds, a name given to them in honour of the great navigator, Magellan, of the sixteenth century. When Sir John Herschel was at the Cape of Good Hope he carefully observed them. He found that the larger covered a space

² In a nebula in Scorpio in 1860, and in the Andromeda nebula in 1885.

of about forty-two square degrees in the sky—*i.e.* about two hundred times the apparent disc of the full moon—and the smaller about ten square degrees. They are roughly circular, or slightly oval, in appearance, and are therefore doubtless approximately of a spherical form, as it is otherwise most improbable that both would present a similar shape simply as the result of any perspective foreshortening. Within them the telescope displays hundreds of stars (from the seventh magnitude downwards), hundreds of nebulae, and numerous globular and other clusters of all degrees of resolvability. Whatever the actual distances and sizes of these nebulae may be, it can be shown, by an easy method of calculation, that their diameters, and consequently the difference between the distances of their nearest and furthest parts, must bear quite a moderate proportion to the whole distance of either from us. It may be concluded, therefore, as Sir J. Herschel pointed out, that, within their comparatively limited boundaries, and consequently at the same order of distance from us, nebulae, stars, and star-clusters are all intermingled together.

Moreover, the best recent observations and researches connected with the spectra of stars increasingly support the belief that stars are formed out of nebulae. In various parts of many nebulae it is clearly seen that matter is condensed, or drawn together, either as a brighter surrounding of certain stars,³ or in the form of knots, or ill-defined aggregations, which are probably stars in process of formation. And in some of those exceedingly close double stars recently discovered, which are termed spectroscopic binaries,⁴ it is found that the periods and conditions of their mutual revolutions prove that they are of such very light density that they cannot differ much from a nebula in their constitution. Other considerations also make it very probable that they have been produced by the comparatively recent fracture, or disruption, of a nebula into two separate portions. But any stars thus formed from nebulae must necessarily be at the same distances as the nebulae from which they are formed.

It is also very remarkable that lines, or streams, of stars may often be noticed approximately running along the edge of some dark rift, or channel, in a great nebula. This certainly looks as if the matter, apparently wanting in such a channel, may have been, so to say, used up in the making of these stars. Once more, although somewhat more hypothetically, the belief that stellar and nebular distances from the earth are of similar magnitude is confirmed.

It would be easy to quote the opinion of one great astronomer after another in favour of this statement. But a single sentence may suffice, written by one of the most distinguished, Professor Young, in

³ For instance, of a nebula near the first-magnitude star Antares, in Scorpio, Professor Barnard has said: 'It strongly condenses about certain bright stars, and thus unmistakably shows its connection with them.' See *Knowledge*, vol. xix. p. 205.

⁴ See *The Nineteenth Century*, August 1900, pp. 293 *et seq.*

his recently published *Lessons in Astronomy*: 'Like the star clusters, the nebulae are within the stellar universe and not beyond its boundaries' (p. 281).

While, therefore, the actual distance of any nebula cannot at present be determined, it is, I think, of the highest interest to notice how all these various lines of argument mutually assure us that the nebulae and the stars are intermingled in our universe, although most probably the nebulae, as a rule, are located among the more distant rather than among the nearer stars.

From this another very interesting result immediately follows. The real size of a nebula, which appears to us to be of a certain apparent size, must of course depend upon its distance. If it be twice as far away, its linear dimensions must be twice as great, in order to make it appear of the given size; and so on. As we know not the actual distance of any nebula it must, therefore, be allowed that we cannot say what its actual length, or breadth, may measure. They may be ten times, or a hundred times, as great, if it should presently prove that we must assign a tenfold, or a hundredfold, greater distance to it. But it is most interesting to find, even if we take the very lowest possible estimate that can reasonably be suggested of what such a distance may be, that we are nevertheless certain that many of the nebulae must be of startlingly huge proportions.

For instance, let us consider merely the very densest central part of the nebula in Orion—a portion the length, and breadth, of which may each be taken as rather more than one-half of a degree of angular measurement, which is nearly the apparent diameter of the disc of the moon. Then, if we suppose the nebula to be only about seventy-five times as distant as the very nearest star, and therefore much nearer than the great majority of the stars, the real surface-area of that small part of the whole nebula would be not much less than three hundred *quadrillions* of square miles,⁵ or more than eleven million times that of the vast orbit of the planet Neptune, as it sweeps round the sun at a distance of about 2,800 millions of miles. The larger nebulae, and not only they, but probably thousands of others of comparatively smaller dimensions, are, therefore, indeed of giant size.

But this being so, we at once learn something as to their constitution; and in the midst of much doubt and ignorance any such knowledge is very valuable. This enormous size in such nebulae requires that their density must be almost inconceivably small. Some years ago this was excellently worked out by Mr. Ranyard, who showed that the mean density of such a nebula as that in Orion must, in all probability, be less (or, it might perhaps better be said, very likely far less) than one ten-thousand-millionth part of the

⁵ The calculation is made for a parallax of 0''.01, which puts the nebula at a distance seventy-five times greater than that of the star α Centauri. A quadrillion, according to English notation, is 1 followed by 24 zeros.

density of the earth's atmosphere at sea-level;⁶ for otherwise the attraction of the mass of matter in the nebula would generate in neighbouring stars, as they circulated about it, velocities, or proper motions, which would be very apparent, whereas no such notable stellar movements are observed. The same conclusion, as to the extreme tenuity of such nebulosity, is confirmed in other similar cases—*e.g.* by the small proper motions of the stars in the neighbourhood of that great mass of nebula which, as already mentioned, embraces in its wide-spreading folds the stars in the group of the Pleiades.

It is, however, impossible to say of what constitution matter of such tenuity may be; but under the conditions of temperature probably existing in it, it would, at any rate, be reasonable to suppose that it would be very transparent. In certain instances this is undoubtedly so. There is practically no doubt that we often see the light of stars through many thousands of millions of miles of nebula. But if the very smallest appreciable amount of non-transparency existed in such cases this could not be, since the hindrance to their light would increase, not simply as the distance through which a star's rays might have to pass, but as the square of that distance. The obscuration produced would, therefore, be so rapidly intensified that the stellar light would very quickly be entirely extinguished. In this connection Professor Newcomb has recently definitely stated that 'Not only the spectroscopic evidence of bright lines, but the aspect of the objects themselves, shows that they are transparent through and through. This is remarkable when taken in connection with their inconceivable size.'⁷ This clear transparency thus met with in nebula after nebula gives, I think, great confirmation to the supposition of their exceedingly light density.

Nevertheless, as in much else relating to these puzzling bodies, other facts are met with which tend in the contrary direction. In the case of the great Dumb-Bell Nebula, in the constellation of the Fox, Dr. Isaac Roberts finds indications of the existence of 'a broad ring of nebulosity which surrounds a globular mass. This ring, not being sufficiently dense,' as he says, 'to obscure the light of the central region of the globular mass, is dense enough to obscure those parts of it which are hidden by the increasing thickness of the nebulosity, thus producing the "dumb-bell" appearance.'⁸ That is, as I opine, the obscuration occurs where our line of sight, as we look towards the central mass, passes by the effect of perspective through a greater thickness of the matter in the ring. Again, Professor E. C. Pickering has shown that the number of faint stars seen in the region of the Pleiades is decidedly smaller than in the adjacent regions of the sky. The widespread nebulosity of that group would, therefore, certainly seem to possess some absorbent

⁶ *Knowledge*, vol. xv. p. 192.

⁷ *The Stars*, by Newcomb, p. 189.

⁸ *Celestial Photographs*, by Dr. Isaac Roberts, F.R.S., vol. i. p. 114.

property, which hinders the passage of light from very faint stars behind it.

Further, Miss Agnes Clerke has remarked that 'the spectra of stars with nebular appurtenances are mainly impressed with dark lines of helium, hydrogen, and oxygen.' But, she adds, 'it might have been anticipated that nebulous stars would be found to shine predominantly by emission—i.e. that bright' (instead of dark) 'lines would be conspicuous in their spectra. Facts, however, do not bear out this forecast.'⁹ In other words, we find that the vibrations of the light from these stars, as it travels through the surrounding nebosity, does not pass unhindered, but suffers an absorptive effect.

While, therefore, the vast masses of these wondrous bodies seem, in general, to be in a condition of almost perfect transparency, there are nevertheless indications that, under certain conditions, they may become in some degree opaque. Once more then, baffled and puzzled by the nebulae, we must await further discoveries for the explanation of such apparently contradictory features. It is, however, as we have seen, happily possible to speak with much certainty as to their immense size, their intensely small density, and their general intermixture with the stars as a constituent part of our universe.

Next, however, a further confession of ignorance must be made as to various other points relating to the matter of which they may be constituted, its chief or most important components, and the cause and nature of its luminosity.

When Sir Wm. Huggins first examined the spectrum of a gaseous nebula, in the year 1864, he found in it three bright lines. Of these one belonged to hydrogen gas; the other two (in that part of the spectrum which is of a greenish tint) could not be identified as due to any known substance. Since that date these two latter have always been found in the light of every gaseous nebula, except when that light has been so faint that only the brighter of the two has been seen. That one is, therefore, the special characteristic line of such nebulae, and doubtless arises from the vapour of the most important substance present in them. It is true that in the spectra of the brightest gaseous nebulae many more bright lines appear (those whose places have been determined with a fair amount of accuracy amounting to about fifty) of which a considerable number are due to hydrogen and some to helium. But it is only possible to assign the imaginary name of *nebulium* to the substance whose vapour, as above stated, produces the most important and persistent line of all.

We know not what that substance is, or in what peculiar or primordial condition it may be. We cannot find it upon the earth, or in the vapours of the sun. Yet, as the name of helium was assigned to certain bright lines seen in the sun, some twenty-five years before Sir

⁹ *Knowledge*, vol. xxv. pp. 225-6.

William Ramsay, in 1895, first discovered it upon the earth, so it may be hoped that presently the mystery of nebium may in like manner be solved. One, and only one, indication of its properties has yet glimmered forth. It is that the vapour of nebium may be denser than that of hydrogen.

We have thus seen how little we know in regard to the *gaseous* nebulæ, which include among their various types those of very large, irregular form, such as that in Orion; the planetary or disc-like; and the annular or ring-shaped; all of which in the telescope appear of a greenish hue. But we know still less as to nebulæ whose light is whitish, which are also far more numerous, the reason being that their light, when examined with a spectroscope, gives a continuous spectrum, *i.e.* a coloured band of light without any lines across it either dark or bright. This spectrum is that which the light of any shining incandescent solid mass, such as a piece of white-hot iron or a limelight, affords. It is one in which no details are visible to help to reveal the particular substance, or substances, from which it arises. Nor does such a spectrum even definitely indicate its origin to be necessarily from solid matter. If it did, nebulæ emitting it might to a considerable extent consist of a mass of stars whose images the telescope failed to define;¹⁰—stars, therefore, either much further away than would otherwise have seemed probable, or else individually of much smaller size than ordinary stars. The spectrum, however, does not even indicate so much as this, because such a spectrum may also arise from gas under high pressure, or possibly be due, in some cases, to the emanation of light from an immense depth of hot transparent gas. Indeed, it is not unlikely that a very faint indication of such a continuous spectrum, also seen in conjunction with the bright lines of some of the more brilliant gaseous nebulæ, may be thus produced by gas.

While then, as previously stated, it must be allowed with regard to the gaseous nebulæ that, apart from the presence of hydrogen and helium, we know not what their gases are, we are still more ignorant as to the origin of the light of all the other nebulæ. We cannot say whether it may be derived from myriads of little stars, or so-called sunlets; or from some kind of (what may be termed) star-dust; or from some form of gaseous matter, emitting light from great depths, or existing under special conditions of temperature and pressure. And here I wish to mention a very valuable suggestion made by Mr. Maunder a few years ago, which I believe may be briefly expressed as follows:—That both classes of nebulæ may perhaps be composed of stars in an early stage of development, with very small condensed photospheres (corresponding to the light-giving surface of our sun), but with very largely developed chromospheres and coronas, corresponding

¹⁰ It should, however, be noticed that in that case we might expect to find absorption-lines in the spectrum produced by their vapours.

to the two solar appendages which lie in succession above the photosphere. The chromosphere of the sun is mainly gaseous; the corona mainly composed of solid dust-like matter. If, therefore, in the stars in some nebulae, the gaseous chromospheres were much more prominent than the coronas, the corresponding nebular spectrum would be a gaseous one. If the contrary were the case, and the coronas predominated, the spectrum would be a continuous one, as in the nebulae of whitish hue.¹¹ But there are many difficulties, connected with spectral details, involved in this hypothesis, as in every other yet put forward for the explanation of the spectra of the nebulae.

In many other respects their phenomena are also very mysterious. Whether, for instance, as has been suggested, we see in parts of them vast quantities of outrushing highly heated matter, opaque, until it becomes more luminous and transparent as it cools; or whether the additional light seen in some regions may be produced by matter that is condensing and consequently increasing in heat; or why the great nebulae which the spectroscope shows to be gaseous should so often exhibit sharply defined boundaries, instead of their gas diffusing itself vaguely in all directions; or whether the convoluted curves of the very numerous spirally formed nebulae are due to the indraught of matter towards a centre, or to its ejection from a centre; or why those dark channels or lanes which I have already mentioned should be of such remarkable distinctness, and run like thoroughfares through many of the nebulae. Can they be due, it may be asked, to the interposition of opaque matter which, in those parts, obstructs the passage of light; or are they real vacuities, the matter once in their place having been used up in the making of stars, which in many cases seem most remarkably to lie along their edges and to follow their course; or are they simply portions of gas which for the time being are emitting no light?

It is impossible to say. It is all an unsolved problem. Like Pelion and Ossa upon Olympus, mystery is heaped upon mystery until so high an authority as Miss Clerke can only speak of 'a glimmering of reason beginning to hover over what has long appeared a scene of hopeless bewilderment;' ¹² or of its being 'impossible to divine what sort of communication' straight lines of nebulae running, as in the Pleiades, from star to star 'establish between the stars they connect,' ¹³ or of the true nature and origin of the nebulous halos round certain stars being 'a subject for inquiries likely to be long and arduous.' ¹⁴ Even the plan, or law, of the distribution of the nebulae in the sky is a mystery; the great gaseous ones being found almost entirely in the Milky Way, where globular star-clusters and stars in general abound;

¹¹ *Knowledge*, vol. xix. p. 38.

¹² *The System of the Stars*, p. 251.

¹³ *Problems in Astrophysics*, p. 418.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 468.

while the whiter nebulae are far more abundant in the parts of the heavens most distant from it.

But of all their mysteries none is, perhaps, greater than that which meets us in the question: Why, or how, do they shine? What is the process—what is the nature of the energy which makes them luminous? Their light is certainly, in general, faint; often very faint. This is not, however, due to their distance, because their apparent size diminishes with their distance in just the same ratio as that by which their distance affects the brightness of their light. At any distance any given nebula would, therefore, appear of unaltered brightness. But as regards the generating process of that faint light we may well ask:—Is it due to molecular or meteoritic collisions; or to intra-molecular vibrations; or to such electrical action as takes place in a vacuum tube? Is it due to their matter being in such an elementary condition that it may even be said to be composed of electricity? For such a constitution of matter (first, I believe, suggested by W. K. Clifford) may now be considered possible, since it has been shown that a moving charge of electricity possesses an apparent mass, or inertia, which is taken to be the fundamental attribute of matter. Or shall the nebular light be assigned to some known, or unknown, form of phosphorescence? None can yet say. Just as little is at present known as to the nature of nebular luminosity as, until the other day, was known of radium and of the various classes of rays emitted by it. Yet as Sir W. and Lady Huggins have recently proved that the energy of those emanations can cause the nitrogen of the atmosphere to give forth its spectrum, so it may be surmised that radium may play an important part in the nebulae.

It has recently been suggested as by no means improbable that the heat of the sun may have been sustained, during past ages of far longer continuance than the heat generated simply through its own contraction could have permitted, by means of a comparatively small and hitherto altogether unsuspected amount of radium. May we not, therefore, think it to be by no means unlikely that the light and temperature of the nebulae may owe much to the action of this same substance, the existence of which, as a constituent in them, may be the more probable, since recent investigations have given indications of a certain subtle relationship between radium and helium, which latter element undoubtedly reveals its presence in the spectra of the gaseous nebulae?

But the more, we may say, the more after all, is the feeling intensified: How little do we know as yet of these wondrous objects! We are still feebly, dimly, longing and searching after the truths hidden within them. We may well believe that all the shining orbs around us have sprung from nebulae—single stars from single nebulae; and double stars (which, as time goes on, are found to be increasingly abundant) from double nebulae; and in all probability star-clusters

from nebulae of especial size, and in many cases of a spiral form, since star-clusters themselves often exhibit signs of spiral convolutions.¹⁵ As Tennyson has termed them,¹⁶ all these

Regions of lucid matter taking forms,
Brushes of fire, hazy gleams,
Clusters and beds of worlds, and bee-like swarms
Of suns, and starry streams

may have had this common origin. And yet, while we may trace, with but little doubt, the after evolutionary processes that have thus found their scope in many a nebula, we cannot say of any single nebula among the thousands and hundreds of thousands of whose existence we are aware what it is made of, or why it shines.

The nebulae, visible in the telescope, or photographed with the camera, are therefore most baffling to the study of astronomers and physicists alike. But just as dark stars, invisible to the eye or telescope, certainly abound in the heavens, to the number probably of many millions,¹⁷ so there are indications that dark (or exceedingly faintly illuminated) nebulosity may also be abundant. In this Review, in February 1902, I drew attention to the photographs of what appeared to be bright nebulosity around the recent new star in Perseus. Successive photographs showed that this luminous nebulosity seemed steadily to increase in distance from the star, spreading outwards as if in expanding circular, or spherical, surfaces around it. I favoured the hypothesis that this appearance was not caused by any outrush of matter from the star, but that it was due to the outward passage of light, which had emanated from the star during the short time when its first brilliancy continued to be of very great intensity. It seemed probable that nebulosity existed in an immense extent of space around the star, but unilluminated, and therefore invisible; and that the locality of the phenomenon was so immensely distant that the vast velocity of light was, apparently, so reduced by the effect of that distance that the luminous outburst, which had started from the star, could be watched in its onward progress as it temporarily lighted up successive portions of the nebula, and rendered them visible while it was passing through them.

Since then, the discovery in a photograph of an earlier date of traces of the same effect, at a distance from the star corresponding to that which the light would then have reached, and also some feeble indications of a certain amount of similarity between the light subsequently received from the nebulosity and that of the star at the time of its outburst, have given considerable confirmation to

¹⁵ See *Celestial Photographs*, by Dr. I. Roberts, F.R.S., vols. i. and ii.

¹⁶ *Tennyson, A Memoir*, by Hallam Lord Tennyson, vol. i. p. 120.

¹⁷ See 'Some Unseen Stars,' in the *Nineteenth Century*, August 1900, pp. 285 *et seq.*

this hypothesis. It is also one which is consistent with the cause to which I was, and still am, disposed to attribute the original violent outbreak of light—viz. to the friction and other effects of the star's passage through a nebula. At any rate, in this case, there are strong reasons in favour of the existence of a dark, or nearly dark, nebulosity, of wide extent; a supposition confirmed by the high authority of Professor Turner, who, in his recent work on *Modern Astronomy*,¹⁸ when speaking of the additional amount of exceedingly faint (or, as I think it may well be termed, almost dark) nebulosity proved to exist by a certain method of photography, has said: 'We begin to wonder whether there is not an invisible veil of nebula over the whole sky, which would betray itself with a long enough exposure. Here again,' he adds (in agreement with various statements made in this article), 'we are getting information which we have only had time as yet to marvel at, not to interpret.'

All this leads us on further still. When we bear in mind, as already stated, the reasonableness of the belief that all existing stars have been developed from nebulae, surely this probable abundance of dark nebulosity, superadded to the immense extent of that which is luminous, may well suggest the thought (even though it be but little more than a fancied dream): May we not imagine a far vaster nebular hypothesis than that which Laplace proposed for the solar system? May it not be that all our universe, of stars, comets, star-clusters and nebulae, has come from one most vast primæval nebula, of which the existing nebulae, fainter or more luminous, in all their varieties of form and feature, are but the remains not yet condensed into shining orbs?

From nebulae we believe that stars are *still* being formed—stars which shall shine, and wax and wane in light till they, in turn, like many now around them, shall be dull or dark, dead and cold; until at last the whole universe shall attain one uniform temperature and its light and activity be no more? But then, what next? We cannot say. It is useless to look forward so far. But it is tempting to look back; and in that reverse process I cannot but think that we seem to reach an epoch in the far-distant past when all was nebula. If so, once more we may ask: What then? What came before that vastly widespread nebula? Who can draw the boundary line between creation and evolution in the ages of 'the beginning'?

In connection with all such queries as these, the following quotation may be of special interest at the present time. Herbert Spencer, in concluding his remarkably impressive discussion of the nebular hypothesis, written some five-and-forty years ago, stated that even if development from nebula should so far render 'the genesis of the solar system, and of countless other systems like it, compre-

¹⁸ *Modern Astronomy*, p. 237.

hensible, the ultimate mystery continues as great as ever.' And he added :

The problem of existence is not solved, it is simply removed further back. The Nebular Hypothesis throws no light on the origin of diffused matter ; and diffused matter as much requires accounting for as concrete matter. The genesis of an atom is not easier to conceive than the genesis of a planet. Nay, indeed, so far from making the universe a less mystery than before, it makes it a greater mystery. Creation by manufacture is a much lower thing than creation by evolution. A man can put together a machine, but he cannot make a machine develop itself. . . . That our harmonious universe once existed potentially as formless diffused matter, and has slowly grown into its present organised state, is a far more astonishing fact than would have been its formation after the artificial method vulgarly supposed. Those who hold it legitimate to argue from phenomena to noumena may rightly contend that the Nebular Hypothesis implies a First Cause as much transcending ' the mechanical God of Paley,' as this does the fetish of the savage.¹⁹

E. LEDGER.

¹⁹ *The Westminster Review*, July 1858.

THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

THE letter from Mr. Gladstone to Lord Lyttelton on classical education, which Mr. Morley has printed in the appendix of his second volume, expresses an opinion that 'modern European civilisation, from the Middle Age downwards, is the compound of two great factors, the Christian religion for the spirit of man, and the Greek, and in a secondary degree the Roman, discipline for his mind and intellect.' Yet no one knew better than Mr. Gladstone that Greek religion had exercised a profound influence upon human thought. He indulged himself in copious speculations on the subject, and went astray because he had not the clue. Miss Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, published by the University Press at Cambridge, is the modest title of an original work founded on elaborate research, and full of interest not only for antiquaries and comparative mythologists, but for every student of the language and literature without which the world would be quite different from what we know it. With the materials and methods of Miss Harrison's labours I am quite incompetent to deal, though I think I can appreciate the soundness of her learning and the acuteness with which she argues her points. The fellowship at Newnham, that has enabled her, she tells us, to produce this book, is a singularly fruitful example of intellectual endowment. Her *Prolegomena* are more than an Introduction, which is all that that imposing word can be made to signify. They contain the fullest account that can yet be given of Greek ritual before Homer. Miss Harrison begins with snake-worship, and ends with the Orphic mysteries. The rites and ceremonies, the fancies and superstitions with which she deals, were almost obsolete in Homer's time, or in the time of the Homeric poems. The mythology of Homer is 'sceptical and moribund already in its very perfection.' To those who associate the Father of Poetry with the undying freshness of wind from the sea, or light from the stars, with a simplicity older than self-conscious art, and with a closeness to nature such as no one except our own Chaucer has approached, Miss Harrison's epithets may perhaps seem strange. But she is applying them, of course, to Homer as a mythologist, not to Homer as a poet. She is contrasting his dim underworld of ghosts and shades with the eternal punishment

of the Orphic eschatology, and his physical purification of unclean dwellings with the moral atonement which it originally symbolised. She is thinking of the time when Zeus Meilichios, the gracious father of gods and men, was worshipped as a snake. So it appears from two reliefs found at the Peiræus, and now in the museum at Berlin. This was the older Chthonian worship upon which the Olympian theology was imposed.

These investigations have their scientific purpose and object in the development of philosophical ideas. But they also serve to illustrate Greek literature, and therefore all literature from their day till our own. Under Miss Harrison's treatment the oldest writers are not always the most ancient. There may be more antiquarianism in Æschylus than in Homer, in Plutarch than in Aristophanes, in Lucian even than in Thucydides. Theocritus certainly did not worship Zeus as a snake, even if he worshipped him at all. He was a poet of the Court, as well as of the country, and yet his second Idyll, perhaps the most passionate utterance ever put by a poet into the mouth of a woman, is the great authority for ancient magic. The turning of a wheel, the melting of a wax image, an invocation of the moon, are the methods, familiar enough, by which Simætha avenges herself on Delphis, her recreant lover, 'the slave of Aphrodite and of love.'

Turn, magic wheel, turn homeward him I love.
Even as I melt, not uninspired, the wax,
May Mindian Delphis melt this morn with love.
And, swiftly as this brazen wheel whirls round,
May Aphrodite whirl him to my door.

These lines are from Calverley's translation, which Miss Harrison does not use. It is, I think, one of the most brilliant ever made in English from a classical author, though perhaps this is not one of its most brilliant passages.

Turn, magic wheel, turn homeward him I love.
Next burn the husks. Hell's adamant floor
And aught else that stands firm can Artemis move.
Thestylis, the hounds bay up and down the town:
The goddess stands i' the crossways: sound the gongs.

'Α θεὸς ἐν τριόδοις is Diana of the Crossways, whom our great novelist has made a household word. But why are the gongs to be sounded? Artemis has been invoked, and the brass is 'apotropaic,' to avert some evil thing. It is not difficult to imagine that when 'fate and metaphysical aid' have been summoned their approach may still be dreaded. Don Giovanni invited the statue of the Commendatore to supper, not believing that the invitation would be accepted. When it was accepted, and the Commendatore came, Don Giovanni was alarmed, as well as surprised. Nobody comes in this Idyll. The gong counteracted the invocation, and the poem ends with an address to the moon, hardly surpassed even by Theocritus,

the greatest of all pastoral poets. From Theocritus Miss Harrison passes to Aristophanes, because his play of the *Thesmophoriazusæ* is called after the Thesmophoria, a festival whereat curses were uttered which Miss Harrison compares with the Communion service for Ash Wednesday. 'From the *Thesmophoriazusæ* of Aristophanes we learn almost nothing of the ritual of the Thesmophoria save the fact that the feast was celebrated on the Pnyx.' But, at the same time, if he had not written the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, we should not greatly care to know what the Thesmophoria was, so that literature may be the handmaid of those higher studies which are justly superseding it in learned societies like Cambridge.

In the *Thesmophoriazusæ* the women revenge themselves upon Euripides for maltreating them in his plays, which were too moral and not religious enough for the great comedian. In that astonishingly clever book, *Euripides the Rationalist*, so clever that scarcely anyone can help believing it while he reads it, Dr. Verrall says that almost the only charge of immorality Aristophanes could bring against Euripides was founded on the famous line in the *Hippolytus*—'My tongue has sworn, but my mind is not bound by the oath.' But if every dramatic author were made responsible for all the sentiments uttered by all his characters, Æschylus and Sophocles would have been liable to the same censure as Euripides. Aristophanes dealt with the general tendency of an author whom he regarded, if not as a 'rationalist,' at least as a radical reformer and a bad playwright into the bargain. Aristotle does not call him a bad playwright. On the contrary, he says in his *Poetics* that Euripides was 'the most tragic of poets,' whatever that may mean. Professor Butcher interprets it to signify that Euripides had 'the preference of the poet for the true tragic ending,' as in the *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, and *Hecuba*. But the play of Euripides most closely connected with religion is none of these, nor is it any of those examined by Dr. Verrall to support his theory that Euripides had a great moral purpose in exposing a false and debasing theology. It is the *Bacchæ* which contains one of the most splendid descriptions of religious enthusiasm, or superstitious madness, to be found in the poetry of the world. The question whether he meant to write an encomium or a satire has been the subject of much controversy in modern times. Grote believed that Euripides wished in this wonderful drama, written at the close of his life, 'to repel the imputations, so often made against him, of commerce with the philosophers and participation in sundry heretical opinions.' It is, however, extremely difficult to accept the suggestion that then, or at any other time, the author of the *Alcestis*, familiar to English readers in *Balaustion's Adventure*, 'favourably contrasted the uninquiring faith of the vulgar with the dissenting and inquisitive tendencies of superior minds,' though doubtless there are words in the play which, construed literally, may be taken to mean something of the sort. But even if

one cannot go all the way with Dr. Verrall, who perhaps sees in Euripides more than Euripides saw himself, one must at least admit that there are insuperable difficulties in the theory of Schlegel that he simply failed where Æschylus and Sophocles had succeeded. And it is to be observed that Professor Bury, in his excellent *History of Greece*, written on much better principles than those which he laid down in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, takes Dr. Verrall's view as established. 'Euripides,' says Mr. Bury, 'used the tragic stage to disseminate rationalism; he undermined the popular religion from the very steps of the altar. By the necessity of the case he accomplished his work indirectly, but with consummate dexterity. Æschylus and Sophocles had reverently modified religious legend, adapting it to their own ideals, interpreting it so as to satisfy their own moral standard. Euripides takes the myths just as he finds them, and contrives his dramas so as to bring the absurdities into relief.' He must, then, have been sarcastic if he meant to adopt himself the language which he assigns in the *Bacchæ* to Teiresias. 'We make no speculations about divine beings. No theory will ever destroy the traditions, or the feelings which in our own lifetime we have acquired, not even if the theory has been discovered by the highest intellects.'

Although the religion of which Miss Harrison traces the origin was merely traditional in classical, even in Homeric, times, it explains and illustrates much that would otherwise be obscure in Greek literature, while for Greek art it is indispensable. Miss Harrison's book, a really great book, as well as a truly learned one, is made not only more attractive, but very much clearer, by beautiful illustrations from ancient vases and reliefs. But they are much more than illustrations. They are evidence, sometimes the only evidence, of the way in which myths grew, and legends were understood, and gods were worshipped in this form or that. The frenzy of the *Bacchæ*, who are rather profanely compared by Miss Harrison with the Hallelujah lasses of the Salvation Army, is essentially feminine. Perhaps few people realised before the appearance of these 'Prolegomena' how feminine the origin of Greek religion was. Many of Miss Harrison's pages appeal chiefly to adepts in archæology. Her delightful chapter on 'The Making of a Goddess' should be read by everyone who cares for the history of art. The religion of Greece is not peculiar in being anthropomorphic. The familiar lines of Xenophanes are an anticipation of the terrible comment made by Voltaire upon the words 'In the image of God made He man.' '*Il l'a bien rendu*,' said the Frenchman. Xenophanes wrote that, as mortal man made gods in his own likeness, so oxen, lions, and horses, if they had hands, would make gods equine, gods leonine, gods bovine. There was a time when the Greeks worshipped a snake for Zeus, a mare for Demeter, and a fish for Artemis. When the Greek mind passed out of this stage, it did not proceed at once to the adoration

of human and masculine divinities. St. Augustine, of all people, tells a curious story to explain how the Athenian women lost the franchise. The competing claims of Athene and Poseidon were referred to universal suffrage. For in those days, it seems, the people elected their own gods. The vote was according to sex, and Athene headed the poll by a bare majority. After this they were never allowed to vote again, nor to call their children by their own names, a senseless practice which breeds confusion. The supremacy thus lost originated with Earth, the mother of all things, called by Homer *φυσίζοος*, life-giving, as in the lovely passage from the third book of the *Iliad*, where Helen on the walls of Troy condoles with her brethren, Castor and Polydeuces, not knowing that they were dead.

So said she : they long since in earth's soft arms were reposing.
There in their own dear land, their fatherland, Lacedæmon.

'Earth's soft arms' is Dr. Hawtrey's free translation of *φυσίζοος*. But with the instinct of a scholar he keeps nearer to Homer's true meaning than Ruskin, who, in his strange fanciful way, imagines that Homer could not think of death without also thinking of life. Homer could use a fixed epithet without thinking at all. But the universal mother is represented on vases as *ποτνία θηρῶν*, lady of the wild things, holding out her hands over the animals, her subjects. The Lady of the Wild Things was the goddess of a hunting age. When man became agricultural there was a goddess of fertility, a fruit-bearing goddess, Demeter, nowhere more gloriously honoured than in the seventh Idyll, the Harvest Home, of Theocritus, where she stands and smiles before her shrine, holding sheaves and poppies in both her hands,

δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέρησιν ἔχοισα.

I scarcely know another instance of words so absolutely simple invested with such magical, inexplicable charm. The *Highland Reaper* might be quoted. But Wordsworth's art is greater, as his ideas are higher. It is to association, not to a mere picture, that he appeals. Demeter, as everyone knows, was the mother of Persephone, the goddess of the regions below, 'who gathers all things mortal with cold immortal hands.' Demeter ascended to Olympus, and became part of the Olympian theology. The early deification of women produced maiden trinities, of which there are curious specimens on votive reliefs. Miss Harrison discerns in these three persons and one goddess. But this conception is only attributed to very early work, where it may be due to imperfect art, as other mysterious semblances are due to imperfect observation. Certainly nothing Trinitarian, except the number Three, is left in the Judgment of Paris. Paris himself is absent from the older representations of this scene, which typifies and symbolises the difficulty of choice without reference to the particular object

chosen. Aphrodite is not always rising from the sea. She is also of the earth, and she is represented on a vase as 'sailing through heaven on her great swan.' But perhaps the most beautiful composition in which she figures is the Ludovisi throne, now in the National Museum at Rome. A hasty observer would call it the Venus Anadyomene, and would speak of it as Venus rising from the sea. There is no sea, though the women who hold her up stand on sloping banks of shingle. This sculptured slab belongs to the period just before Pheidias, which some critics regard as the most exquisite of all, and certainly there are few things so beautiful even in Italy. Whether she be ascending from the ocean, or from a sacred river, or from a ritual bath, she is a joy for ever. Aphrodite is the most human form of feminine divinity, as Byron recognised in his irreverent couplet, and Lucretius in his 'rich Proœmion.' When the worship of the Earth Mother and of the Earth Maids passed over to Zeus and the new hierarchy of Olympus, 'the great Monotheistic figure of Venus Genetrix' reminded later ages that the origin of all things, whether Ge or Hera, Athene or Aphrodite, belonged to the feminine gender. And now that every trace of her worship, at least of her religious worship, has disappeared from the world, at least from the western world, the old matriarchal theory survives the centuries which have rolled over the dethroned altars of Paganism, in the solemn words 'Man that is born of a woman.'

Miss Harrison's chapters on Orphism are the most solid and consecutive part of her religious history. They bring back the mind by degrees to that mysterious play of Euripides already cited, from which comes so much of what we know about the religion of Greece. It is a remarkable accident that has left us in this matter to the dramatist who had least sympathy with the popular faith of his countrymen. For Æschylus, too, wrote a drama, of which religious frenzy was the subject, and two tantalising fragments of it have been preserved by Strabo. Æschylus himself could hardly have produced a much finer composition than the *Bacchæ*. But there would have been no dark problems about his meaning. He could not have been suspected of turning the whole subject into ridicule. His lines on the mysterious music with which homage was paid to Dionysus have been preserved, and thus brilliantly translated by Mr. Gilbert Murray:

The shawm blares out, but beneath is the moan
Of the bull-voiced mimes, unseen, unknown,
And in deep diapason the shuddering sound
Of drums like thunder beneath the ground.

If Miss Harrison had been able to give the Greek as well as the English of this fragment, numbered 55 in the Æschylean collection, it would be seen that bull-voiced mimes is a literal, perhaps a too literal, translation, and that 'mimes,' or actors, must have bellowed in honour of their Bromios, their boisterous god, although

Miss Harrison derives the name from *βρόμος*, oats, thus tracing him to the Earth-Goddess on the one hand, and accounting for the intoxication of his votaries, because wine can be made, so the Emperor Julian said, of barley, if not of oats. Herodotus speaks of Bacchic and Orphic rites as identical, further describing them as Egyptian and Pythagorean. The connection of Orpheus is as old as the hills, or at least older than the wall-paintings of Pompeii, where he figures as a magical musician, 'with power over all wild untamed things in nature.' Orpheus, says Miss Harrison, though killed by the Mænads, as Milton in *Lycidas* reminds us, was also buried by 'the Mænads repentant, clothed, and in their right minds,' or, in other words, by the Muses. This typifies the fact that Orphism is a spiritual ecstasy, far removed from the orgies associated with the worship of Bacchus. Concerning the death of Orpheus there is a singular passage in the most artistically beautiful of all Plato's dialogues, which may be called in some sense a part of English literature, because it contains a prophecy of Shakespeare and has been translated by Shelley. The subject of the *Symposium*, or, in less barbarous language, the *Banquet*, is love, and at the end of his contribution to it Phædrus describes the fate of Orpheus when he visited the realms of Dis in search of Eurydice. The gods sent him away empty-handed, and only showed him a phantom of his wife, because they thought him an effeminate lute-player, who durst not die for his love, like Alcestis, but sought out inventions for making his way alive into Hades. For this cause therefore they inflicted as a punishment on him that his death should be at the hands of women. Phædrus, in his discourse, was using an argument, and making a point. It was his business, his part of the evening's entertainment, to prove that extreme devotion to a beloved object was the highest form of human virtue. Achilles showed this in the case of Patroclus, whose death he avenged at the cost of his own life, and Alcestis showed it by dying for her unworthy husband Admetus. Alcestis was rewarded by restoration to the world she had left, and Achilles by removal to the islands of the blest. In Euripides, according to Dr. Verrall, Alcestis never really dies, and her resurrection is a sham. Æschylus, in a lost drama, is recorded to have made the Bassarids, or Mænads, who killed Orpheus, the messengers of Dionysus himself, whose wrath was kindled by the blasphemy of Orpheus in prostrating himself before the sun. Well might Socrates maintain in the *Republic* that popular religion was not to be reconciled with the first principles of morality.

The head of Orpheus was buried in Lesbos, and the nightingales sang over it their sweetest songs. It gave oracles in the name of Apollo, in the good old style, which could not be wrong, because it could be made to square with any event. Orphism became a recognised creed, and was prevalent in Greece long before classical times. As Orphism prevailed in Crete, the discoveries now being made in that

island, perhaps the most important since the study of archæology began, may throw a good deal of light upon Orphic rites and ceremonies. Orphism, says Professor Bury, rested on three institutions. One was the worship of Dionysus, another was the mysteries of the world below, the third was the order of itinerant prophets. Pythagoras was an Orphic, and founded an ascetic brotherhood in Italy, with which the Horatian 'bean of Pythagoras' has made us familiar. The Pythagoreans were oligarchical in politics, and about the middle of the fifth century before Christ they were destroyed by the democratic party. Mr. Bury believes that if Orphism, instead of colouring the poetry of Pindar and Æschylus, had taken hold of public opinion, the priests would have become the rulers of the people and would have set up a sacerdotal system in place of civil government. It affected, however, a passage in a great poem, compared with which all institutions then existing in the world were transient and ephemeral. The eleventh book of the *Odyssey* tells how Ulysses and his companions, by the instructions of Circe, came to the land of the Cimmerians enveloped in cloud and darkness, that they might bring up the souls of those whom in this life they had known, and of the prophet Teiresias, who foretells their destruction if they eat the oxen of the Sun. It was then that by the shore of that ocean which Homer, or the author of the *Odyssey*, supposed to encircle the globe, Ulysses dug a trench with his sword, and poured out three libations for the dead. The first was honey and milk, the second was wine, and over all he sprinkled barley. By these means he brought up the dead, as the witch of Endor brought up Samuel for Saul. This wonderful episode is supposed to have been revised with interpolations by Onomacritus, working under Pisistratus, who procured the Homeric poems to be edited and written down. There is no torture, no actual punishment, in the Hades of Homer. It is a grey, dim region, without light or warmth or colour, but not a world of pain, except in special cases, such as Tityus with his vulture, Tantalus with, or rather without, his water, and Sisyphus with his stone. Of Heracles a mere image was to be seen. He himself was feasting with the immortal gods, and had Hebe of the fair ankles for his companion. What Plato or the Platonic Socrates thought of Orphic eschatology, we know from the second book of the *Republic*. Musæus and his son Eumolpus were, says Socrates, stranger in their notions of what was truly good, and should therefore be given as a reward to the righteous, than even Homer and Hesiod. For when they bring the just to the life beyond the grave, they recline them on couches, and prepare for them a banquet of holy things, and make them spend their whole time crowned and drunk, deeming perpetual inebriation to be the fairest reward of virtue. And they spin yet longer tales than these on divine authority, such as that good and just men leave behind them a long line of descendants, while the

wicked have a bad reputation in life, and after death are put into baths of mud, or made to draw water in a sieve. Against materialism in religion Socrates never ceased to protest, and so far he was in agreement with Euripides the Rationalist. He brought religion to the test of morality, and he found that it signally failed. His own inward monitor, his negative conscience, a restraining not a propelling force, was the only guide he had which could in any sense be called preternatural. No one can read the *Apology*, the speech of Socrates to the jury who condemned him, and doubt that he sincerely believed in the reality of this inner light. For even if Plato invented all the rest of the speech, he certainly did not invent that. When the Olympian hierarchy had followed the Orphic mysteries into the dimness of legendary tradition, and had no more influence upon conduct than a fairy tale, there remained the fact that Orpheus was a real man who had sought eternal life through purity. Yet, although in the greatest and best known ages of Greece religion was little more than the embellishment of literature and the handmaid of art, we have to reconstruct it before we can fully understand either one or the other. And if it be said that to explain religion by art, and art by religion, is to argue in a circle, we may reply that when a sufficient number of particular instances have established a general rule, the rule itself can in its turn be used for the solution of what is still obscure. The wholesome scepticism which research engenders should be a preservative against riding even hobbies too hard.

‘Excepting Aristotle,’ says Mr. Murray in his essay on Euripides, ‘excepting Aristotle, who clung characteristically to the concrete city and the dutiful taxpaying citizen, all the great leaders of Greek thought turned away from the world and sought refuge in the soul.’ Euripides, the critics tell us, wrote the *Bacchæ* after he had left Athens in disgrace, and when he was living under the protection of Archelaus, King of Macedonia. The story of the play is simple and horrible. Dionysus comes to Thebes, and the people will not worship him. He makes them worship him ‘with a vengeance,’ with the wildness of unrestrained religious emotion. Pentheus, the King of Thebes, insults the god, intrudes upon his mystic rites, and is torn to pieces by the god-intoxicated Bacchanals, including his own mother, Agave. It is not to be supposed that Euripides intended by his magnificent setting of this repulsive fable to inculcate fanaticism, or hold it up for admiration. His sojourn with King Archelaus would not have been a good opportunity for expressing sympathy with the murderers of King Pentheus. Plato in the *Republic* quotes a line of Euripides, not from any extant play, affirming that despots become wise by associating with wise men, and sarcastically remarks that the poet was speaking of kings he had known. Yet if, as is said, the Athenian democracy punished Euripides for impiety, it was an honour which he shared with the greatest of Athenians, the father of scientific knowledge.

I think it is Bayle who says of Cicero that his religion was in his heart and not in his mind, that it was an instinct of his nature, with which his philosophical theories had nothing to do. Cicero's philosophy, though it has had millions of readers who knew little or nothing of its source, did not profess to be original. He derived it from Plato, or from Socrates, or from both. Greek metaphysics, Greek ethics, Greek thought in general, culminated after the political power of Greece, or at least of Athens, had already begun to decline. Upon the contemporaries of Socrates, still more upon the younger generation of his illustrious disciple, the orthodox religion, the religion of the State, had ceased to exercise any practical influence. Men were philosophers, or they were pure materialists, unless indeed they were one and the other at the same time. The main interest of such books as Miss Harrison's, except for highly cultivated specialists like herself, is the help they give us in the study of literature and art. Even in the Platonic age this was not far from the truth. That part of the case against Socrates which charged him with undermining the foundations of faith would have been perfectly accurate if they had not been already undermined. People do not like to be reminded of the difference between their theory and their practice, or to be told that they have ceased sincerely to hold the doctrines they have inherited by tradition. If few verdicts are more difficult to justify, few are less difficult to understand than the condemnation of Socrates. Of later ages, when Christians burnt each other because they believed too much or too little, it has been well asked and answered 'Who lights the fagot? 'Tis not the firm faith, but the lurking doubt.' The jury who found Socrates to be an atheist were probably sceptics to a man. So were the men, if the story be true, who procured the banishment of Euripides. Different as these two men of genius were in their views of life, and in their comparative estimate of human affairs, they agreed in their use of the popular religion. They both employed it to illustrate and adorn, to supply examples which would be understood, to give local colour. Plato, though he constantly attacked Homer as the fount and origin of an immoral habit, a habit of mingling truth with falsehood under the glamour of eloquence and verse, could not get away from him, and quoted him as men of all opinions now quote the Bible, because everyone will recognise the quotation. Euripides taught his moral by means of a mythology which all his hearers, and all his readers, think what they might of it, knew by heart, just as St. Paul laid hold of the admission that there were Athenians who worshipped an unknown God.

In that marvellous dialogue, the *Gorgias*, of which not the least wonderful feature is that it was written four hundred years before Christ, the examples of Tantalus, and Tityus, and Sisyphus are put forward to show that kings and princes and dictators are punished beyond the grave on a scale proportionate to their offences. Just as

St. James told the rich men to weep and howl for the miseries that were come upon them, so Plato or his master picked out the great and mighty upon earth for the future punishment which Homer borrowed from the Orphic creed. Private persons, such as Thersites, have not, Socrates remarks, been depicted as undergoing these torments, because luckily for them they had not the opportunity of committing great crimes. They were not, therefore, as Jowett says, counted worthy of eternal damnation. In the *Gorgias*, Socrates seems to accept for the sake of the argument the authority of Homer, which in the *Republic* he repudiates altogether. If poets were regarded as moral teachers, or faithful historians, they were a danger to the State. But they were valuable as witnesses to that common opinion of mankind which they followed even when they seemed to lead it. Such appears to have been the general attitude of the Platonic Socrates towards the mythology of the poets. There is, however, a curious and interesting exception. The passage in the *Odyssey* which describes Minos bearing his golden sceptre, and giving laws to the dead, is quoted by Socrates in the *Gorgias* with all seriousness as the embodiment of a solemn reality. He is convinced, he says, of its truth, and he so orders his life that he may present his soul in all possible purity to Minos, the judge. These, he adds, are regarded as old wives' fables by enlightened young men like Callicles and Polus and Gorgias, whom he is addressing. Yet, though they are the wisest of living Greeks they have nothing better to propound than the stories they reject. He is not seriously arguing, he would be the last man to argue, that Orphism, or any other theology, must be adopted by every man who cannot provide a substitute. He did not believe in the divine origin of the *Odyssey*. He asks how this doctrine of future retribution came into existence, and he answers that it testifies to an indwelling sentiment of the human mind. The more purely human it is, the stronger his case becomes. The outward signs and symbols of earthly greatness, the pomp of power, and the apparent impunity with which it is abused; the cynical indifference of tyrants like Archelaus to everything except their own interests and their own pleasure; the oppression of the good, the triumph of the wicked, the open and successful appeal to force as stronger than justice: all these things excuse, or at least explain, the blunt assertion of Callicles that might is right, or, as the modern blasphemer put it, that God is always on the side of the strongest battalions. 'Yes,' says Socrates, 'that may be all very well. You account, or you think you have accounted, for the superficial aspect of things. But how do you explain these stories of Minos, and Æacus and Rhadamanthus; of the stone, and the sieve, and the wheel? Homer did not invent them. They are forms of the universal belief, which no cynical paradoxes will ever expel from the human mind, that the difference between right and wrong is eternal, that it is more blessed to be the victim than the author of injustice.' That the

wisdom of this world is foolishness with God might be called the text or motto of the *Gorgias*. The problems with which it deals are for the most part simple and elementary. When Callicles looked at the little tyrants of Greek or Sicilian cities, and saw that they came in no misfortune like other folk, neither were plagued like other men, he drew the inference which was not new then, and is not old now, that it was wisest for each man to imitate them in his own sphere. Socrates was not content with vanquishing him in argument. He took him into the kingdom of Minos, that he might understand the end of these men. That was the use he made of Greek religion. Himself guided, or at least restrained, by his 'dæmonic' conscience, he appealed to popular mythology, not as evidence of facts, but as an indication of certain tendencies in the human mind. If, as Miss Harrison says, 'the last word in ancient Greek religion was said by the Orphics,' it was capable of being moulded by the hands of philosophical genius into the austere and sublime morality which made Theætetus exclaim, 'If you could persuade all men, Socrates, of what you say, as you persuade me, there would be more peace and less evil in the world.'

HERBERT PAUL.

BEHIND THE FISCAL VEIL

‘Look where you will in this England of ours, you will everywhere find signs of an abounding and increasing prosperity.’ Thus Lord Rosebery, if correctly reported, when discussing Mr. Chamberlain’s proposals at Leicester last November. Similar words have during the last eight months fallen from the lips of scores of other speakers engaged on a similar errand. They will doubtless be heard again within the walls of the Parliament now about to assemble.

When such utterances get into print and are read by cosy fire-sides, they diffuse a pleasing sense of complacency, which it seems cruel to disturb. But the question is, Are they true? The Liberal politician of to-day unhesitatingly says ‘Yes.’ The Tory of to-day, in unison with that detached group which cares little for the rise and fall of parties and party-leaders, will, as unhesitatingly, say ‘No.’

Fiscal problems have of late bulked so largely on platforms and in the press as to throw all else into the shade. Debated, as they have been, mainly in the interests of our manufacturers and artisans, they have drawn away public attention from the condition of British agriculture, and from the still more distressful case of that residual deposit of our large towns, which literally knows not, when it rises in the morning, where it will lay its head at night or how it will sustain life during the day. It is time to lift this fiscal veil and see things as they really are.

One of the lessons enforced by the serious thinkers of the Victorian era, and, in particular, by the great synthetic philosopher who died last December, is that society, like life, is an organism, with mutually related, interdependent parts. This is now a generally accepted axiom. It follows that, just as we cannot truthfully say the physical body is healthy when one of its members is suffering from gangrene, so we cannot truthfully say the body politic is prosperous when, at the heart of it, there are symptoms of malignant disease.

The optimism of Lord Rosebery and his friends will be seen to be not a little delusive when we consider what is going on simultaneously in our rural districts on the one hand, and in our large towns on the other.

It is common knowledge that British agriculture has been on the

down grade for the last thirty years, and that in some counties it is practically ruined. This has not been due to bad seasons. When a bad season occurs, the disasters it brings seldom persist throughout the whole of the twelve months. A spring drought, followed by copious autumn rains, may cause a falling off in the yield of corn and hay, and yet consist with an abundant crop of turnips and swedes. This occurred in 1893. Again, a favourable spring and summer may be succeeded by excessive drought in the late autumn. In that case, the hay and corn crops may be good and well harvested, whilst the root crops may turn out a complete failure. This occurred in 1899. When, as in 1903, the corn crops and root crops are each damaged in their turn, the event is so exceptional that, to match it, farmers have to go back to 1879. The resemblance is not complete, for in many respects 1879 was a worse year than 1903. The one satisfactory reflection is that the two seasons so compared are a whole generation apart.

For the chronic causes of agricultural distress we must look further afield than to the caprices of the weather. What these causes are will appear by attending to a few facts gathered from the statistical tables published by the Board of Agriculture.

During the Crimean War, when our population was only 27,000,000, we produced nearly all our own food. Now, with a population of 41,000,000, we import three-fourths of our food, because our farmers have, in the interval, laid down to grass land on which it no longer pays them to grow wheat. In 1876 the yield of British wheat was 18,000,000 quarters, which, selling as it then did at fifty shillings a quarter, gives a value of 45,000,000*l.* In 1901 the yield was 6,500,000 quarters, which, selling as it then did at twenty-eight shillings and tenpence a quarter, gives a value of 9,000,000*l.*—exactly one-fifth of the previous value. Comparing the year 1902 (it would not be fair to take 1903) with the average of the quinquennial period 1871–75, there was a decrease in the cultivated area of British green crops of over four-fifths of a million of acres.

Along with the diminution of our crop area, there has been a diminution of our live stock, indicating, as the Board of Agriculture point out, a ‘decrease of farmer’s capital.’

This double shrinkage of crops and stock alike has, as an inevitable consequence, entailed a considerable shrinkage of agricultural employment. Notwithstanding that in the last thirty years the population has increased by 10,000,000, the census returns show the falling off of the number of persons under the heading ‘agriculturals’ to have been 435,000 for England and Wales, or over 8 per cent. Comparing 1901 with 1881—an interval of twenty years—the Board of Trade Blue Book shows a decrease of ‘agriculturals’ of over 211,000, whereas, having regard to the increase of population, there should have been, if agriculture had not declined, an *increase* of 300,000.

As a secondary effect, loss of employment has also been occasioned to the blacksmith, the miller, the implement maker, and others who render the services or furnish the supplies required by farmers for carrying on their business. Even in an age of cut-throat competition—when A's gain is usually B's loss, and A's loss is B's gain—it still sometimes happens that 'if one member suffer, the other members suffer with it.'

Some platformists and philosophers, perhaps themselves steeped in gilt-edged securities, are in the habit of representing the depression of agriculture as affecting landowners only, and therefore of no moment, since landowners are, in their view, wholly undeserving of compassion. Being myself a landowner, I do not care here to defend my order, and shall confine my observations to the unfortunate farmers, than whom there is no more hard-working set of men. It would be difficult to put their case better than was done recently by Mr. Hugh Roger in a letter to the *Times* :

Sir Robert Giffen, in his evidence before the Royal Commission of Agriculture, expresses the opinion that the fall in the annual value of agricultural produce between 1874 and 1891 amounted in the average to 77,000,000*l.*, whilst Mr. E. R. Turnbull, another witness, estimates the reduction in the gross annual revenue from agriculture, comparing 1874-5 with 1892-3, at about 82,000,000*l.*

If we take into account what has happened since 1893, the reduction of the gross annual revenue is computed by Mr. Roger to be hardly less than 90,000,000*l.* This, as he points out, is equivalent to the whole of the freights derived from our shipping, and to about 40 per cent. of the value of our exports of manufactured goods. Had this 40 per cent. loss fallen on those favoured few who are so ready to pronounce the nation flourishing, would they be of the same opinion ?

Assuming the above figures to be approximately accurate, let us now ask what becomes of the large number of persons who, by reason of this steady shrinkage of agricultural employment, are deprived of their natural occupations and evicted from the soil. They cannot be supposed to die off straight away, and they are certainly not caught up in the air clothed in the white robes of Arcadian simplicity. Their destination is obvious when we pass on to examine another set of statistics relating to our industrial centres. It is to these centres that they gravitate, and in the end a considerable proportion of them swell there the ranks of the 'legal poor,' and are supported by the rates.

The figures relating to London pauperism are by no means agreeable reading. Here are some of the latest. The number of persons who, at Christmas 1903, were in receipt of Poor Law relief, fell little short of 115,000—a higher figure than had been reached in any year since 1871. Of these 115,000, the outdoors were 40,970, the indoors

(workhouses and infirmaries) 73,000. The increase of indoor paupers in 1903 was 2,600; during the past ten years it has been over 7,000. There have been, of course, numerical fluctuations, but, on the whole, the tendency has been towards higher, not towards lower, figures.

This increase of legal pauperism is by some attributed to lax administration of the Poor Law. The purely elective system under which Boards of Guardians are constituted is, no doubt, open to objection, and it may be that if the labour test were made stiffer, if outdoor relief were more sternly refused, the figures would be somewhat reduced. But this would not carry us very far. The inference would still remain that when so many are willing to enter the workhouse, there must be many others on the verge of destitution. It is estimated that in London there are 1,250,000 people whose weekly wage for the entire family is twenty-one shillings or less. Reckoning a family to consist of five—a father, mother, and three children—the whole of this amount is consumed in food and rent (especially rent), leaving very little for clothes and nothing for casualties or journeys to or from work.

The Census Reports of 1891, quoted by Mr. Charles Booth in the final volume of his monumental work, show that, in 1891, there were (in round numbers) 174,500 tenements, consisting of only a single room. Of these, over 29,000 held three persons, over 16,000 held four, over 7,000 five, over 2,500 six, over 850 seven, over 250 eight. The remainder held in some cases nine persons, in others ten, eleven, twelve, or more. When we reflect that in these single rooms the occupants sleep, wash, cook, feed, and that the women and children spend there a great part of the day, the results may be foreseen. Misshapen bodies, arrested growths, and general deterioration are the result. All the outside air the young children get they inhale from the fetid alleys in which they are sent out to play, while their elders, male and female, resort to the public-houses, not so much for the sake of the drink as to escape from their intolerable 'homes.'

Infant mortality is, of course, rife. In the East End of London the percentage of children dying before reaching the age of five is fifty-five, whereas in the West End it is eighteen. Unfortunately, although the death-rate is very high, so also is the birth-rate, it being notorious that the largest families are found among those who can least afford them. And so the stream of population grows fuller and fuller, fed from the nethermost springs, notwithstanding that not one in ten of the newcomers will prove a useful citizen.

The overcrowding in London has its counterpart in the provinces. For example, in the city of York, which has a total population of about 75,000, there are 663 families, comprising 4,705 persons, living under insanitary conditions. These numbers, as Mr. Seebohm Rowntree points out in his excellent monograph on that city, amount to 10 per cent. of the working class, and to 6 per cent. of the total popu-

lation. In Glasgow, Gateshead, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, Plymouth, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, Stockport, Manchester, this percentage is much higher, ranging from 59 per cent. of the population in the first named to 8 per cent. in the last.

The statement made by that most humane of scientists, the late Professor Huxley, who had been early brought into contact with the slums of London when acting as assistant to the medical officer for Rotherhithe, holds good at the present time :

Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of our great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme that condition which the French called *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens where decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave.

The physical deterioration of the people is more than a social question. It touches our military strength and our place among the nations of the world. The disasters of the Boer War brought home to all of us the lamentable shortcomings of the later drafts of men despatched to South Africa—men who would never have been admitted into the ranks but for the lowering of the regulation standard of efficiency. These same men were largely drawn from our towns. Many, on arrival at their destination, succumbed to dysentery and enteric, to which their miserable upbringing rendered them an easy prey.

When the normal standard is adhered to, the evidence before the Royal Commission of Physical Training, issued last December, shows us how it operates. Lieut.-Colonel Don, of the Army Medical Staff, told the Commissioners that of 12,292 recruits examined for the regular army in the course of 1901, some 3,900, or nearly 32 per cent., had to be rejected for diseases or defects. Of those so rejected, 311 were under height, 607 under chest measurement, 600 under weight, 457 had defective vision, 143 were deaf, 322 had their teeth much decayed, this last being presumably due to insufficient and unwholesome feeding during childhood.

Dr. Mackenzie's report on the children attending the North Canon-gate Schools, Edinburgh, shows that the hygiene of that capital leaves much to be desired. More than half of these children had eyes so optically imperfect as to interfere with their daily tasks. The hearing

of more than 40 per cent. was impaired. Nearly all of them were suffering from disease of the nose and throat. Sir John Gorst has lately affirmed that this is also the condition of a number, unknown but large, of the children in our public elementary schools throughout the United Kingdom.

A bird's-eye view of the general state of things has been given by a careful observer from California in his striking volume, published last year, entitled *The People of the Abyss*.

In all England and Wales 18 per cent. of the entire population is driven to the parish for relief, and in London, 21 per cent. London supports 123,000 paupers. Above these there are 1,800,000 persons there who live on the poverty line, with but one week's wages between them and pauperism.

Nine hundred and twenty-nine out of every thousand in the United Kingdom die in poverty. One in every four persons in London dies supported by public charity.

Eight millions in the United Kingdom simply struggle on the ragged edge of starvation, and 20,000,000 more are not comfortable in the simple and clean sense of the word.

Pondering these facts we are in a position to appreciate the 'sort of prosperity' which politicians on the warpath ask us to accept with satisfaction. The man or woman must, indeed, be strangely minded who is content 'to take it lying down.'

The depopulation of the country districts bears to the over population of the towns the relation of cause and effect. Anything, therefore, that we can do to remedy the first will tend also to remedy the second. If we are to get the agricultural labourer back to the land we must make the land more attractive to him, and we must begin by reforming our method of education. The children attending our rural board schools are not taught to take interest in the subjects with which dwellers in the country are most concerned. They acquire just enough smattering of learning to breed in them dislike of country life, but not enough to fit them for the struggle of existence elsewhere. The schoolmaster is often town-bred, with no special agricultural tastes or knowledge. By all means let there be educational ladders, and as long as you please, but let the child who has shown no aptitude for mounting them be at liberty to leave school at the age of twelve and assist his parents in field work. 'English history,' as has been well said, 'is a noble study, but it is not more so than natural history, and when it comes to farming, and even working an allotment, the boy who knows the wayside weeds in the way that leads to school, and the wild creatures in the hedgerows, is more than likely to hold his own with him who can run you off the kings of England and the great battles with their dates. The great thing is to have in the curriculum a course of instruction such as cannot possibly be got up from books; that is utterly unattainable save by the direct use of

the senses of sight, touch, smell, or hearing ; in other words, knowledge, the acquisition of which affords a proof that master and pupil alike have been examining nature for themselves.' ¹

Next to a more suitable education is the placing of suitable plots of ground and cottages within the reach of the adult labourer. In ancient times, as we all know, the labourer enjoyed several privileges of which he has been gradually deprived. He could graze a cow, or a pig, or a flock of geese on the waste of the manor which lay near his home. This encouraged him to stay on the land. These privileges were gradually curtailed and finally destroyed by the multitude of Enclosure Acts passed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, thus leading the way to the divorce of the labourer from the soil. The much ridiculed 'three acres and a cow' movement was designed to redress the balance. About twenty years ago an agitation was set on foot for granting allotments to labourers through local authorities by Mr. Jesse Collings and the late Mr. Joseph Arch. To them we owe the Allotments Extension Acts of 1882 and 1887, which empower Rural and Urban District Councils to acquire, by compulsory purchase for the benefit of the labourers, small and suitable parcels of land. In some parts of England, especially in the neighbourhood of towns where there is a ready market for agricultural produce, these allotments have been eagerly taken up. In that portion of the north of England with which I am best acquainted, they are not in request, at least by unmarried labourers, who often reside with the farmers, getting board and lodging as part of their wages. By this arrangement a single man may gain about 40*l.* a year at very little cost beyond his own clothing, and, in fact, may be better off than many a small farmer.

Another expedient designed to embrace a rather different class is the granting, again through the local authorities, of 'small holdings'—that is to say, of land from one acre to fifty acres in extent, and of an annual value not exceeding 50*l.* Mr. Henry Chaplin's Act of 1892 enables persons who have saved a little money to acquire this description of property through the County Council, they paying one-fifth of the purchase-money in cash, and the remainder in half-yearly instalments spread over a term of years. This Act, like the Allotment Acts, has been but sparingly availed of up to now. The latest returns are not before me, but I find that between the end of 1894 and the middle of 1897 only two County Councils had exercised this power, and their operations were confined to six parishes and 120 acres. Mr. W. E. Bear, who made a study of small holdings in 1892, which he embodied in an essay written for the Cobden Club, came to the conclusion, which later experience confirms, that the labourer often finds it more profitable to hire a holding of moderate size than to

¹ *The Rural Exodus*, by P. Anderson Graham (Methuen).

purchase a smaller one. 'The 'statesmen' of Cumberland and Westmoreland are nearly an extinct species. Their successors are tenant farmers, who, since they have the repairs of their dwellings and farm buildings done for them, and are helped in other ways by their landlords, have no reason to regret the change. To them Goldsmith's lines may be applied, though in rather a different sense than he intended :

Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them as a breath has made ;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd can never be supplied.

The 'Garden City' scheme is of much more recent date than the allotment or the small holding scheme, and is of fuller promise than either. It requires no Act of Parliament to carry it out, but rests entirely on private enterprise and initiative. Its history is not a little remarkable. In the autumn of 1898, Mr. Ebenezer Howard published a little book called *To-morrow, a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. The writer's root-idea was to unite the country and the town by the formation of a new unit which should embrace the attractions of both.

He likened town and country to two magnets, each striving to draw the people to itself—the town magnet offering the advantages of high wages, but largely counterbalanced by high rents and prices ; the country magnet offering fresh air and water and opportunities of health and strength. These two magnets, he maintained, must be made one by the construction of a town-country magnet which should stem the tide of migration into the town and get the people 'back to the land.' Like all new ideas, time was required before the scheme could be even understood. Lectures were given and public meetings held to explain it. Mr. Howard had not long to wait. Early in 1899 was formed the 'Garden City Association,' the objects of which were to secure a wider distribution of the population over the land, and to advance the moral, intellectual, and physical development of the people by establishing garden cities on Mr. Howard's lines, of which the inhabitants should become the collective owners and yet have full scope for individual exertion.

The first practical outcome of this association was the formation of a company called 'The First Garden City, Limited,' of which Mr. Ralph Neville, K.C., was chosen chairman, other directors being Lord Brassey, Mr. Edward Cadbury, whose industrial village of Bourneville, near Birmingham, was on the same model, Mr. W. H. Lever, who had started a similar village at Port Sunlight, in Cheshire, and, of course, Mr. Howard, the originator of the entire plan. The 'First Garden City, Limited,' have purchased, as the theatre of their operations, the Letchworth Estate, near Hitchin, comprising about 4000 acres and distant some thirty-five miles from London.

The property purchased being vested in the company, the rents

derived from it do not go to enrich any private landowner. As Lord Grey told his audience, when speaking on the spot last October, they are applied in such a way as 'to tend to refine the lives, ennoble the characters, and exalt the minds of all who reside on the estate.' This was not a mere rhetorical flourish. Coming as the words did from one who has done much to promote co-operation in his own neighbourhood in the North, and to improve the administration of public-houses in all parts of England, they were, we may be sure, spoken from the heart.

Such are some of the experiments which have been and are being tried to reanimate and improve the country districts. I must reserve for some other occasion an examination of the measures in force in the metropolis for the relief of its congested areas and the betterment of its poor. Here I can only make a passing allusion to the agencies at work—the improvements under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890 to 1903 ; the splendid and unique work of the Salvation Army, with its dairies, its market gardens, and other industries at Hadleigh bringing in over 35,000*l.* a year ; and a host of other philanthropic institutions, denominational and lay.

* * * * *

The question of the moment is, Will any of the fiscal proposals now dividing households and disquieting politics assist in the same direction ? Mr. Chamberlain's watchword is 'Greater employment for the masses,' but all he can hold out to us is greater employment for the men who know a trade and have sufficient stamina to work at it. We are all with Mr. Chamberlain in desiring this. The real social problem does not, however, lie here. It centres in, it revolves round, the incapable and the inefficient. This problem, ever present with us at our gates, is far graver than any which confronts us at our ports. Why, then, is it that when discussion is so rife, it is passed over almost in silence ? Why does it not command a fraction of the public attention that is lavished on the leadership of the Liberal Unionists, or the petty sectarian squabbles over the Education Act ? Let us endeavour to find the answer.

The keen American observer to whom I have already referred formulates a terrible indictment :

The people of England have come to look on starvation and suffering, which they call 'distress,' as part of the social order. Chronic starvation is looked upon as a matter of course. It is only when acute starvation makes its appearance on a large scale that they think there is something unusual.

This is for us a hard saying, for, on the whole, we are not uncharitable. We gave 7,000,000*l.* last year to London charities alone, the hospitals receiving of this nearly 1,140,000*l.* Neither can it be affirmed that we are, on the whole, irreligious. Scripture enjoins us

to preach the Gospel to the heathen, and we expended last year no less than 2,000,000*l.* on Foreign Missions, and nearly 420,000*l.* on Bible and Tract Societies. The indictment is nearer the mark if for 'the people of England' we read 'the sybaritic section of it,' which, with that other Scripture saying on their lips, 'The poor you have always with you,' accepts the pinching poverty of the 'uncomfortable classes' as an arrangement of Providence to be readjusted in the next world rather than in this.

So wide and so deep is the gulf which at this hour separates the rich from the poor, in spite of the heroic efforts made to span it, that many who pay no heed to Biblical texts have come to look on poverty more as a curiosity than as a trouble. When some half-clad, emaciated, foot-weary, dosser from the East End slinks along the street curb amid the palaces of the West End, they instinctively avert their eyes, or else turn them on him as if he were a visitant from another planet. Sympathy is as much killed by 'glut of numbers' as by 'gluttony of wealth'; and both are encouraged by the false scales and weights with which we gauge the national weal. Unless our population be steadily on the increase, we fondly imagine that Great Britain is on the decline. We lay more store by quantity than by quality. The upper and middle classes have learnt how 'to reconcile the conditions of living with life' by adapting the size of their families to their responsibilities. We are all of us, however, creatures of our environment; and the lowest classes who now recklessly propagate their kind, although that 'kind' is not even good 'food for powder,' would quickly learn the same lesson if they had either anything to conserve or anything to lose. In short, parents are more likely to recognise the rights of those for whose very existence they are accountable when they are in the enjoyment of rights of their own. Without the universal recognition of this cardinal truth the melioration of the entire stock will never be advanced.

Our 'gluttony of wealth' we proclaim to the world when we estimate the well-being of the nation by lumping together the millions that are turned over each year. Exports, imports, revenue from trade and agriculture—every kind of incoming and outgoing—are pressed into the service. As the columns of figures lengthen and expand, we rejoice and feel proud. With triumph we point to the swelling list, and ask what better testimony could be furnished of our 'increasing and abounding prosperity.'

And yet what does this very inflation, this very rapidity of growth prove but that certain sections of society have learned the modern trick of how to get rich? Unless those who make parade of this increase of wealth can satisfy the people that it is fairly distributed, the public danger is augmented rather than diminished. What signs are there to-day of any such fair distribution? Evidence enough have we of the influence of American methods of finance, of the

building up of enormous fortunes by 'lucky' individuals who become in their turn beacon-lights of ambition to other less lucky mortals, not one in a hundred of whom will succeed in 'making his pile.' But this only makes the inequality more glaring.

Is there anything nowadays that is not overdone? Under the specious but flimsy disguise of 'sport' we convert our glorious woods into shambles until the moist autumnal air seems to reek with the blood of the feathered slain. There are bubble Companies plenty for the daring speculator. There is gambling with 'differences' for all. There is wholesale betting for the working classes and the domestic servants who, in imitation of their employers, eagerly risk their savings and their wages on the strength of the predictions of spurious racing-prophets. After this fashion are our national ideals formed. After this fashion are gods set up in our national temples.

It is no exaggeration to say that the worship of wealth in England has now reached a point beyond anything that has gone before. To have accumulated it ensures for a man the highest consideration and esteem. To be allied to money, to bring it in by marriage or association, is to be 'on the make.' To be without money is taken as plain proof of failure, or of incompetency to run the race. A man may have sacrificed his chances in life for the sake of what he held to be his honour. He may in consequence go poor all his days. Pity will be freely bestowed on him; admiration, never. The unexpressed judgment of his world will be, What a fool he has been!

The possession of wealth being thus the day-dream of every 'clever fellow,' what happens should he at last begin to realise a tithe of his vision? He must of course announce his genius. This he can only do by the display of his counters. His women-kind are here only too ready to rush to his aid. When he starts for his house of business in the morning, they take up the running, often with wonderful pluck and spirit, entering the lists against those who are much better equipped for the fray than themselves.

Lady Jeune, whose authority will not be questioned, writing in the *Ladies' Field*, says:

Dress, like everything else in these days, has completely altered, and the standard of dress likewise. What was considered suitable and becoming twenty years ago would be obsolete and impossible to-day. Thirty years ago, five or six hundred a year was a good allowance for a married woman who went much into Society. Nowadays it would hardly pay for her petticoats, gloves, shoes, and boots.

This estimate, I am assured by those who know, is not overstated.

Life is lived on the plane that offers the least possible trouble to the liver, along with the greatest opportunities for expenditure. The home *chef* is exchanged for the *chef* of the smart hotel. But lately, a

man who had inherited large possessions meditatively remarked that he could not get along on his father's income. When a solicitous friend asked him why, he replied, he could not tell how it was, but 'he supposed in dad's time there were no restaurants.' He might have added that in 'dad's time' bridge twice a day was equally unknown. Neither in 'dad's time' did the pleasant practice prevail of spending in London three days of every week, year in, year out, save during the dead months of the late summer and early autumn—a practice rendered more and more facile by the motor in our midst. Recollect, money so spent does not find its way into the pockets of the proletariat. It sticks to the purveyors of the luxuries indulged in, who have themselves studied the art of climbing quite as closely as their customers. And what of the effect on the deserted provinces? And what of the example? As to the first, the record is before us in these pages. As to the second, everyone knows that what the 'top-drawer' does to-day, the other 'drawers' will inevitably do to-morrow.

Of no use is it to lay foundation-stones, to open bazaars, to organise charity entertainments, to visit hospitals and workhouses, even to become mayor or mayoress of your town, if the whole of the rest of your time is spent in the pursuit of excitement and self-gratification. Such sporadic duty-calls deceive nobody. For these are the days when no secrets are hid; when, indeed, all secrets are laid fatally bare by the altruistic efforts of an enlightened halfpenny press.

It is said that it will be reckoned the grandest achievement of the early part of the present century to have discovered the disintegration of material atoms and to have adapted their countless components to curative uses. A far grander and more practical achievement, aye, grander and more practical than the consolidation of the Empire, would be the discovery of some means of re-integrating and re-combining our social atoms, which are now too utterly sundered to act and react wholesomely on each other. The first steps towards the fulfilment of this high purpose will be taken if the so-called leaders will set out in earnest to purify their pleasures and, above all, to simplify their lives. Reform is always and everywhere safer than revolution, and revolution, be it remembered, has before now lain hidden in the folds of neglected reform.

Mr. Thomas Hardy in his new drama, *The Dynasts*, puts a speech into the mouth of Pitt after Austerlitz, which gives to think at the present hour :

Roll up that map. 'Twill not be needed now
These ten years! Realms, laws, peoples, dynasties,
Are churning to a pulp within the maw
Of Empire-making Lust and personal Gain.

MONTAGUE CRACKANTHORPE.

*A FORGOTTEN VOLUME
IN SHAKSPEARE'S LIBRARY*

THE books that Shakspeare read, and remembered when he was composing his plays and poems, must always possess a singular attraction for those who concern themselves with English literature. They seem to occupy a place apart, above their meaner fellows, in having been singled out by our greatest poet as containing some fact, phrase, or thought which he considered worthy of notice, imitation, or embellishment—some triviality to which his genius was destined to lend a portion of the immortality belonging to his own creations.

Many, however, as are the volumes which have passed the scrutiny of students of the Elizabethan age as worthy of being numbered among the books believed to have been in Shakspeare's library, there is one work which, up to the present, seems to have escaped the vigilant investigations of the editorial hierarchy, and the commentators whose researches have resulted in the compilation of what may be called the Catalogue of Shakspeare's books.

I venture to advocate the claims of this neglected volume to a place beside its more fortunate and honoured contemporaries.

The work is one of extreme rarity,¹ and its title runs as follows :

The Civile Conversation of M. Steeuen Guazzo, written first in Italian, and nowe translated out of French by George Pettie, divided into foure bookes.

In the first is contained in generall, the frutes that may be reaped by conversation and teaching howe to knowe good companie from yll.

In the second, the manner of conversation, meeto for all persons, which shall come in any companie, out of their owne houses, and then of the perticular points which ought to bee observed in companie betweene young men and olde, gentlemen and Yeomen, Princes and private persons, learned and unlearned, Citizens and strangers, Religious and Secular, men and women.

In the third, is perticularly set foorth the orders to be observed in conversation within doores, betweene the husband and the wife, the father and the sonne, brother and brother, the maister and the servant.

In the fourth, the report of a banquet.

Imprinted at London by Richard Watkins 1581.

¹ I have been unable to trace more than three existing copies of this the 1st ed.—one in the Signet Library, Edinburgh, one sold at Sotheby's in 1897, and my own.

It is 4to in size, and printed in black letter.²

This interesting volume is not in any sense a Manual of Conversation, although it contains in places many excellent maxims and suggestions as to how conversation should best be carried on.

In form it is a dialogue between *Guazzo* and *Anniball*, the former (a younger brother of the author) being a gentleman attached to the Court of Lord Lewes Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, Lieutenant-general of the most Christian King Charles the Ninth; and the latter, his friend Maister Anniball Magnocavalli, a philosopher and physician of Saluce (Saluzzo) in Italy. The writer tells us in his Preface that his brother had recounted to him what had passed between the speakers during their many discourses—‘and for that,’ he continues, ‘I thought them so well seasoned, that they might long time bee preserved to the profite of posteritie . . . I have been gathering together their discourses, which in effect were like to these which followe heere.’

In the opening pages of the dialogue Anniball endeavours to cheer his companion, and to give him hope in the sickness from which he had long been suffering, ‘a quartane Ague and other great distemperatures of his body’; but before long their discourse turns to the main topic of the work, ‘Civile Conversation,’ which is defined by one of the speakers to be, ‘an honest, commendable, and vertuous Kinde of living in the world.’ The volume is in fact a complete *résumé* of conduct in life as it should be; and it presents us with a picture of Italian manners, ceremonies, customs, occupations, foibles, dress, and thought of the day; so full of reliable and interesting details, that it may be looked on as a very storehouse of information for anyone who desired to make himself acquainted with the realities of Italian society at that period. It is just such a book as a dramatist who was preparing a play, the scene of which was to be laid in Italy, would at once seize hold of, and one by the aid of which he could supply himself with all the local colouring required to make his play a living creation, and one to which the travelled portion of his spectators could raise no objection on the score of misrepresentation or inaccuracy touching the behaviour or conversation of his characters. The work was evidently much read in England, as it went through two editions in the course of six years—the second edition appearing in 1586³—so that, having regard to its character and popularity, there is nothing surprising in the assumption that Shakspeare in some way became familiar with its contents. My contention is that he knew the book well, and used it largely in his

² The original Italian edition was published in 1574. Two French translations, by F. Belleforest and G. Chappuys, appeared in 1579.

³ The fourth book, although mentioned in the title of 1581, was not included in the first edition. Its first appearance in English was in the edition of 1586. The translation, which was left unfinished by Pettie, was then completed, from the Italian, by Bartholomew Young.

writings, however little the fact seems to have been observed by those who have devoted themselves to the study of his works.

We are all aware with what freedom Shakspeare utilised the literary material current in his day. His plots, with few exceptions, are reproductions of stories or chronicles which were already in an English garb before he had commenced to write. Here and there through all his pages we find echoes from the works of earlier authors, turns of thought and speech, culled as it were at haphazard from all the literary fields over which his mind had wandered, and stored up in his receptive memory against the time when they might be turned to account; and from the cradle days of Shakspearian criticism the commentators have busied themselves in collecting and pointing out the sources, contemporary or otherwise, from which passages containing such echoes have in all likelihood been derived.

Following in the footsteps of such commentators, I venture to suggest that the parallelisms between Shakspeare's writings and Pettie's translation of the *Civile Conversation*, which I am about to cite, go far towards showing that the Great Poet was in no small measure indebted to the work of his now somewhat neglected contemporary.

To commence, then, with *Hamlet*. In this play there are no fewer than eight cases where the similarity of thought and mode of expression are so remarkable that it is difficult to believe that even Shakspeare could have written *all* these passages without a knowledge of the earlier work.

Ham. Ha, ha! Are you honest

Ophelia. My lord?

Ham. Are you fair?

Ophelia. What means your lordship?

Ham. That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.

Ophelia. Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty? (iii. 1.)

Lines which seem to be a direct echo of the following:

Ad hereto that bewty breedeth temptation, temptation dishonour: for it is a matter almost impossible, and sieldome seene, that those two great enimies, bewty and honesty agree together . . . and though it fall out often that bewty and honesty are joyned together, yet it falloth out sieldome, but that exquisite bewty is had in suspition.—(*Civ. Con.*, Book iii. 5 a.)

On the very next page of Pettie's work, are the words:

. . . those which use artificial means, *displease God much, in altering his image*, and please men never a whit, in going about to deceive them. I know no man of judgemēt, but setteth more, by ods, by a naturall bewty that sheweth but meanly, then by a *painted* artificial bewty that shineth most gallantly.—(iii. 6.)

And a page further on :

We will maintain then that a woman taking away and changing the colour and complexion *which God hath given her*, taketh unto her that which belongeth to a harlot.—(iii. 7.)

Passages that may well have been in Shakspeare's mind when he wrote :

I have heard of your paintings too, well enough ; God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another.—(*Hamlet*, iii. 1.)

Again, if Hamlet declares :

Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calunny.—(iii. 1.)

Pettie is still before him with :

I never yet hitherunto knewe man so good and vertuous, which hath not been subject to the malice and slaunders of some onc.—(i. 47.)

And if Prince Hamlet says :

Denmark's a prison. . . . To me it is a prison.—(ii. 2.)

Pettie had already said :

The Citie to me is a prison.—(i. 8.)

In Book II. of the *Civile Conversation* there are some excellent and pithy admonitions touching the proper delivery of speech, somewhat long, however, to reproduce here in their entirety. The extracts which follow will give an idea of their nature :

The voyce must be neither fainte . . . neither shrill nor loud *like a crier*. . . . It is muche in my opinion to keepe a certaine maiestie in the jesture, which speaketh as it were by using silence, and constraineth as it were by way of commaundement, the hearers to have it in admiration and reverence. Yet herein is required such a *moderation* that a man with too litle be not immoveable like an image, neither with too much, too busie, like an Ape. . . . And therefore it is necessarie *to use a meane*, that the *pronuntiation* be neither too swift nor too slow . . . and therefore we must speake freely. . . . We must likewise take heede we speake not of the throate, like one that hath some meate in his mouth which is too hotte . . . a *player-like* kinde of lightnesse . . . *to see the wordes agree to the jesture* . . . the hearer to take heede of rude lowtische lookes . . . and of laughing without occasion . . . so great agreement is there *betweene the words and the countenance, and the countenance and the wordes* . . . and yet we must see that this change (*i.e.* of voice) be made *with discretion*.—(ii. 11, 12, 13.)

One can hardly peruse these passages without recalling Hamlet's address to the players :

Speak the speech, I pray you, as I *pronounced* it to you, *trippingly on the tongue* : but if you *mouth* it . . . I had as lief the *town-crier* spoke my lines . . . but use all gently ; for in the very torrent . . . of passion, you must acquire and *beget a temperance*. . . .

Be not too tame neither, but let your own *discretion* be your tutor : *suit the action to the word, the word to the action* : with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature. . . . Now this overdone, or come tardy off, *though it make the unskilful laugh*, cannot but make the judicious grieve.—(iii. 2.)

Somewhat later in the second book we read of those who 'hyde their woundes, and make them to fester inwardly' (ii. 33); so *Hamlet*:

It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
Whilst rank corruption, mining all within,
Infects unseen.—(iii. 4.)

Much of the dialogue between Guazzo and his philosophic friend turns on dress, its use and its abuse; and in speaking of the wearing of costumes unsuited to one's station in life, he says:

This abuse is so in use at this day in Italy, that as well in men as women, a man can discern no difference in estates. And you shal see the Clownes will be as brave as the Artificers, the Artificers as the Merchantes, and the Merchantes as the Gentlemen. . . . *But you shall not see this disorder and confusion in Fraunce*, where, by auncient custome, severall apparell is worne, according to overie ones calling. So that by the garments only, you may know, etc.—(ii. 46 a.)

A passage which at once brings to mind some of the 'few precepts' delivered by Polonius to his son:

Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich not gaudy:
For the apparel oft proclaims the man:
And they in France, of the best rank and station,
Are of a most select and generous chief in that.—(*Ham.* i. 3.)

Of smaller importance, as coincidences, are:

A thing ill begun will come to a worse end.—(*Civ. Con.* iii. 23.)

and

Thus bad begins and worse remains behind.—(*Ham.* iii. 4.)

and the somewhat uncommon phrase 'the rites of war' (*Ham. ad fin.*), which is also to be found in the earlier work (i. 25 a.)

The phrase 'to make a virtue of necessity' may, or may not, have been borrowed by Shakspeare (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 1). It is found in a Latin form in the patristic writers, and it also occurs in *The Canterbury Tales*; but if Shakspeare used it at second hand, George Pettie is more likely to have been his literary creditor than any other author:

Whereof followeth a vertue of necessitie.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 5.)

In the same play, too, we have other similarities, such as:

O jest unseen, inscrutable, invisible,
As a nose on a man's face. . . .—(ii. 1.)

and in the same *ironical* sense in Pettie:

The simple soules not perceiving that this their transformation, or rather deformation, is no more seene then a nose in a man's face.—(ii. 35.)

While later on we read:

To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue . . . place it for her chief virtue.—(v. 3.)

an idea which Mr. Churton Collins⁴ thinks was borrowed by Shakspeare from the *Ajax* of Sophocles. I am inclined to think, however, that it was borrowed, if at all, from a sentence in the *Civile Conversation*: 'the answeere of wise women is silence' (iii. 19 a). The fact that a snail 'carries his house on his head,' as Rosalind puts it (*As You Like It*, iv. 1), can hardly perhaps be relied on as suggesting that Shakspeare was indebted to some other writer for so obvious an idea; but, coupled with so many other coincidences, it is at least worthy of notice that Pettie also talks of 'the snayle' as being 'able to carrie his house about with him' (i. 47).

The well-known

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
(*As You Like It*, ii. 7.)

has been traced to many sources of origin, both Latin and English; I doubt, however, if Shakspeare found the idea anywhere but in the *Civile Conversation*:

Another used likewyse to say, that this world was a stago, wee the players whiche present the Comedie . . . and that wee whiche are the players, are in a manner all of us given to play those partes whiche you have spoken of.⁵—(ii. 6).

Again, in the same play we have,

If the cat will after kind,
So be sure will Rosalind.---(iii. 2.)

and here again Pettie is first in the field with,

remembering the saying that the Eagle breedeth not the Pigeon, but that Cat will after Kynde.—(iii. 7 a.)

Almost immediately following there is yet another passage in *As You Like It*, and one which has puzzled commentators sorely—so much so, that, unable to explain it, they have been driven to alter the text of the first folio ('emend' the editors it call), by substituting 'rate' for 'ranke' in Touchstone's lines:

I'll rhyme you so, eight years together; dinners, and suppers, and sleeping hours excepted; it is the right Butler-women's *ranke* to Market.—(*Ibid.*)

But with the aid of Pettie's work, all difficulty is at once removed, for he uses the very word which formed the stumbling-block of the editors, and supplies us also with its explanation:

All the women of the towne runne thyther of a *ranke*, as it were in procession.—(iii. 38 a.)

⁴ *Fortnightly Review*, July 1903, p. 116.

⁵ Since noticing this parallel, I find that Francis Douce had already mentioned it in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1839, and further, had quoted one other passage from Pettie's *Guazzo* in connection with some lines in *Timon of Athens*. It is curious that so vigilant and laborious a student of Elizabethan literature should not have quoted the *Civile Conversation* more largely. His copy, the second edition, is now in the Bodleian Library.

Again, take Touchstone's

Why, if thou never wast at court, thou never sawest good manners ; if thou never sawest good manners, then thy manners must be wicked ; and wickedness is sin, and sin is damnation.—(iii. 2.)

Both sentiment and method of argument bear a close affinity to :

A man cannot be a right man without conversation. For he that useth not company hath no experience, he that hath no experience, hath no judgment, and hee that hath no judgment, is no better then a beast.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 18 a.)

and later on,

Anniball. This countrey surely in my opinion, bringeth foorth no good servingmen.

Guazzo. I think the cause of it is . . . Princes sieldome keepe their Courtes where servingmen chieflye learne good behaviour.—(iii. 53 a.)

Turning now to *The Taming of the Shrew*, we are still met with unmistakable traces of George Pettie. For instance, the lines,

Whose hap shall be to have her,
Will not so graceless be to be ingrate.—(i. 2, 270.)

may not improbably have been suggested by

no child should be so graceless and grateles . . . to forget these three benefits received.—(*Civ. Con.* iii. 36.)

Again,

Baptista. If either of you both love Katharina . . .

Leave shall you have to *court* her at your pleasure.

Gremio. To *cart* her rather : she's too rough for me.—(i. 1, 52.)

with which compare,

that coveting to bee *courtlike*, they become plain *cartlike*.—(*Civ. Con.* ii. 30 a.)

and later,

though they take upon them the name of *Courtiers*, yet in their behaviour they shewe themselves little better than *Carters*.—(*Ib.* 36 a.)

It is, besides, possible, that when Shakspeare gave the name of 'Sugarsop' to one of the servants in this play (iv. 1, 92), he may have had in mind the two 'receites' which *Anniball* gives for enabling courtiers to maintain themselves in their prince's favour ; 'These are abstinence, or else suger soppes'—a phrase the mystic significance of which the speaker proceeds to explain in verse :

Before their Prince let Courtiers silent be,
Or let their words be saust (sauced) with pleasant glee.—(iii. 56.)

In *Othello* there are two passages which seem to be clear reminiscences of *Pettie's Guazzo*. 'The Tyrant Custom' (*Oth.* i. 3) may have its origin in 'Doubtless Custome is a great Tyrant' (*Civ. Con.* i. 24) ; but a more important instance is to be found in the lines,

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls :
Who steals my purse, steals trash :
But he that filches from me my good name, etc.—(iii. 3, 155.)

which may well have been developed from,

For as the soule is more precious then the body, so it is a greater offence to take away one's good name, which refresheth the soule, then to defraud one of food, which sustaineth the body.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 27.)

In discoursing of maligners of the dead, *Anniball* says :

And of these, this *saying* rose, that the Lion being dead, the verie Hares triumph over him.—(*Civ. Con.* i. 31.)

While in *King John* we have,

You are the hare of whom the *proverb* goes,
Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard.—(ii. 1, 137.)

Where did Shakspeare meet with this *Italian* proverb, if not in Pettie's translation ?

In the *Comedy of Errors* the Duke exclaims :

I think you all have *drunk of Circe's Cup*.—(v. 1, 270.)

but here, too, the phrase is Pettie's :

Yea, wee must deale so warily in the matter, that it may be said that wee have been in the very jawes of Scilla and *drunke of Cyrce's Cup*, and yet have escaped both drowning and transforming.—(ii. 71 a.)

Then, again, in speaking of the undying enmity of Eteocles and Polynices, one of Pettie's characters states that 'death was not able to take up their controversies, or set an end to their *cancerd* hatred' (iii. 42); and so the prince in *Romeo and Juliet* (i. 1, 102) talks of the 'canker'd hate' of Capulet and Montague; while later in the same play Juliet exclaims :

O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face.—(iii. 2.)

which looks extremely like the recollection of a quotation used by Pettie :

That in the fayrest flowers and grasse, the serpent most doeth lurke.—(*Civ. Con.* ii. 16.)

The phrase 'a fool's Paradise' is nowadays of very common occurrence; but it does not seem to have been so in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as is shown by the fact that, in illustrating the expression where it occurs in *Romeo and Juliet* (ii. 4), Malone, with all his knowledge of the writers of that period, cites only one instance of its use in Shakspeare's day, from a *Handful of Pleasant Delightes*, etc. 1584. *Pettie's Guazzo* was, as I have mentioned, first published in 1581, and the phrase occurs in the second book (69 a).

In *Henry VI.*, Part II., we read :

Whose smile and frown, like to *Achilles' spear*,
Is able with the change to kill and cure.—(v. 1, 100.)

in illustration of which Malone cites Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, 1599, where an allusion is found to the qualities of 'Achilles' launce.'

But if this editor suggested, as he seems to do, that Shakspeare was here borrowing from Greene, he must have forgotten that he himself in his Introduction was satisfied that *Henry VI.*, Part II., was written at an earlier date than 1599. It is therefore more likely that here also the idea was taken from Pettie's description of 'the weapons of Achilles, with which you both woūd and heale' (i. 2 a).

Here, again, is a quotation from Pettie's work which may have suggested the idea in the well-known lines in *Macbeth* which I have placed after it:

For our Galen sayth, the disquiet of the minde broedeth the disease of the bodye; and that he hath cured many diseases by bringing the *pulses into good temper*," and by quieting the minde; but being not so well skilled in curing *diseased mindes* as I should be, and knowing my selfe to have neede of Phisicke, I will be with you to-morrow, etc.—(Book iii. 56 a.)

Macb. How does your patient, doctor?

Doct. Not so sick my lord,
As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies,
That keep her from her rest.

Macb. Cure her of that.

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased . . . ?

Doct. Therein the patient

Must minister to himself.

Macb. Throw physic to the dogs; I'll none of it.—(v. 3, 40.)

We read in *All's Well that Ends Well* (ii. 2, 40):

I will be a fool in question, hoping to be the wiser by your answer.

and in Pettie:

Of the wise thou shalt learne to make thy selfe better, Of fooles, to make thy selfe more advised.—(ii. 5.)

While Isabella's oft-quoted lines,

That in the captain's but a choleric word
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy.—(*M. for M.* ii. 2.)

have more than a passing resemblance to the same sentiment as it occurs in *Pettie's Guazzo*:

Remembring the saying, That the vaine wordes of temporall men, are meere blasphemies in the mouth of spirituall men.—(ii. 64.)

Guazzo's description of the lover is a good example of his close powers of observation:

So soone as he spyeth comming a farre of, her whom hee hath placed most neere to his heart, I warrant you he setteth his ruffes, hee *turneth his Cappe and feather the right way*, hee pulleth up his cloake about his shoulders, hee standeth on tiptoe, hee sheweth a joyfull and smyling countenaunce, and hee seemeth to become a newe man, that hee bee more acceptable to the sight of his mistresse, etc.—(ii. 66 a.)

* Cf. *Hamlet*: 'My pulse as yours, doth *temperately* keep time.'—(iii. 4, 140.)

and the creator of Benedick would seem to have remembered something of it when making that prince of bachelors, in his unregenerate days, exclaim :

Is't come to this ? I' faith, hath not the world one man, but he will *wear his cap with suspicion* ?—(*Much Ado*, i. 1, 199.)

But if the Plays have been influenced by the English rendering of *Guazzo*, there is no good reason why the Sonnets should be free from all traces of that work. As a fact, I do not think that they either have escaped its influence.

The first seventeen of them are dominated by a single idea, which, when stripped of the ever-varying luxuriance of gorgeous imagery into which it is cast, takes the form of an exhortation to the youth to whom these Sonnets are addressed, that he should marry, and so perpetuate his race. The thought cannot be said to be an uncommon one ; and it is, of course, readily conceivable that it originated with the poet himself. Yet if he *did* borrow from Pettie in other instances, perhaps he did so here. The *possibility* of his having done so is certainly apparent from the following :

but you know that a wise and stayed man frameth himself cherefully to any kinde of life, and specially forgetteth not this sentence, That it is an execrable thing wilfully to deprive oneself of immortalitie, which he doth who seeketh not to have wife and children.—(iii. 2.)

I have pointed out already that Shakspeare may have derived much of the local colouring which forms so salient a feature in his Italian plays from a study of *Pettie's Guazzo*. The apparent accuracy of his topographical knowledge concerning countries which he had never visited, coupled with the fact that guide-books were unknown in his day, has been a source of trouble to some of his admirers.

One of the difficulties upon which they lay peculiar stress is that connected with his references to the water communication between places in North Italy, which is now known to have been in existence in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This difficulty is, however, to some extent, disposed of by a reference to the *Civile Conversation*, where we find mention of persons, ' bounde from Padua to Venice,' embarking in a vessel for the purpose of getting to their destination—a means of communication between these places which is obviously alluded to in *The Taming of the Shrew* :

Tranio. 'Tis death for anyone in Mantua
To come to Padua. . . .
Your ships are stay'd at Venice.—(iv. 2.)

Such then are the more important passages which, in my opinion, compel one to believe that Shakspeare was thoroughly familiar with George Pettie's work when engaged in composing his Plays and Sonnets.

There are yet other parallels which I might mention, although of minor importance; but I hardly think they would be likely to add any greater probability to my contention.⁷

It is a somewhat curious fact that George Pettie, as a writer, should be best known to readers of Elizabethan letters as the author of the *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*—a collection of stories, published about 1576, which gained a wide popularity as soon as printed. The work failed, however, to meet with the approbation of one very capable judge of literary matters, Anthony à Wood; who, when he stated that Pettie ‘was much commended for his neat style as any of his time,’ must, I fancy, have been thinking chiefly of his translation of Guazzo; which, independently of any attraction it may have for Shakspearian scholars, is in every sense a charming example of English prose writing at its very best. There is hardly a dull page in it from its opening to the end; every sentence is lucidly framed and, in many cases, brilliantly expressed; and lit, as it not infrequently is, by flashes of quaint and genuine humour—teeming with pithily turned precepts on behaviour, and all else that goes to make society agreeable to mankind in every station—it rises at times to a serious eloquence which may be compared with much of the finest prose writing of the ‘spacious days’ of the late sixteenth century. There are few volumes that would make a more interesting reprint.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

⁷ I have already shown, in the case of the word ‘ranke,’ the value of such a book as Pettie’s Translation as a means of expounding a verbal difficulty resulting from the change which a long course of years has effected in our language. A like instance of its utility as an interpreter appears in a remarkable way in connection with a passage in *Macbeth*, where the line:

‘Their daggers unmannerly *breeched* with gore.’—(ii. 3, 122.)

has fairly puzzled the commentators, many of whom (including the editors of the *New English Dictionary*) take the word ‘breeched’ as meaning, in a figurative sense, ‘covered, or clothed, with breeches’! Mr. Charles Mackay’s explanation of the word as derived from Keltic, ‘breach,’ a spot (*Glossary of Obscure Words in Shakespeare, etc.* London, 1887), although he does not quote any other example of its use in English in this sense, must be taken to be the true one, when we read such a passage as the following in the *Civile Conversation*: ‘which have their wit so *breeched* that they cannot discerne sweete from soure.’—(i. 4.)

AN EX-PRISONER
ON PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS

I HAVE read with no little interest the article which appeared in the January number of this Review from the pen of Sir Robert Anderson on the best means of dealing with professional criminals. The article in question is one of a series on the same subject by the same writer. I read these *en bloc* some time ago, but I did not then contemplate inditing a reply to them. Nor should I as a matter of fact criticise Sir Robert Anderson's very latest pronouncement on his pet subject were it not that the Home Secretary, at the close of last session, laid on the table of the House of Commons a Bill to amend the law relating to Penal Servitude with a view to the Bill being considered during the recess. This Bill is presumably to be reintroduced during the coming session. The object of it is, briefly, to 'make it hot' for the professional criminal. Sir Robert Anderson evidently imagines his several articles have had a direct result in producing this Bill. That may be so, but quite evidently Sir Robert Anderson only intends to take the Bill as something on account. He apparently has a much shorter, and certainly far more drastic, panacea for abolishing the professional criminal than that contemplated by the Bill. Sir Robert Anderson's remedy for dealing with a certain section of his fellow creatures, who have broken the law a certain number of times, and have been tracked down and punished for their dereliction, is to permanently incarcerate them until public opinion is sufficiently ripe for exterminating them as mere vermin. When that time arrives, presumably a lethal chamber will be attached to every large prison into which the professional criminal will be introduced for the same purpose as the superfluous dogs in the Battersea Dogs' Home are conducted to the lethal chamber therein. I have no doubt, when the time does arrive, if it ever should, for this manner of treating the professional criminal to be brought into vogue, there will not be wanting gentlemen who will indite articles for the reviews, poking fun at the 'humanity-mongers' and pleading that a painless death in a lethal chamber is far too lenient a method of dealing with such human vermin.

Perhaps I had better at once say that I am not myself what is usually termed a professional criminal. But I have had the misfortune to undergo a term of penal servitude, and have accordingly had some opportunity of arriving at the ideas and opinions of professional criminals, and can, I think, bring to bear on the subject of the best means of dealing with them something other than merely theoretical views. I have lived with these men, I have made a close study of them for some years, and I certainly claim to know more of them practically than Sir Robert Anderson does, despite his vast experience in Scotland Yard. At the same time perhaps I had better say that I have not the slightest doubt Sir Robert Anderson is perfectly sincere in the opinions he expresses. Indeed, with some of those opinions I find myself in complete agreement. No man has ever indited truer or more pregnant words in regard to the present prison system than those of Sir Robert Anderson in the article which appeared in the last issue of this Review. He says: 'In certain cases penal servitude is barbarously cruel. In such cases, indeed, its operation is really a disgrace to a civilised country. But to the gaol bird there is no element of cruelty in it. He settles down to it in the spirit in which an officer on service accepts exile in some particularly undesirable foreign station. There is nothing in it likely to elevate and reform anybody.' These words are, as I have said, the truth and nothing but the truth. It is, I think, deplorable that such things should be true in the fourth year of the twentieth century. It is, in my opinion, still more deplorable that the man who has had sufficient light to convince himself of these facts, and sufficient courage to publicly assert them, should at the same time put forward a plea for a manner of dealing with the professional criminal which, if put into force, would be a disgrace to our civilisation, a travesty on our Christianity.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, in the *History of our Own Times*, has remarked, and remarked correctly, that in no country except England is there a distinct criminal class, and he contends, and I believe rightly, that this criminal class is merely the natural result of our existing prison system. In other words, that English prisons, instead of being simply punitive or simply reformatory institutions, or both combined, are in reality forcing-houses for criminals. Mr. McCarthy quotes the expressed belief of an ex-prisoner that the present English prison system takes out of a man the heart of a man and puts in its place the heart of a beast. I believe this to be the literal truth, and, if it be the truth, the man so metamorphosed can hardly be blamed, if, upon his release, he acts as a beast. That so large a proportion of ex-prisoners do not so act is I think greatly to their credit. Be that as it may, I feel no hesitation whatever in asserting that the English prison system is largely, if not altogether, responsible for the manufacture of the English professional criminal.

Sir Robert Anderson's remedy is not to reform the prison system or attempt to reform the criminal, but to seize on the professional criminal and keep him permanently incarcerated in the place that has made him what he is until the time arrives when, public opinion having been sufficiently educated to sanction it, the professional criminal will, instead of being incarcerated, be exterminated.

It is impossible to read Sir Robert Anderson's article without perceiving that it is one likely to have a convincing effect on most persons who may peruse it. More false conclusions are arrived at in this world from the use of false analogies than from any other kind of argument. It is a peculiarly false analogy which has probably rendered Sir Robert Anderson's article so convincing to the superficial reader. This false analogy has done duty not only in his last article but in all his previous articles on the same subject. Sir Robert Anderson draws a comparison between some particularly malevolent wild beast unknown to natural history and a professional criminal as known, in theory, to Sir Robert Anderson. 'If,' he says, 'superstition decreed that a dangerous beast must neither be destroyed nor permanently kept in confinement, every year added to the period for which it might be shut up would, of course, be a practical benefit to the community. But most people would think it not only stupid but wicked to turn it loose at all.' The attempted argument from a false analogy is plausible, but, I contend, entirely fallacious when closely examined. Let me examine it for a moment. Suppose the fierceness of Sir Robert Anderson's wild beast, which, by the way, was originally a tame beast, had been induced by a long period of confinement, during the whole of which it had been goaded, pricked, half-starved, and subjected to a long course of irritating and petty annoyances which had resulted in the 'beast' being reduced to an extremely savage condition. Suppose that, at the acme of its savageness, it had been released from confinement and given just sufficient sustenance to keep it alive for a week or two, and that, at the expiration of that period, no further sustenance or means of obtaining sustenance were provided, and no man would have the 'beast' at any price or upon any consideration. Suppose then the 'beast' in its obstinacy determined, by some process of mental obfuscation, that, having been sent into the world presumably to live, as no man would help it, it would help itself. The 'beast' does help itself and, being detected in so doing, is once again subjected to the confinement, the goading, pricking, and irritating process, continued this time for a longer period. Rendered even more savage, it is in due course once again released, has the same experience, is once again detected in supplying itself because it has no other alternative. The 'beast' this time is decided by 'the authorities' to be an habitually ill-disposed animal, incurably savage, innately depraved, and all the rest of it, and, according to Sir Robert Anderson's plan, should, if not at once exterminated, be,

at any rate, permanently shut up and presumably rendered more savage still. No one apparently, unless he be a 'humanity-monger,' has ever thought, or, if he has thought, has ever suggested the ceasing of the goading and irritating process, the kindly treatment of the 'beast' on its release from captivity and the making of some attempt to bring it back to its former condition of tameness. I have considered the 'beast' from a purely material standpoint. There are, however, men who believe that the particular 'beast' referred to by Sir Robert Anderson is not in fact a mere beast but has a soul, that that soul is immortal, and that the possessor of it is linked to his fellow-creatures from that very fact by other ties than link the beasts of the field, to which it has been compared, to man. Only the 'humanity-mongers' seemingly voice the brotherhood of man as regards the treatment of actual and ex-prisoners, and in this great Christian country no one save they appears to consider that even a professional criminal, who, after all, is the possessor of a human soul, however degraded the possessor may have become, deserves and should receive from his fellow-men some other treatment than that of a wild beast. If his fellow-men have for some reason, good or bad, deprived him of his liberty and subjected him to various restraints and punishments of an extremely artificial nature, which, if they have any effect at all, can only render him more unfitted for the battle of life, those fellow-creatures have, I submit, an obligation and a moral responsibility in regard to that man which cannot be got rid of, however they may be covered over or confused, by drastic proposals of putting the man where he will be out of sight and out of mind.

I am not concerned to deal with Sir Robert Anderson's quotations of the *obiter dicta* of several judges on the subject of the treatment of professional criminals. I have a great respect for the judges as a body, but, after all, they know little or nothing as to the treatment of prisoners when undergoing the sentences inflicted on them; and at the best, a man who is continually being brought into contact with crime, constantly talking high morality from the Bench, and everlastingly sentencing his fellow-creatures to long terms of imprisonment, is prone to take a somewhat morbid view of criminals and their ways. Quite recently a prisoner was arraigned at the Old Bailey on a charge of bigamy. The man had previously served a term of penal servitude for some other offence and had narrated his experiences of convict life in a popular magazine. The prosecuting counsel mentioned the fact to the judge, and suggested that perhaps his lordship might have read the narrative in question. The judge replied that such things had no interest whatever for him, and his observation was received with laughter. This is, I fear, the spirit in which too many judges send men to long terms of penal servitude. The details of their incarceration do not interest the judge who, by some process of mental arithmetic I have never been able to com-

prehend, decides on the precise time the man in the dock shall be kept in confinement. To my unsophisticated mind a public official charged with so solemn a duty as depriving his fellow-creatures of their liberty for such periods as he thinks fit should have some comprehension as to what the punishment he inflicts precisely means.

As I have said, during the period of my incarceration I conversed with some hundreds of prisoners belonging to what is known as the professional or habitual criminal class, those desperate, hardened, clever criminals of whom we hear and read so much. I got at these men's sentiments, ideas, and feelings, and I believe I am safe in saying that in only two instances did I encounter prisoners whom I put down as utterly irreclaimable. As for the remainder, they were professional criminals simply because no other profession was open to them. To suggest, as writers like Sir Robert Anderson do, that these men are burglars, housebreakers, pickpockets, or whatever it be, because they hanker after pursuing these occupations is, to my mind, sheer nonsense. These men are professional criminals for very much the same reason as ninety-nine hundredths of the women who nightly patrol the streets of the metropolis are professional prostitutes—because their wills have been weak and circumstances have been too strong for them. To assert that these professional criminals are mere wild beasts impossible of being brought back to the path of rectitude is, to my thinking, not only absurd but untrue. No one attempts the reclamation process either in gaol or out of it. Once a man has worn a prison suit, the world, whatever may be its protestations to the contrary, tacitly declares him an outlaw, every man's hand is against him, he is a pariah, an outcast, and, unless he be a man of strong will and fierce determination, or has private means, or friends to assist him, he almost naturally relapses into crime. It is in fact his only alternative, and the men he has met in prison are the only persons who will assist him. I confess I feel sick when I read the puling sentimentality which, from time to time, appears in reviews and newspapers anent the innate depravity of the criminal, knowing as I do the struggle, the almost hopeless struggle, the ex-prisoner has to make, if he is to exist without infringing the law. No doubt, there are prisoners' aid societies which receive and spend the vicarious charity of the public. These societies will, I know, receive the prisoner on his discharge and make him clearly understand that he is an ex-prisoner, they will dole him out the paltry gratuity he has earned in prison, and, if he wants anything else, they will employ him to chop wood or at some such congenial labour—at a profit to the society. These institutions may do excellent work for all I know, but the excellent work has not come under my notice. How they expend their funds has always been a mystery to me, because in not one solitary instance—and I have made hundreds of inquiries—have I been able to trace the fact of their having rendered efficient aid

to any discharged prisoner. Sir Robert Anderson must, I imagine, be in a position to know that these societies, however excellent the aims with which they were started, are now practically useless as regards the reclamation and assistance of discharged prisoners; and the two things are most intimately bound up together. If Sir Robert Anderson does not know, his former subordinates at Scotland Yard most certainly do. They are under no misapprehension as to the efficacy of prisoners' aid societies, and they are fully cognisant of the fact, which Sir Robert Anderson apparently has not grasped, that the reason so many men who have been in prison relapse into crime and eventually become professional or habitual criminals is largely owing to the fact that on their return to the world in the first instance they were unable to obtain that assistance, material and otherwise, which would, had it been proffered in season and in the right spirit, have prevented these men wrecking their own lives, and preying on the community, to say nothing of being directly and indirectly a heavy cost to the state.

Some time ago Sir Robert Anderson wrote an article—I believe it appeared in this Review—on the subject of 'Crime and Criminals,' in which article he asserted that most, if not all, the burglaries committed in London were in reality organised by a Cabinet of burglars who sat round a table and directed all operations with a thoroughness, skill, and ability, which would put any Cabinet of Ministers to shame. At the same time, so Sir Robert Anderson led his readers to believe, the gentlemen who comprised this Cabinet were prudent enough to keep their own skins safe while risking those of their myrmidons. Soon after this article appeared I was informed of it, and I took the opportunity of inviting the opinions of as many as possible of the burglars in the establishment where I was confined. They one and all declared that there was not a word of truth in such an assertion, and that they and their 'pals' invariably worked on 'their own.' One of these prisoners added, in reference to Sir Robert Anderson and his official position: 'Them blokes believe anything the 'tecs tell them.' I do not defend the English of the phrase, but I fear there is some element of truth wrapped up in its peculiar verbiage. One thing I will tell Sir Robert Anderson, and that is that there would be a marked diminution in the burglaries, house-breakings, pickpocketings, and thefts generally, annually perpetrated in London, if the receivers of stolen goods, instead of the professional criminals, were exterminated or permanently incarcerated. No burglar or other description of professional thief would commit his depredations did he not feel certain that he could at once dispose of his plunder. If the receivers were not in existence and ready to take the stolen goods and pay over a small percentage of their value, two-thirds of the offences against property in London would probably not be committed. The receivers are men who grow fat on the crimes of the

criminal, and the receivers as a rule carry on their occupation with what is certainly a wonderful immunity. I have reason to believe that nearly all the receivers in the metropolis are perfectly well known to the police, and the impunity with which they carry on their unlawful and dangerous business is only explicable on one supposition—a supposition which every professional thief I have conversed with has declared to be a positive fact. I would modestly suggest that Scotland Yard should seriously direct its efforts to the task of exterminating the metropolitan receivers, or rather their nefarious trade, before advocating the extermination of the criminal, whose professional existence is rendered possible only by the existence of the receiver. Sir Robert Anderson presumably does not know that there are receivers in the metropolis, well known to the police, whose names are on the tongue of every London thief, and who have been carrying on their trade for twenty years or so. The fact, and I assert it to be a fact, surely needs some elucidation from Scotland Yard before further legislation to repress the professional criminal is undertaken.

The best scheme for dealing with professional criminals is, in my humble opinion, the scheme which will reform them and make them useful and respectable members of the community. Such a scheme has never, so far as I know, been broached; it certainly has never been attempted. I have no intention in this article to enter upon such a wide field as the consideration of the present systems of prison administration and prison discipline would be. I think, however, I may say, without entering thereon, that the reformation of the criminal forms no part whatever of the existing prison system in this country, that not the slightest attempt is made in that direction, and that the prison treatment, as it is to-day, merely tends to harden the prisoners subject to it; not only degrades them, but makes them feel degraded; deprives them of every atom of self-respect; renders them on their return to the world men embittered against their fellows; more or less reckless, and as a rule disbelievers in any religion whatever, because within the prison walls they have seen religion divested of its outside artificiality, and have, in the minister of religion, merely viewed a prison official who regarded the prisoner and the prisoner's soul from a prison official's standpoint. In my opinion there is no finer field in the world for missionary effort than his Majesty's prisons. Furthermore, it is the only field, if I except a few sporadic efforts hardly worth taking into account, utterly neglected. The prison officials at the Home Office and in the prisons, perhaps naturally enough from their point of view, desire no missions or outside interference with either a prisoner's body or soul. But in such connection the views of the prison officials should be ruthlessly set aside. The community, I suggest, is deeply concerned in the reclamation of prisoners, in the interests not only of the community but of the prisoner. At the present time a man sentenced to a long term of

penal servitude, or a short term for the matter of that, has, during the whole course of his sentence, no influence brought to bear on him save the disciplinary influence of gaol officials. As regards any other influence he is simply left severely alone. I know of a man who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, and after completing twenty years and three months of actual imprisonment was, as is customary in all life sentences, ordered to be released. When he was about to be discharged I asked him how many times during the whole of that long period the prison chaplain had visited him for the purpose of giving him spiritual consolation or inquiring as to the state of his soul. He told me that during the whole of that frightful period a prison chaplain had been to see him on only one occasion—and that by mistake. The man had requested the warder on his landing to put his name down to see the governor, and the warder had in error put the man's name down for the chaplain. I asked this prisoner what the chaplain said when he did call. He replied 'He didn't say nothing; I told him it was a mistake and he went away.' During twenty and a quarter years—just think of it, you philanthropists and charitable people—no minister of religion, no missionary of any kind, had ever crossed the threshold of that man's cell, no outside influence of any sort had ever been brought to bear on him during that long period. Every morning he had got up to go through the same dull round of monotonous labour, every night he had gone to bed unconsolated by anything, hoping for nothing because he had nothing to hope for. Whatever one may think of the man's crime—I believe it was stabbing a policeman who did not die—or of the punishment awarded to him for it, I think I am hardly rash in saying that the existence he led during those twenty years and three months was not one that tended to develop the finer feelings of the man's nature or to evolutionise the prisoner into a saint, or anything approaching it. The man in question was discharged at seventy-one years of age and sent back to the world with the munificent sum of 6*l.* to commence life on afresh, having had no one during the term of his awful sentence, except his fellow prisoners, to give him a friendly word; no human being on his return to the world to hold out a helping hand. If he had been twenty years younger I should have expected such a man to develop into a professional criminal, but he was probably too old for that, because, in this profession, as in others more reputable, youth and energy are essential, old age a disqualification.

As regards the measure introduced by the Home Secretary at the close of last session for dealing in more drastic fashion with habitual criminals, I shall say but little. Indeed, my previous remarks have, I think, clearly indicated that I consider reclamation, and not perpetual incarceration or extermination, the best and certainly the cheapest method of dealing with the professional criminal. Reclamation in earnest has, as I have already remarked, not yet been tried,

and I suggest that it might be given a trial before more ruthless and, as I think, barbarous methods are attempted to be brought into force. Perhaps I had better say that I am an earnest advocate for punishing, and severely punishing, all crimes, because it is evident that in any civilised community punishment for crime is an absolute necessity. But I am also of opinion that long terms of imprisonment, whether for habitual or other criminals, are, in every way, a mistake. All punishments should be severe and should be keenly felt. Punishments prolonged over a long period absolutely lose their effect. In our present prison system, which regards every man as equal, there is, save for a limited class, practically no punishment whatever. The system is frightfully expensive and absolutely useless from any point of view. To proceed further in the same direction, as the Home Secretary's measure does, by locking men up for still longer periods while still further minimising the present minimum of punishment, seems to me sheer lunacy. Be that as it may, I cannot conclude this article without remarking that I should not like to be the governor of the establishment where these professional criminals are to be incarcerated. I should say that before that particular institution is very long established it will itself provide abundant evidence in regard to the futility of the system of which it is the outcome. There are likely to be murders, and there is certain to be a more or less constant state of mutiny, in such a place. The present system of penal servitude is only rendered possible by the regulations which enable a convict to obtain a remission of one fourth of his sentence. This remission is certainly not granted with a view of enabling prisoners to escape from undergoing a portion of their term of penal servitude, but simply because experience has clearly shown that, unless this remission were granted as an incentive to good conduct, it would be a sheer impossibility to control and keep in order seven hundred to twelve hundred men in a confined space. Anyone who knows what two or three desperate prisoners, who had through misconduct forfeited the whole of their prospective remission, can do towards turning a convict prison upside down, will be able to realise very vividly what a prison for the permanent incarceration of offenders will be like. Bedlam let loose would be nothing in comparison. The idea of such a place, and apparently the idea is about to assume a concrete form, is, I contend, only worthy of Bedlam. I say nothing of the expense. At present every convict costs the country about 75*l.* a year. If the habitual criminal is to be permanently locked up, the cost of the prison service is likely to be largely enhanced, a profitless expenditure surely. Once more, and finally, I say better try first to reclaim and reform the professional criminal. At any rate it would be cheaper. Over and above that, it would be, I suggest, more humane, more statesmanlike, more Christianlike.

I made no apology at the commencement of this article for writing

it ; I shall content myself with one or two observations at its close. I am aware there are many persons who think that when a prisoner returns to the world he owes it to his fellow-creatures at least to hide his diminished head. If he have any opinions in regard to prison treatment or prison administration, they are ascribed to a mere prejudice against that authority which he found to be unpleasant. If he have anything to state in reference to his late fellow-prisoners, their views, sentiments, ideas, and so on, there is, I fear, a disposition to regard a man who has been in prison, whatever his offence may have been, as having acquired an incapacity to tell the truth upon any subject. Knowing how prevalent are these views, I hesitated before setting about the writing of this article. I have done so with no motive except to say what I think and believe on a matter which is, after all, one of great national importance. I have no axes to grind. I have no prejudice against prison officials or in favour of prisoners. I have written this article because, and simply because, the subject of it is a matter on which I think an ex-prisoner has some claim to be heard, and in regard to which the views of an ex-prisoner, if they be impartially expressed, may be of some assistance to those who are charged with the important duty of legislating for and administering the prison service. I write it, moreover, because I came to the conclusion, when I read Sir Robert Anderson's article, that his suggestions were impracticable and inhuman, and that any attempt to put those suggestions into practice would merely result in a largely increased cost to the country and an increase of crime within our prisons, even should there be, as Sir Robert Anderson contends there would, a diminution of crime without them.

H. J. B. MONTGOMERY.

SERMONS AND SAMUEL PEPYS

WITH some men, nothing less than a centenary of their deaths will serve to remind the public of their names. It is true that Samuel Pepys departed this life just two hundred years ago, yet no one has owed less to the calendar than he, nor achieved a more fortuitous immortality. His unconscious self-revelation has not only produced one of the most delightful books in the English language, but has given him a place in the hearts of his countrymen which wiser and better men could never fill. In his Diary he has laid bare his soul, unwitting that one day his most secret and unmentionable thoughts should be torn from their wrappage of cipher and foreign tongues, that upon them his later descendants should pour a cool scrutiny so searching that no human being could hope to sustain it with unimpaired credit. Through the whole of one century and the quarter of another, the diarist lay dead and buried in the library of his old college of Magdalene at Cambridge, until an Oxford graduate broke open the six books of his sepulture, and showed him alive and speaking.

In these pages we have—not the unblushing revelations of a Rousseau deliberately untrussing his points before the common gaze—not the studied unconsciousness of Montaigne, writing for effect, and with an eye on his readers—not the posturings of Chateaubriand, nor the morbid dissections of Marie Bashkirtseff, ever hovering above herself with a scalpel, but Pepys himself. So real was the presentation, that when he ordered his affairs before quitting this world, he had not the heart to destroy it, thus contributing at once to his own loss of reputation, and his own undying renown.

At first sight there appears to be little connection between Pepys and the pronouncements from a pulpit. Known to the men of his day as the friend of Royalty and the dignified official, it has been his fortune to exhibit the worst and most contemptible side of his character to later generations. To us, the Fellow of the Royal Society and Secretary to the Navy is the 'Dapper Dicky' of an improper correspondence. We are not impressed with his courage in the House of Commons, for we have seen the contemptible

cowardice which could kick a servant maid at home. Indulging in coarse delights with the rabble of actors, courtiers, and courtesans who riot through his pages; intemperate and given to vulgar intrigues; using his learning as a cloak to the more scandalous of his confidences; miserly—with a love of money which grew upon him as he otherwise improved in morals, so that his iniquities were not abandoned but retired on a pension: ostentatious, bragging of imaginary estates, and clothing himself in scarlet and fine linen, though his wife should go bare; marked by a credulity which made his mind sway like a leaf in the wind before every breath of the superstitious; it is thus he presents himself before us, and it is in the light of these disclosures he is convicted of being a very sorry individual.

When the facts of his life are summoned from the past, the awful shade of an injured wife moves solemnly among them. Remembering, however, that Mrs. Pepys avenged herself of her wrongs as only a woman can, we may dismiss that phantom. If he deceived and played the niggard with her, if he laid his hand upon her in wrath, she pulled his hair, and on a memorable occasion scared him from the covert of his midnight blankets with the terrors of a heated poker. Having found him out in his infidelities, she considered no usage too ill for him. Thereafter, until the touch of Death relaxed the tyranny, he remained a submissive and hen-pecked man. Yet, between these two love was not a-wanting. If, after their quarrels, one of them would always leave the other for ever, the dawning of the day seldom found them unreconciled.

But we turn to the Samuel Pepys who claims and deserves our respect. After all, it is probable that his faults were largely the blemishes of an early and exuberant manhood, and that with the growth of years and reputation there came that steadiness of character which earned for him the confidence of the nation and the friendship of Evelyn and Dryden and Sir Isaac Newton. Let us recall how many signs he gave of a true contrition; and of a desire to walk humbly before his Maker; how, remembering that God has an altar in every man's dwelling, he gathered his household around him for daily devotions; how Sunday by Sunday he studied his good resolves upon his knees; how loyal to his friends; how generous he could be in his gifts; his courage during the Plague when he remained at his post among the faithful few; his love of the ennobling arts; his delight in the converse of good men; his concern for his country; his splendid devotion to the duties of his office; his refusal to enrich himself through the baser channels of official gain. To remember all these things is to be aware that when Pepys is weighed in the balance he is not found wanting in many of the elements of a noble character. As he lived, so he died. Dr. Hickes, whose sincerity may not be gainsaid, had known him long

and closely, and when he laid down the burden of this life, and passed on his way down the Valley of the Shadow, the Dean said of his conduct in that solemn hour: 'I never attended any sick person that dyed with so much Christian greatness of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality.'

That Pepys considered himself a competent judge of preaching is indicated by many of his entries. In some respects he was well equipped. He was a scholar and man of letters, quick to detect false quantities and a lack of good taste. He had laboured with current theology such as Ussher's *Divinity*, and Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*, while the ecclesiastical problems of the day found in him an eager student. He could estimate not only the matter but the manner of a discourse; for it is on record that he himself excelled as a speaker, and had offered a remarkable vindication of his department in Parliament.

But his judgment has been called in question by some Church historians as that of a man with a prejudice against the clergy. The fact is, Pepys was never a good Churchman. The old leaven of the Puritanism in which he was cradled continued to work in him. On one side he was bitter against Nonconformity. He sneers at its preaching and manners. He observes with disdain the symptoms (grown in our day into a formidable disease) of 'tender consciences.' He ridicules the exaggerated genuflections at Court of that Presbyterian knee which Calamy had sworn should never bow to Baal. When a boat-load of dissenting divines are drenched off Schevling he hugs himself with delight.

But at heart Pepys remained a Puritan. Ruffle it as he will with the roaring, dissolute courtiers, he cannot carry his frolics with the true Cavalier air. He is more true to himself in his repentances than in his cups. Rome remains to him the Scarlet Woman of the Apocalypse, whilst there is no doubt he thoroughly deserves the Protestant reputation which his wife gave him in a tender description of his merits as a spiritual director. Ignorant of the ordinary ceremonial of his Church, a surplice is to him at first a fearsome object, and he requires to be led up to it as gently as a shying steed.

Puritan, too, is the quality which made him that most pleasing of all personages, the unconscious humourist. The Commonwealth had endeavoured to suppress the gayest, happiest side of things, turning festivals into fasts, and frowning on innocent joys, but that flavour of character which we call humour refused to be extinguished. Only it grew slyer in expression, and learned to say droll things with the old family face. The humour of Pepys is involuntary or Puritanic. Who but he could have written down with unwinking eye the words with which King Charles acknowledged the gift of a Bible, or have recorded 'the great satisfaction given to all' by the

'same monarch's 'Proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery'? Who but he could have confessed so quaintly his relief at the death of his annuitant, or defended his drinking an intoxicating liquor when under vow of total abstinence? Nay, who but he could have reserved his most magnificent apostrophe to the Almighty for the occasion of a larger balance at the bank?

It is not the least of the Diary's merits that in it we behold the religious life of the seventeenth century lifted out of its darkness, and made visible as on the screen of a magic lantern. We behold it, moreover, with the eager eye of Pepys. It was a time of transition and revolt. Puritanism had in turn become a persecutor. Her sympathies lay not with her brethren at home, but with the Reformers on the Continent. She read from a Geneva Bible, her only authority; she preached in a Geneva gown, her only ritual. Sympathising with the views of Luther and Zwingli, who had, so to speak, cantonised Christianity, and regarding Anglicanism as the handmaiden of Rome, she had treated the rules and ceremonies and teaching of the Church of England as betrayals and acts of treason. She had scattered the clergy, usurped their parishes, banished the Liturgy from houses of prayer and private dwellings. To her a 'scandalous schoolmaster' was one who, amongst other such offences as dicing and duelling, 'publicly and frequently read or used the Common Prayer Book.' Religious men and women were no longer Church people, but 'professing Christians,' a title which after all seemed to promise a paucity of performance. Nor had her fury been spent on the clergy alone, but on their buildings. The intemperance of zeal had smitten the decency and comeliness of so many churches that they had become houses of mourning rather than praise.

From this unendurable tyranny there was now to be an indignant reaction. The clergy had gladly returned (on the whole with restraint) to beloved customs and traditions, but the nation, in 'the wildest outbreak of moral revolution that this country has ever witnessed,' whirled away in the current of its hate all that was noblest and best in Puritanism. Intolerance was again met with intolerance, so that the flower of dissent, the thinkers and theologians like Howe and Baxter, whose presence at this juncture would have meant much to the well-being of England, were driven out into the wilderness. Many who remained behind—Independents, Presbyterians, and even Baptists who had become rectors or vicars during the Commonwealth—remained only at the expense of their scruples, or to become mere traffickers in holy things. Within the Church itself, in this time of unrest and upheaval, the scum of its ecclesiastical life rose to the surface. Younger sons, hangers-on to the skirts of nobility, social derelicts, and the purely professional parson now came to the front, and clamoured for livings. At this period it

must be confessed that the voice that summoned many of the labourers into the vineyard had a distinctly metallic ring. Men drew their revenue without caring for their flocks—and presented a terrible departure from the theory that a clergyman's object is essentially to minister to the needs of the world, and not to be paid for his ministry.

But as against this view of the matter there remained the great mass of an earnest, devoted priesthood to whom much injustice had been done. In the cry which rose up against those to whom was committed the restoration of the due order and teaching of the Church, Pepys is tempted to join. In 1661 he finds the clergy 'so high that all people do protest against their practice.' He witnessed the consecration of an Archbishop, and is moved to the reflection that 'people did most of them look upon them (the bishops) as strange creatures, and few with any love or respect'! Stillingfleet incurs his strong displeasure for telling the truth about the death of one of the diarist's relatives, a truth which Pepys argues might well have been delayed for purposes of probate. On the 5th of October, 1662, he records: 'this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is of any of his coate.' Surely enough this Machiavellian plot passed on to its dénouement on the 26th inst. when he 'saw Mr. Mills in a surplice for the first time.' In 1666 he 'heard a young man play the foole upon the doctrine of Purgatory,' from which state of indignation he was happily recovered by espying Betty Howlett, 'who is indeed mighty pretty and struck me mightily.' He has a holy horror of confession. Mr. Mills's advice 'to confess their sins when they had any weight upon their consciences, did vex me to hear.' He even discerns the cloven hoof in the innocent practice of catechising.

It is interesting to notice in Pepys the shock of surprise which still attacks the ordinary citizen when he beholds the friend of his youth in Holy Orders. Few can bear with equanimity the change from a suit of uproarious tweeds to a clerical collar and wide-brimmed hat, from the voice that once cried aloud for soda water to the decent tones of a proper pulpit delivery. At Cambridge he sits under Mr. Nicholas, whom he knew at college as a sort of Lord of Misrule, and has a poor opinion of the sermon. He finds in the pulpit of a City church 'my old schoolfellow Elborough, a simple rogue, and yet I find him preaching a very good sermon and in as right a parson-like manner as I have heard anybody.'

Before we consider the sermons to which Pepys listened, we may with advantage recall the conditions of them. As an official of the Admiralty, he had his place in St. Olave's, Hart Street. Early in his career we find him 'demanding a pew' from the churchwardens, who built for him a sort of chamber in the South gallery approached

by a staircase from without. In this abominable place of distinction in a house where all are equal he passed a great many hours to greater or less advantage. St. Olave's lies now with London pressing upon it from every side. Then it could breathe. Green trees and pleasant fields were its neighbours; the sunshine came in freely where now the huddle of high walls bars it out. It is easy to picture one of those drowsy summer days which so often seem reflected in the diarist's description of his Sundays: the sleepy stillness: the soothing hum of Mr. Mills's voice: the restless children, writhing on their benches: the placid congregation: the long psalm during which the rattle of money is heard as the sexton carries round his box: the sunbeams streaming through the open windows and creeping along the walls, bringing out of their gloom the brasses of bygone worthies, the later memorials of London Aldermen and the Florentine Capponus, and the effigies of James Dean, his wife and ten daughters all lifting up praying hands.

Sometimes the rector preaches—sometimes his reader or a lecturer. The reader was an inferior kind of curate, often serving two churches. It was his duty to read the service, that portion of the prayer and praise of the Sanctuary which in some circles is still known as 'the preliminaries,' retiring at the supreme moment to give place to the orator who had reserved his energies for the pulpit. Pepys refers only once to a sermon of the reader, describing it as 'boyish and young,' but seems to have been diverted when this assistant priest 'could not find the place in the Service Book for churching women, but was fain to change with the clerk.' This functionary, too, was destined to furnish amusement by a performance which his successors have often repeated—'mighty sport to hear the clerk sing out of tune.'

As for the lecturer, Pepys derived little comfort from him. 'A dull sermon of our young lecturer, too bad.' 'Our lecturer made a silly, sorry sermon.' In many places parishioners of Calvinistic beliefs who were opposed to the teaching of the regular incumbent had been permitted, in defiance of constituted authority, to nominate to a lectureship and maintain any one whose teaching was more in accordance with their own views. And with such a cuckoo in the nest, one can imagine the sparrows had rather a bad time of it.

Once a year the sexton of St. Olave's went his round of tax gathering. 'Before sermon there was a long Psalm and half another sung while the sexton gathered what the Church would give him for the last year.' Pepys seems to have disliked the publicity of this collection, for he mentions his own five-shilling contribution in a way which indicates he would have preferred the secretive alms-bag of our day to the open plate of his own. Another source of annoyance lay in the impromptu orisons before and after the sermon. In the lieutenant's cabin of the *Nazeby* man-of-war, we

find him disputing with the naval chaplain—‘the parson for and I against extemporary prayers.’ This contention was justified on at least one occasion when ‘a vain fellow with a periwigg preached, and chaplain (as by his prayer appeared) to the Earle of Carlisle.’

As in other churches, so in St. Olave’s, we find the comfortable habit of wearing the hat during service still in vogue. So common was this custom, so unintentional in its irreverence, that Pepys is genuinely surprised at the displeasure of ‘a simple fellow who preached against wearing of hats in church;’ ‘but,’ adds Pepys, ‘I slept part of the sermon, till latter prayer and blessing.’ This was a solace which seems seldom to have been denied him. Time and again we find the rigours of the sermon melting away in a dream of fair women.

His slumbers bring us to an important consideration in regard to his criticisms. It is manifest that at times he is wanting in fairness of judgment, that the opinions which he commits to paper are often hasty and unconsidered. After the custom, not unknown in our own day, he came to church not so much to be edified as to criticise: he ‘suffered the word of exhortation’ in a sense never intended by St. Paul, or gave to it only a languid, imperfect hearing. Moreover the motives which brought him into the sacred precincts of God’s House were sometimes of the unworthiest. The curiosity which led him with a truly Athenian spirit into several churches in the course of a morning may be dismissed, but what shall we say for the frame of mind which brought him to matins during the intervals of an assignation where ‘much against my will stayed out the whole church in pain’ (it was so crowded he could not get out) ‘whilst she expected me at home’? Or of his visit to Clerkenwell Church ‘only to see the two fayre Botelers’—or to St. Dunstan’s, where he heard ‘an able sermon of the minister of the place’ and at the same time laboured to corrupt ‘a pretty, modest maid’ who stood by him? The fact is the majority of his destructive criticisms belong to the period in which his own life was at its lewdest. For several years his morals were thoroughly undermined, and no man’s religion survives his morals. Of 171 sermons to which he had listened, or through which he slept, ninety fail to merit his approval. The thermometer of his opinion ranges from ‘poor,’ ‘simple,’ ‘indifferent,’ ‘tedious,’ to the point below zero which ‘like a fool,’ ‘impertinent,’ ‘full of nonsense,’ ‘nothing worth hearing’ may be supposed to indicate.

But inquiry reveals the interesting fact that the afternoon sermon is often the delinquent. So normal are the slumbers of Pepys, one might suppose he came to church with the single intention of snatching an hour’s repose from all earthly and heavenly cares, mistaking his capacious pew for a four-poster, and his clergyman (especially the robustious Scot ‘to whose voice I am never to be reconciled’) for a theological Macbeth who murders sleep. He must

be acquitted, however, of a deliberate surrender to an infirmity which has assailed most people—an infirmity due rather to the weakness of the flesh than to the perversity of the spirit. The afternoon is in many instances a time of weariness and dreariness, of doleful waste of effort on the part of the preacher, of repletion and suspended animation on the part of the congregation. Pepys' bill of fare for his mid-day meal often supplies the key to his afternoon repose. More fortunate than that little Eutychus, the boy who 'being asleep fell from his high seat to the ground, and got no hurt,' the annalist slumbered in the safe recesses of his gallery pew. The rector may declaim his most eloquent periods, 'but I know not how, I slept most of the sermon : ' a stranger may 'preach like a fool : ' 'a simple, bawling, young Scot' hold forth, or 'a vain, pragmatistical fellow preach a ridiculous, affected sermon : ' the storm still passes harmlessly over his head : not even the dead in the churchyard without could sleep deeper.

Further extenuation may be found in the length of the sermon, to which there are frequent references. 'A Presbyterian made a sad and long sermon which vexed me,' 'a stranger preached a dry and long tedious sermon.' When it is remembered that the Puritan sermons knew no criterion of length save the hour-glass, and that the minister was judged to be wanting in zeal and devotion who should not keep going for sixty minutes at least, it will be confessed that Pepys had some excuse for his annoyance. The sermons he evidently preferred were, 'like music, sweetest in the close.' He complains that at Whitehall 'little Dr. Duport of Cambridge made a most flat, dead sermon, both for matter and manner of delivery, and very long beyond his hour, which made it worse.' Yet Barrow preached on one occasion for three and a half hours, whilst Burnet was invited by his delighted hearers to reverse his glass, and continue until its sands had again slipped through their course.

He disliked, as we have seen, the extemporaneous prayers of the Puritans, nevertheless he discovers a liking for their more unconventional and spontaneous speech in the pulpit. In an examination of writings by representative Churchmen and Dissenters he is inclined to award the palm to the latter on the ground that 'ordinary capacities are more taken with cloak and laymen's preaching than that of the gown.' Yet never has the pulpit eloquence of the Church stood so high as in the Caroline era. It was the age which gave birth to the golden sentences of Jeremy Taylor, the profound thought and high ethical tone of Isaac Barrow, the mordant wit and home truths driven home in a business-like manner of Robert South, the close reasoning of Tillotson, the impassioned oratory and splendid imagery of Stillingfleet. If there were a danger on the part of the famous ecclesiastics of that day it was, perhaps, to regard their sermons less as a Divine message, which it

is a matter of life or death to refuse, than as human compositions. They seemed to behold them, one may imagine, in all the majesty of sheepskin and vellum rather than in the lives of their contemporaries. As authors they were too voluminous, not waiting beside the waters for the Angel of Inspiration to come down and trouble them, but taking a dip every day on principle, often without benefit. If these holy and gifted men failed to touch the masses of their countrymen, the reason is not far to seek.

Pedantry was still appreciated, and scraps of the learned languages, the hall-mark of a cultured divine as opposed to the illiterate tub-thumper, found a place in most pulpit utterances. Pepys delights to prick the bubble of this affectation. 'Our navy chaplain preached a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin.' At Chatham he heard another 'poor sermon, with a good deal of false Latin in it.'

Politics pressed upon the people in the earlier days of the Diary, and imparted their own heated atmosphere to the pulpit. There came a time when people complained that, instead of a peaceful sermon, the quiet seeker after righteousness was in danger of having 'a political pamphlet thrust down his throat, labelled with a pious text from Scripture.' But in the reign of the second Charles this was the kind of thing that church-goers expected and welcomed. Mr. Mills made 'a most excellent sermon,' or 'a very good and pungent sermon' on the evils of the Protectorate, and Dr. Pierce 'with much natural eloquence preached against the Papists,' with the approval of at least one of their hearers. At Whitehall Dr. Creighton 'railed bitterly against John Calvin, and his brood the Presbyterians, and against the present term now in use of "tender consciences." He ripped up Hugh Peters (calling him an execrable skellum),' and this diatribe is recorded as 'a most admirable, learned, honest, and severe sermon, yet comical.'

Something must be forgiven Dr. Creighton, whose sermons seem ever tottering on the verge of laughter or Billingsgate, for his courage in charging King Charles to the face with his sins. The sycophancy of previous reigns had left its trail behind it. Burnet, we know, was guilty of gross servility; his sermons at Court seem to have been simply one stream of oily accommodating doctrine flowing gently in the direction of the select pews. Pepys tells 'how the Bishop of Chichester preached before the King, and made a great, flattering sermon.' Smaller men than these fawned with their superiors. In the country, when the Secretary to the Admiralty and his friends made their appearance in church, the parson began the service with: 'Right Worshipful and dearly beloved.'

But there was no want of courage in many in high places. Bishop Ken, 'the little black man' of King Charles, was so

notoriously given to plain speech that the King was wont to say: 'I must go and hear Ken tell me of my faults.' In the year of the Great Fire Stillingfleet made a very noble protest before the mocking Court at Whitehall on the words 'Fools make a mock of sin,' whilst Pepys was impressed with the daring of a Canon of Christ Church who preached 'a very honest sermon' in which 'among other things he did much insist upon the sin of adultery, which methought might touch the King.' Bishop Morley on a Christmas Day denounced the excesses of those about his Majesty in 'playes and gaming,' 'upon which it was worth observing how far they are from taking the reprehensions of a bishop seriously, that they all laughed in the chapel when he reflected on their ill actions and courses.' Pepys condemns this ill-conditioned merriment, but he shows himself ready to resent any preaching which treads upon his own toes. Parsimonious, he is willing to be taxed with any number of sins in the gross, but not with this one in particular. Hence the entry, when liberality is the topic: 'An Oxford man gave us a most impertinent sermon upon "Cast your bread on the waters."' As the heads of a great War Department, 'Sir William Batten and I very much angry with the parson,' an Irish doctor who preached 'a most tedious, unreasonable and impertinent sermon. His text was: "Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in war."' Some sermons, however, touching his own favourite infirmity, leave him unmoved. 'Mr. Mills made an excellent sermon in the morning against drunkenness as ever I heard in my life.' Was ever comment more true to the disposition of human nature? A few days previously he had bewailed himself in the Diary as 'so foxed with drink' that he dared not 'face his domestics at the customary evening prayer,' whilst aching heads and nauseating excesses are common in his record.

The rector of St. Olave's, of whom frequent mention is made, affords us a very excellent illustration of the gradual way in which many of the new clergy emancipated themselves from high Calvinistic doctrines. Put in his place not improbably by Cromwell's Triers, he retained, for some years at least, the distinctive attitude of the Puritan in his teaching. 'To church where Mr. Mills made an unnecessary sermon upon original sin, neither understood by himself nor the people.' This topic was quite in keeping with the severity of the Puritan times, and with that preaching which was almost invariably concerned with the burden of the Lord. It lifted up its voice only to make the judgments of the Apocalypse start in almost visible procession before the eyes of its hearers: it raised its hand only to draw aside the curtain which shrouded the unknown future and reveal the dark grandeur of future retribution. It proclaimed the dogmas dedicated to despair, the reprobation and damnation which the pitiless thinking of the great Genevan held to be the necessary com-

plement of the doctrine of salvation. From this masterful logic of Calvin, which enslaved not alone the mind of his own century, but broke the hearts or destroyed the reason of thousands of men and women through succeeding generations, came the theology of Isaac Watts, and those hymns which have done more to turn the home of childhood into a house of tears, and bring terror to little innocent souls, than any other writing in the English language. In the recoil from Roman extravagance and superstition Puritanism, with all those fine qualities which have entered like particles of iron into the life-blood of England, had fallen into a singularly arrogant attitude of its own. It had bound the truth of God, and even Omnipotence itself, in the fetters of syllogism, and revealed them not so much by the lamp of love as by torches kindled at the nether pit. At first Mr. Mills remains the Presbyterian and Puritan—he preaches predestination, and other tenets of the Calvinistic faith. Pepys describes ‘a lazy simple sermon’ of his ‘upon the devil’s having no right to anything in the world.’ Truly if the devil could have been terrified by phrases, the Puritan ministry alone would have put him to flight. The tone of menace and foreboding is apparent in many of the writings of Howe and Baxter and other of the finest spirits of the age: we turn over page after page, looking in vain for the tender strain which is the most moving and effective element in the Gospel. The number of the beast was then, as now, a matter of the deepest interest to many, and we hear of Pepys’ study of a ‘Discourse of the number 666.’ But he arrives at no conclusion whether or not the end of all things was at hand. He says of the argument ‘whether it be right or wrong, (it) is mighty ingenious.’ This is pretty much the criticism passed by the world on later predictions—those of Bengel to take effect in 1836—and the catastrophes—still delayed—announced by Dr. Cumming.

Pepys was often out of town on a Sunday. Wherever he went, he appears to have followed his custom of putting in an appearance at church.

But, however far a-field he may be, he cannot escape the discourses which deal with the Divine decree, human inability to aid in its own salvation, and other of the painful problems against which the thoughtful people of the seventeenth century were bruising their hearts.

As we have recoiled from such theology (already beginning to relax its hold upon deeper thinkers even on the Puritan side), so we have receded from the idea of the sermon’s paramount importance. The days are happily passing away when it can be considered the principal service, and the prayers and praises of the congregation a mere preface. It is said—have we not heard it with these ears?—that the public still demands some sort of a preachment, that being dismissed without this usual sacrifice to the proprieties, it leaves

behind it traces of resentment in a neglected alms-bag, or an angry remonstrance. This indignation would be gratifying indeed were we not aware that the sermon chiefly in request is a luxury rather than a necessary. Its very popularity shows its tendency to fall into disrepute. What people want is not such instruction as will build up their most holy faith, but sermonettes touching in a brisk and airy fashion on passing topics and making little demand either on thought or on devotion.

Forgetful of the fact that it takes a week to think out what takes only a few minutes to say, they insist upon two sermons on a Sunday. Their demand is unreasonable. They may have twenty minutes of painful platitudes; verbiage which slays its slain three times and drags them nine times round the city walls; poverty of teaching eked out with the gramophone and dissolving views; curious cases of parallel inspiration in which the preacher and some standard author are mentally and verbally in accord; they may have all these, and many other varieties of how not to do it, but not two good sermons.

Some day it will be understood that the preacher, like the musician and artist, belongs to a distinct order. He, too, is born, not made. If the divine afflatus has been denied him, nothing can supply it. That the average parson should be thrillingly eloquent twice a week is not to be expected, but can he always be thoughtful and interesting and sensible in his talk?

'Dull' is the epithet with which the annalist damned many of the pulpit exercises of his time; if he were alive, he would still be using it. To ask from the man with no natural gift for preaching, driven from point to point in a constant round of engagements, harassed by domestic cares and the anxieties financial and moral of his work, with little time for meditation and study at his disposal, to ask from such a man two sermons on a Sunday, as well as addresses of one kind or another during the week, is to repeat the Egyptian tyranny of the tale of bricks. The want of preaching capacity has been recognised by the laity in immemorial gibes—from the conceit of Ben Jonson, 'two lips wagging, and never a wise word,' to the lamentation of the late Augustus Hare, that it was a terrible penalty to pay for one's religion to hear it worried and tangled by the person to whom 'one would never dream of listening in ordinary conversation for a quarter of an hour.' Yet, in spite of all that is implied in such criticisms, and the increasing tendency to go out of church before the clergyman enters the pulpit, people still insist on two sermons, and look upon themselves as defrauded if they be omitted.

We venture to predict that in the future there will be fewer sermons. First of all, the deacon newly ordained to his office will be more severely restricted in what is commercially known as his

'output.' Unnecessary burdens will no longer be laid on his own strength—and his hearers will be spared deliverances that are often callow and unweighed. Pepys complains of the performances of 'a confident young coxcomb,' and 'of a young man who had never preached before.' Nothing perhaps is more irritating to churchgoers than the sight of young men fresh from the universities, placed in a pulpit to lecture their elders about emotions they have themselves never felt, and upon spiritual experiences of which they are as ignorant as that well-known metaphorical personage, the babe unborn.

Nor will necessity be placed on the ordinary clergy to preach as often as they do now. 'Brilliant flashes of silence' will be as much appreciated in them as in Lord Macaulay. Services, especially in the afternoon, will be held to be complete, without one word of exhortation. After all, the crown of their ministry does not lie in the attractiveness of their speech, but in 'the holiness and usefulness of their lives.' They may not be shepherds like Tityrus, warbling on his pipe beneath the spreading beech tree, but they can be the true 'pastor in parochia,' caring for the bodies of their flocks as well as their souls, visiting the sick and sorrowful, gathering the little ones of the Church around them, dispensing the Holy Sacraments, making themselves the friends and helpers of unhappy men and women, and entering into every phase of the life of which they are the centre. It is enough if they live on week-days the Gospel of which they may be no eloquent expounders on the Sunday. Already the Church is regaining some of her lost ground, not because she is renewing the traditions of splendid preachers, but because she is restoring the ideal of the parish priest.

It happens, not infrequently, that a vicar or curate has no time for original sermons. Why should he be debarred from using publicly the writings of the Church's greatest divines? These exist at present only to nourish the student or to while away the solitary hours of the recluse. It is true that, generally speaking, people would rather hear a poor, imperfect word from a living tongue, than the noblest eloquence of a book; but it is possible that the use from time to time of those monuments of piety and learning which belong to the past would not only be a source of relief to the clergy, but of the highest advantage to those who have to listen to them. Against a loose or indiscriminate selection the bishops could guard by a collection of theological writings set forth under their own authority.

Finally, we hold that a Preaching Order should be restored to the Church. The race of the great preachers is dead: the sermons of the ordinary cleric still miss their mark as in the day when Pepys set down his impressions of them. But history may repeat itself. When devotion was at its lowest in England, the coming of the

Friars was a signal for a re-kindling of religion. The spiritual inertia and deadness of the times gave birth to them: the hurry and abounding vitality of our own century are like to do the same by us. Our parishes need to be visited by the men with whom preaching is not a profession deliberately chosen so much as a summons which may not be resisted—men with the Divine fervour and gifts of utterance. We need the prophets and the sons of the prophets, those who without fear or favour shall speak because the inspiration rings within their hearts and stirs their tongues to willing utterances. Fitted for their task by natural endowments, by retirement, by prayer and meditation, they will fan the cold embers of spiritual life in many a parish into a glowing flame, inspiring the lay members of the Church with their ‘winged words’—and lifting the ministers and stewards of God’s mysteries out of ever-deepening ruts of formal routine and stated duties into the purer, fresher atmosphere of their sacred calling.

It is sometimes contended that preaching has fallen so greatly into decay that never again will it recover its hold upon the heart and conscience of those who meet together for worship. We are not of this mind. The signs of the times are not really discouraging. The man with a message and the power to utter it still finds no lack of hearers. Amid the diversity of topics at the recent Church Congress it was the subject of sermons which secured the most crowded meeting. Moreover, the measure of criticism is not necessarily the touchstone of truth. Pepys girded at the men of God around him, and sprinkled his uncomplimentary epithets with unsparing hand, yet he lived in what is admitted by general consent to be the golden age of Anglican theology. That he derived more good from what he heard in church than he was willing to allow may be seen from one of the few eulogies his book contains: ‘To my joy find Mr. Frampton in the pulpit: and I think the best sermon, for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study, that ever I heard in my life. The truth is, he preaches the most like an Apostle than ever I heard man: and it was much the best time that ever I spent in my life at church.’ The age of Bishop Frampton has gone for ever; the eloquence of that incomparable brotherhood to which he belonged is mute. But with the renewal of zeal and devotion, with a better use of the means at her disposal, there is room for hope that the Church may be raised to a position of power and authority far higher than she held when Samuel Pepys confided to his journal his frank impressions of the parsons and preachings of his day.

D. WALLACE DUTHIE.

THE SCHOOLS OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS

THE first act of the Royal Academy after its foundation in 1768 was the establishment of a 'well-regulated School or Academy of Design for the use of Students in the Arts,' which had been put forward in the memorial addressed to George the Third by the seceding members of the Incorporated Society of Artists as one of the two primary reasons for the creation of a 'Society for promoting the Arts of Design.' The other reason was an 'Annual Exhibition, open for all artists of distinguished merit,' the profit arising from which would, it was thought, pay all the expenses of the school, and even leave something over for charity—an expectation which has been amply fulfilled.

Of the twenty-seven clauses in the 'Instrument' which defined the constitution and government of the Academy, signed by George the Third on the 10th of December, 1768, no fewer than eleven refer to the schools. At the first two meetings of the members held on the 14th and 17th of December, the various officers—keeper, visitors, and professors—who were to have charge of the instruction and discipline in the schools were elected; and the first subjects taken into consideration by the Council or Executive body were by-laws for their regulation and arrangements for their early opening. Little time was lost over these preliminaries, and on the 2nd of January, 1769, the schools were opened in a house in Pall Mall, a little eastward of the site now occupied by the United Service Club. It was on this occasion that Sir Joshua Reynolds delivered the first of his 'Discourses,' termed in the vote of thanks afterwards passed to him by the members 'an ingenious, useful, and elegant speech.'

Many previous efforts had been made, beginning in the reign of Charles the First, to establish an art school, but they all sooner or later fell through, owing chiefly to lack of means. That these means could be supplied by charging for admission to an exhibition of pictures was first suggested by the crowds that flocked to the Foundling Hospital to see the works which Hogarth and some other artists had presented for the adornment of its walls. The idea thus started was soon given practical effect to, and the financial success attending the exhibitions started in 1760 by the Society of Artists furnished

the memorialists who approached George the Third with a scheme for the establishment of an Academy with good grounds for believing that they had solved the problem of how to find funds for the support of an art school. It must not be forgotten that the intention was to provide everything free of cost to the student; no fees of any kind were to be charged. And this intention has been carried out and always strictly adhered to.

The schools as first constituted consisted of an 'antique' or 'plaister academy' and an 'academy of living models.' Instruction in the former was given by the keeper, in the latter by the 'visitors,' of whom nine were to be elected annually from among the Academicians, 'painters of history, able sculptors, or other persons properly qualified.' Each visitor was to attend one month in the year by rotation, 'to set the figures, to examine the performances of the students, to advise and instruct them, to endeavour to form their taste, and turn their attention towards that branch of the arts for which they shall seem to have the aptest disposition.' Here was the keynote of the method of instruction, maintained in its essential principles down to the present day, viz. to give students the opportunity of profiting by the instruction and example not of one able artist, but of many. The aim, as has been well said, was to encourage individuality, not to promote uniformity. The first keeper was G. M. Moser, the first visitors A. Carlini, C. Catton, G. B. Cipriani, N. Dance, F. Hayman, P. Toms, B. West, R. Wilson, F. Zuccarelli.

The tests for admission were the presentation of a drawing, or model, from a plaster cast, to the keeper, who, if satisfied with this proof of the candidate's proficiency, allowed him to make a drawing, or model, from a cast in the Academy; this was submitted to the Council, and on their approval the candidate was admitted as a student, and drew from the antique till such time as he was thought fitted to draw from the living model.

The period of studentship was fixed at six years. Three gold and nine silver medals were given, also a travelling studentship of 60*l.* for three years open to gold medal students. Sixty-seven students were admitted in the first year, among them being John Bacon, Thomas Banks, Richard Cosway, John Flaxman, and Francis Wheatley.

In 1771 George the Third gave the Academy rooms in his palace of Somerset House, and the schools and offices were transferred there, the exhibition being still held in Pall Mall. When his Majesty soon afterwards surrendered the building to the Government, he stipulated that a part of the new building which Chambers was to erect should be appropriated to the Academy, and in 1780 it took possession of its apartments in New Somerset House, which included a large exhibition room at the top of the building. Here the Academy remained for fifty-seven years. During this period

many changes were made in the rules and regulations. The term of studentship was in 1792 increased to seven years, and in 1800 to ten years, with the privilege of renewal from year to year on certain conditions. In 1815 a school of painting was instituted, with visitors on the same principle as in the life school, and a curator appointed to take charge of it. The value of the travelling studentship had been increased from 60*l.* to 100*l.*, then to 130*l.*, and in 1832 to 160*l.*, and many additions made to the prize list. All these changes had raised the average yearly cost of the schools from under 1000*l.*, at which they started, to over 2000*l.* The tests for admission remained much the same, but the probationer, as he was now called, after passing the first test, was allowed three months for doing his drawing or model in the schools, and had also to make some anatomical drawings before becoming a student. Subsequent admission to the life school also carried with it permission to draw in the newly established painting school.

Among those who had taken advantage of this gratuitous education during this period are to be found the names of Northcote, Stothard, Lawrence, Hoppner, Moreland, Shee, Flaxman, Turner, Soane, Callcott, Haydon, Linnell, Wilkie, Mulready, Hilton, Leslie, Etty, Constable, Eastlake, Edwin Landseer, Boxall, Maclise, and Foley.

In 1837 the Academy moved to Trafalgar Square and took possession of that portion of the new building erected there for the National Gallery which had been allotted to it in exchange for the apartments it vacated at Somerset House. Among the names of students admitted just at this time are those of J. C. Hook, W. P. Frith, and J. E. Millais. Here the Academy remained for thirty-two years. The term of studentship was in 1853 reduced to seven years, students who obtained medals being granted the privilege of life studentship; curators were appointed in the antique school and the life school, and more money prizes and medals were given, including a travelling studentship of 160*l.* for architects. The mode of gaining admission remained much the same as before. As the result of these and other changes in the direction of increased efficiency the yearly average cost was raised to 3000*l.*

Female students were first admitted in 1860. Their admission was brought about in a curious way. All candidates had to fill up a printed form giving their name, age, residence, &c. One of these, either by accident or design, had only the initials of the Christian name given. The drawings submitted were passed as satisfactory, and 'A. L. Herford' duly informed of the fact. On the appearance of the candidate it was revealed that 'A. L.' stood for Anne Laura. The then keeper, Charles Landseer, aghast at such an apparition in precincts hitherto sacred to the male sex, referred the matter to the Council, but as there was no law against the admission of female students, though it is believed that many members at the time wished there had been such a law, the innovation was allowed to

pass, the Council contenting themselves with a resolution recommending the 'young women students' (the particular one in question was twenty-nine) to the care of the housekeeper, and requesting the keeper to 'see that the strictest propriety be observed in the antique school,' to which their studies were to be confined.

In 1863 the Academy was sat upon by a Royal Commission, which asked 5142 questions of a variety of people. Some of the Academy's critics are fond of resorting to the answers given to many of those questions for sticks wherewith to belabour it, but an impartial one must admit that the evidence on which they chiefly rely was in most cases that of persons who had their own, to them sufficient, reasons for disliking the Academy, or of faddists. The commissioners themselves were not misled by this class of evidence, and their report was a moderate and on the whole a sensible document, only disfigured by a few fantastic recommendations which no professional artist could consider as either practical or practicable.

Three years after the report of this Commission, in which the opinion was expressed that 'the Royal Academy have no legal, but that they have a moral, right to apartments at the public expense,' a bargain was concluded by which the Government handed over to the Academy old Burlington House and a portion of the garden behind it, and the Academy undertook to erect out of its own funds all the necessary additional buildings. These were begun in 1867, and completed in 1869, when the schools and the exhibition were both transferred to the new quarters. One important benefit which resulted from this increased accommodation was that the students were able to work uninterruptedly throughout the year, with the exception of two months' vacation, in rooms specially constructed and used for no other purpose, instead of, as had been the case both at Somerset House and Trafalgar Square, having their studies wholly or partially interrupted by the exhibitions, which were held in the same rooms as the schools.

The changes that followed on this expansion were considerable. A preliminary school of painting was established, in which the students were taught the purely technical details of painting before being allowed to paint from the living model. An evening school of architecture was instituted with a special teacher, the architectural students after their admission having hitherto been merely obliged to attend the lectures and frequent the library, and visitors were elected to serve in it as in the other schools. Many improvements were introduced into the internal conduct and discipline of the schools, and numerous alterations and additions made in the prizes, among them being the Turner gold medal for landscape, and the reduction of the time allowed to the travelling student to two years. One important change made in 1868, which should have been mentioned before, was that associates were made eligible to serve as visitors.

Soon after Lord Leighton became president, a special committee was appointed which, after a long and careful inquiry, drew up a revised set of regulations which contained many new and important changes. The period of studentship was reduced to six years and divided into two terms of three years each, the second term being gained only after a qualifying examination to test the progress made by the student during the first. Life studentships were abolished. A separate school for students in sculpture was established, open in the evening, under the charge of a curator, in which modelling from the life was taught, visitors being elected for this as in the other schools. Also a class of modelling for architects with a special teacher. The alterations under the heading of 'Prizes and Medals' were numerous and important. The travelling studentships in painting, sculpture, and architecture were attached to the gold medals and were all given every two years, the value being increased to 200*l.*, but the tenure reduced to one year. An architectural travelling studentship for travel and study in England of 60*l.* for one year was also given in alternate years. A scholarship of 50*l.* was added to the Turner gold medal. Encouragement to the study of mural painting was sought to be given by the institution of a prize of 40*l.* for a design for the decoration of a public building, with a further allowance of 200*l.* for carrying out the design if of sufficient merit; while to the study of drapery was allotted a prize of 25*l.* Drawings from the life were rewarded by 100*l.* in four prizes, and models from the life by 75*l.* in two prizes. In addition numerous smaller prizes and medals were given for different subjects of competition in painting, drawing, sculpture, and architecture. Besides these there were the Creswick prize of 30*l.* for a landscape in oil, the proceeds of a legacy left for the purpose by Miss Creswick, the sister of Thomas Creswick, R.A.; the Armitage prizes of 30*l.* and 10*l.* for a monochrome sketch in oil for a design for a figure picture, the gift of Edward Armitage, R.A.; and scholarships of 40*l.* awarded half-yearly to the students in painting and sculpture who pass the best examination for entering the second term of studentship, derived from the munificent bequest of 10,000*l.* left to the Academy for the purpose of founding prizes in the schools by Charles Landseer, R.A., who had held the office of keeper for twenty-three years. All these changes, which came into effect in 1881, raised the annual cost of the schools to from 5000*l.* to 6000*l.* They were also found to necessitate many alterations and additions to the school buildings, which were carried out and completed in 1885 at a cost of over 8000*l.*

Matters, however, were not allowed to rest here, and in 1889, soon after the appointment of the late Mr. Calderon as keeper, some very important modifications of the rules were introduced. Foremost among them was a limitation of the age at which students were to be admitted. This was fixed at twenty-three years, though it was afterwards extended in the case of students in sculpture and archi-

ture to twenty-five years. Then the test for admission was no longer to be one of *bona fides* or verification, but of merit. Hitherto the candidates admitted as probationers had been allowed two or three months in the schools to do drawings similar to those which had gained them probationership, and the two sets were then compared. Now they were, after admission as probationers, to attend in the schools for from ten days to a fortnight and undergo a special examination. The second term of studentship was reduced to two years, making the total term five years. A day school of sculpture was instituted; and students in painting, instead of being kept at first in the antique school, were allowed to study in that school and the preliminary painting school concurrently. Some of the existing prizes were abolished and others substituted, and regulations were made for securing more regular and punctual attendance on the part of the students.

The next few years saw no changes of any importance, but in 1900 some members who, as visitors, had taken an active part in the teaching addressed a memorandum to the Council containing many suggestions for the amendment of the course of study. In their preamble they stated that they did 'not approach the subject in any revolutionary spirit,' being 'conscious that the system which has for so many generations educated artists of such individuality as have adorned the English school, has claims on our highest respect, and must be retained; and it is to perfect, or make better, the existing methods, and preserve all that tends for good, that has been one of the chief objects of our deliberations.' They added that the conviction was 'entertained by many deeply interested in the success of the schools of the Royal Academy of Arts, that the schools should more fittingly meet the requirements of those who wish to study art in England, and that they should maintain the prestige and repute as of a great University of Art.'

The suggestions, numerous, and some of them far reaching, made in this memorandum were carefully considered by the Council at several meetings in 1901, and at the beginning of 1902 they laid before the General Assembly the alterations in the existing laws which, based chiefly on the proposals contained in the memorandum, but also containing other matters, they considered desirable should be made, accompanied by an explanatory report. These alterations were debated at many meetings during 1902, and most of them had been practically accepted, when near the end of the discussion the startling suggestion was made that the proposed changes, though containing much that was commendable, did not touch the vital point in which reform was really wanted, this vital point being the abolition of all preliminary teaching in the schools. It was argued that though, when the Academy was founded, and for some hundred years or so afterwards, there was no other school in the United Kingdom in which a knowledge of drawing and painting could be

acquired, that had for some time been no longer the case, and there were now many art schools in the Metropolis and in every chief town in the kingdom in which the preliminary training of the art student was satisfactorily carried out. What the Academy therefore should do was to concentrate its efforts on developing the higher branches of art education, for which it had unrivalled advantages, inasmuch as it was the one school where, by the system of visitors, the art student was put in direct relation with the most eminent members of the profession for the purposes of the completion of his studies. At present much time and money were spent on students who would never go beyond, if they ever reached, mediocrity, and their presence in the schools only served to lower the standard of excellence which should prevail and to keep away those of greater ability. The logical result of this argument, if accepted, could only be the abolition of all preliminary teaching and the adoption of a higher standard for admission ; and this was resolved on, it being referred to the Council to give effect to the decision, and to modify and adapt the laws in accordance with it, and with such of the changes which had already been decided on as were compatible with it.

No time was lost in passing the new laws, which were assented to by the General Assembly, and came into effect on the reopening of the schools in October last year after the vacation. It will be sufficient to enumerate the chief points of the present system.

The limit of age for admission has been abolished, but no student over twenty-eight years of age, when admitted, can compete for any of the prizes. The works required from a painter candidate are a drawing of an antique statue, a drawing of a figure from the life, a painting of a head from the life, and a design for a composition ; from a sculptor candidate, a model of an antique statue, a model and a drawing of a figure from the life, and a model of a composition. The age and sex of candidates have to be stated, and the place at which they have studied, for the information of the Council, who are the examiners. Those who are successful in passing this test have then to attend at the Academy—the painters to do a painting of a head from the life in six days of three and a half hours each day, a drawing of a figure from the life in six evenings of two hours each evening, and a sketch of a design in one day of six hours from a subject set on the morning of the day ; the sculptors a similar drawing in the same time, a model of a figure from the life in eleven days of three and a half hours each, and a model of a design under the same conditions as the painters. Both painters and sculptors have, in addition, to pass an examination in perspective and anatomy. To the two probationers, in painting and sculpture respectively, whose work is the best, is awarded a scholarship of 40*l.* tenable for one year.

The chosen ones have now three years before them in the school of painting, the school of drawing, and the school of sculpture, with

visitors *ad hoc* in all three schools, and the keeper in general superintendence. In addition to these three special schools, there is a newly established school for all, that of design, 'for the use of students practising composition, and for miscellaneous work of various kinds.' Visitors are to give subjects for designs in this school and to examine and comment on them. It is also to be used for 'lectures on landscape, and on animal painting, and for any other cognate purposes.' At the end of three years those students who desire a further extension of their studentship for two years are required to submit to the Council certain works done during the previous three months. These include: for painters, a drawing and a painting from the life, a painted sketch for a design to fill a given architectural space, and the result of a year's work in the school of design; for sculptors, a model and a drawing from the life, a model in low relief of a given subject to fill a given architectural space, a sketch composition in the round, and the year's work in the school of design. They must also have attended one course of the appointed lectures, and have passed an examination in those lectures. A scholarship of 40*l.* for one year is given to the students in painting and sculpture respectively who shall pass the best examination. Regular attendance in the schools, subject to certain exemptions, is insisted on, systematic irregularity disqualifying the student for competing for any of the prizes. Some alterations have been made in the number and value of these prizes, but the fact in connection with them chiefly worthy of note is that all intending competitors for the gold medals and travelling studentships in painting and sculpture, and for the design for a mural decoration, have to submit to a preliminary examination before being allowed to compete. The admission of students to the school of architecture is, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same lines as those which govern the schools of painting and sculpture, stress being laid especially on design; they must also pass a qualifying examination in the history of architecture.

It is of course too early yet for any opinion to be pronounced on the merits or demerits of this new departure. Experience in the working of the various changes can alone show wherein they succeed and wherein they fail. But whatever may prove to be the measure of success or failure in this particular instance, the account here given of its schools, incomplete as it is, will perhaps serve to show to all unprejudiced persons that the Academy, now and in the past, has always striven to do its best for the art student both in its corporate capacity and through the individual exertions of its members.

The account does not pretend to be more than a dry recital of facts; but at any rate they are facts, which is more than can be said of some of the statements that have recently been made about the Royal Academy.

FRED. A. EATON.

THE STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES

ALTHOUGH many careers have been thrown open to women during the last half-century, and although the proportion of those pressing into clerical and office life is increasing, yet nursing remains one of the leading professions for educated women—whether regarded from the point of view of the numbers engaged in it, or from that of its suitability as a field for the exercise of their special gifts and capabilities.

It is also unique in being perhaps the only profession unreservedly assigned to women—in which their pre-eminent fitness is not disputed, and in which they occupy all the higher positions. In every other line of life women either struggle in ineffectual competition with men or occupy the subordinate and less well-paid posts.

The nursing profession has practically been created in our own day; it dates from after the Crimean War, when Miss Nightingale organised the first training school in St. Thomas's Hospital. She herself, and Miss Agnes Jones, the pioneer of Poorhouse Nursing, had to find their training in the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Home on the Rhine, where the care of the insane and the teaching of children alternated with attendance on the sick. The training organised by Miss Nightingale was more strictly professional in character, and lasted for one year, a period which has subsequently been extended to meet hospital necessities and the growing demands on nurses' skill and knowledge, till to-day no fully trained nurse has had less than two years in a general hospital.

Meanwhile the scope of the profession has enormously increased, and some of its latest developments, which bring it into direct contact with the homes of the people, have converted it into a potent instrument of social progress. Mr. Charles Booth states in his book on London that 'it is almost true to say that wherever a nurse enters the standard of life is raised;' and he speaks of the advance in this direction as 'perhaps the best fruit of the past half-century.' The public has not been behind the scientific inquirer in fully appreciating the value of district nursing, and there will soon be scarcely a country town or village without its Queen's or parish nurse, while the quality of the services employed has been considerably raised through the impetus given to the movement by Queen Victoria, when she dedi-

cated her Jubilee Gift to the training of highly skilled nurses for the poor. Continuous efforts are being made to secure trained nurses for our poorhouses and workhouse infirmaries. Certain London schools now employ visiting nurses to inspect and attend ailing pupils, and it may be expected that the Scottish Report on the physical condition of children will lead to further employment of nurses in connection with our elementary schools. In other directions new spheres of usefulness are opening before them. The imperialist wave has swept them into the service of the Empire, and newly formed societies have organised Nursing Associations for India, South Africa, and the Crown Colonies. While on the one hand, therefore, the sensitiveness of the public to political and social questions is encouraging the development of nursing, we find, on the other, that the progress of scientific surgery and the increasing numbers of special treatments and curative processes are entailing fresh calls upon the profession and necessitating a rising standard of skill and knowledge.

But though in so many ways this great profession is growing so rapidly and daily occupying a wider and more important field of work—though the typical nurse has evolved in our own day from the ‘Mrs. Gamp’ or religious deaconess to the highly trained and scientific sister of our large hospital wards; yet on the other hand the profession is, as regards its internal organisation, in a state of chaos and confusion. It has no governing body; no standard of training; no corporate existence. Every hospital—whatever its size and standing—is a self-constituted training school. Each works as a separate unit, carries out its own theories of training, and confers its own certificate. A woman who has been two years in a small cottage hospital, six months in a lying-in hospital, or some such specialised institution, will emerge from it as legitimately a ‘nurse’ as a woman who to her three years in a general hospital has added experience in fever and obstetric wards, and passed through the courses of theoretical instruction in bacteriology, physiology, and sanitary science, which form part of the training in many of our large institutions.

In these latter hospitals the period and character of the training are more or less assimilated; but even in their case the terms and conditions of service are very varied. Everything depends on the matron. She can curtail or lengthen the period of probation; she can so arrange the work that her nurses will pass successively through the medical, surgical, and other wards, gathering all kinds of experience; or she may so legislate that her nurses will leave the hospital having seen but one department of work, and remain therefore practically untrained in every other important direction. The certificate earned in either case will be of precisely the same value, will carry the same consideration, and entitle its recipient to the same remuneration. As a result, the prizes of the profession are distributed haphazard among the fully trained and partially trained. Private

nursing institutions, from which the general public draw their nurses, are staffed with nurses of every kind and degree of training, the one point of similarity being reserved for the fees they demand.

This state of matters is not only unfair to the nurses themselves, but unfair to the public. The latter have no means of judging of the quality of the article supplied to them. They generally accept the uniform and the appellation of 'Nurse' or 'Sister' as proof positive of the fitness of the individual for the duties undertaken, and they cheerfully pay down their 2*l.* 2*s.* a week in blissful ignorance of the fact that the nurse they have called in for a typhoid case has never seen or attended a single fever patient. During the late war, when the supply of Army Nurses and their reserves had become exhausted and a call came for volunteers, the absence of a register and the impossibility of discriminating between the qualifications of applicants was a serious handicap, and resulted in the employment of many partially trained nurses, to the exclusion of those who were equally willing and more efficient.

From another point of view the employing public may be considered to suffer injury, for, thanks to there being no stimulus in the shape of hope of promotion and financial reward for those who have striven hard to acquire the highest professional skill, the average standard is lower than it would be otherwise, and even the best trained nurses are apt to be stunted in mind and character for want of that wider outlook and those diversified interests which come from an all-round well-balanced training, based on a good secondary education. This aspect of the question acquires special importance through the peculiar conditions of a nurse's life, which bring her professionally into close and intimate contact with those she serves, thus enabling her to exert an influence on the home-life, and even on the character of her patients. And though this by-product of nursing is more apparent in the homes of the poor, it is a constant accompaniment of a nurse's work, whether carried on in a private house, hospital, or workhouse. In few other walks of life is the worthiness as well as the fitness of the individual so professionally important, and yet it is the one calling without a recognised standard of capacity, and without the means of enforcing discipline.

The legal and medical professions can, through their Councils, insist on a certain level of attainment, and they have the power of enacting disciplinary measures. Neither lawyers, doctors, chartered accountants, nor chemists and druggists can enter the fold except by the legitimate door; once within they must accept and adopt the professional ethics of their order.

Nurses alone are perfectly irresponsible to any authority, their professional skill is vouched for by no recognised certificate, and though the scope of their influence for good or ill is far greater than that of any medical attendant, there is no Council behind them to

safeguard the interests of the public, and no fear of professional shipwreck to deter them from unprofessional conduct.

But this state of affairs, if unfair to the public, is equally injurious to the prospects of a fully trained nurse, whose career is hampered by a competition founded on the absence of all tests which the public can understand, and who must therefore compete in the same market, for the same remuneration, with nurses who have had a minimum of training and experience. These difficulties are increased by the existence in the public mind of a vague impression that a good nurse is 'born and not made,' and that the former being cheaper has decidedly the advantage. This general impression makes it easy for nursing institutions to put an inferior article on the market, and greatly facilitates the competition of the untrained, while it also leads local committees and county associations to employ a growing number of six months' trained nurses, a tendency which culminated lately in the attempt of the Local Government Board to create an order of so-called 'qualified nurses' to staff our workhouses, who were to earn this comprehensive title by a year's service in any kind of hospital.

The object of registration, however, is not to hinder the employment of such nurses—for there is ample room for the work of every grade of nurse, from the invaluable mother's help to the fully trained and scientific sister—but merely to insist that it shall be made perfectly clear that the former stand on a totally different professional footing from the fully trained and experienced nurse, and to make it impossible for them to compete on exactly the same terms with their better equipped sister. As it now stands, the moment the short engagement of a village nurse is ended she enters the ranks of the nursing profession, and becomes indistinguishable from every other type of nurse.

Both types are needed in different spheres of work; but their departments should be clearly defined and easily distinguished. The one should not overlap the other, and employers should be able to select between the qualities of service offered them.

This can only be secured by establishing a register for the fully trained nurses, and by according to those on the register a definite and distinguishing title. Such a register need not arrest the supply of a cheap order of home helps, capable of nursing chronic cases, while undertaking the household duties of their patients, but should rather tend to open up new spheres of usefulness for such women.

Throughout the community there are cases which do not demand a very high order of nursing skill and experience, and for Queen's nurses to undertake such cases, in addition to those of more serious illness, is to bring about a certain waste and misdirection of energy which a better sub-division of labour would obviate while tending to promote a more effectual occupation of the whole field of work.

The classification of nurses through the registration of the higher order would force the untrained or partially trained competitor out of the upper ranks of the profession, and in seeking an outlet for their energies they would form a different class of sick attendants, who would necessarily demand a lower remuneration for their services, and be available for all those innumerable cases of chronic disease or special infirmity in which the patient only asks to be made comfortable and to be given a helping hand in the work of the household. There is room outside the profession, and working perhaps in co-operation with it, for the good motherly 'knowledgeable' soul who can perform many humble but welcome offices in the sick room. But at a moment when the profession is confronted with such splendid opportunities of usefulness—when it is asked to co-operate in social work at home or in a political mission such as it undertook in the Concentration Camps of South Africa, when it is called upon to serve the Empire in distant colonies or with the armies in war time—it is not to the adjustment of work among its lower orders that we should look, but rather to the reinforcement of the higher ranks of the profession with a strong type of educated and efficient woman capable of adequately responding to every call. And it is only by regulating competition, by hedging off the untrained, by legalising the position of the fully trained, that nursing will attract the university graduate and the well-educated daughter of the professional classes, who is now deterred from entering the nursing ranks because the special qualities and the superior education she can bring to it will receive no recognition, and avail her nothing in the open and unrestricted competition of the heterogeneous crowd of which the profession is composed.

The trend of modern development in medicine and surgery has been to increase the importance of the nurse's part, and to demand a closer co-operation between her and the physician or surgeon. As a consequence the modern nurse needs a better trained intelligence and a quicker and more scientific appreciation of the value of symptoms. The struggle has grown keener between science and disease; operations once unattempted are now every-day occurrences; illnesses hitherto regarded as incurable are successfully combated; unknown bacilli are hunted down and annihilated; but in this hand-to-hand battle the day is often turned by the skill or want of skill of the nurse. As a community, therefore, we cannot afford to look with indifference on the disorganisation of the profession, and on its consequent inability to enlist the best available material. The public need the best, and if it can only be obtained through State registration, we should co-operate with nurses in securing such a measure as will place the profession on a better and more stable foundation.

No doubt, other professions have enforced registration, and have devised their own system of government, without reference to the

State ; but these are of older date ; their organisation has its roots in the past, and is the result of gradual growth, keeping pace with the progress and evolution of the profession itself.

With nursing it is otherwise, and it is impossible to expect the same well-devised organisation in a calling which has sprung up in a day, and whose enormous expansion was not contemplated from the first. There are besides other inherent difficulties. It is a profession which consists practically entirely of women, few of whom have had any elaborate education or mental training, and, as might be expected, it exhibits tendencies and failings peculiar to a society formed entirely of one sex, all living the same life, occupied with the same interests, and prone, on account of the absorbing nature of their vocation, to isolate themselves from the larger world and all its more varied interests. The natural jealousies, inherent in such a society, are accentuated by the fact that there are no recognised heads to the profession, no special reason why one matron more than another should form part of a Nursing Council, whose edicts should be binding on the whole profession ; and added to these difficulties there is the fact that, though the working life of a nurse is short, it is extremely arduous, and there are few members of the profession who have the leisure or the energy to devote to the campaign that would be necessary to carry through a scheme of internal government. Therefore, if registration is to be obtained, it must come from without, and could only be successfully established through some system of State registration. The State has lately appointed a Central Midwifery Board whose duty it will be to lay down conditions of service and authorise a definite training for midwives. What is now required is a central Board which will do the same for the general body of nurses, and afterwards keep up a register of those who have complied with its regulations and passed its examinations. Nurses entered on this State register would be known as registered or certificated nurses, and their continuance on the roll would be a guarantee to the public of their professional efficiency and general fitness for employment. The Board would retain full power to enforce disciplinary measures when necessary, and to remove from the roll any nurse who had been proved guilty of unprofessional conduct.

Incidentally the existence of such a central Board would benefit nurses at an early stage in their career, for it would insure their having a better all-round training, and would level up the conditions under which they serve in hospital through the supervision which the Board would naturally exercise over the training schools of the country. Over-work would tend to cease ; night-work would be better regulated ; time would be allotted to theoretical study, and one may hope that hospitals would no longer be able to supplement subscriptions by exacting undue and unprofessional labour from their nurses. The dissimilarity in training which now exists would disappear once the

Board had laid down their minimum scheme of training, and all nurses would have an equal opportunity of fitting themselves for general work, while ambitious souls would have a chance of 'going special' by adding certain branches of knowledge or specified courses of study to their regular training. This would be duly notified in the register, and thus a higher class of nurses would emerge, from whom the candidates for the matronships of hospitals would come to be selected. The intellectual level of nurses would be raised, for a central Board would almost certainly insist on a preliminary examination, showing that candidates possessed a good average secondary education, while, if the Board came to the conclusion that a preliminary training in domestic economy, such as is now given by the London Hospital and the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, was necessary, they would probably recognise the diploma of some central polytechnic or technical school, which would relieve individual hospitals of the expense of maintaining separate establishments for the same purpose. This course might also be adopted with regard to the theoretical instruction now given in the larger hospitals, but which might equally well be arranged for at suitable centres. This would tend to economy and efficiency, while restraining wasteful competition between hospitals.

In some of our colonies and in several States of America the principle of State registration has already been adopted; it is too soon yet to judge of the results, but it may be noted that in these States a very complete training for nurses has already been organised, which includes in some cases special university courses.

The composition of the central Board would be a matter for discussion, but it would necessarily include representatives of the medical profession and of the general public, as well as a larger proportion of nurses themselves. To such a Board must be relegated all questions regarding the nature and scope of a nurse's training, together with the solution of more technical questions, such as whether a short course in one department of nursing really fits an individual to undertake such work, or whether special training should only be given, as in the medical profession, to those who have previously acquired general experience. The Board would also have to settle the claims of the different types of hospitals and workhouse infirmaries to be accepted as training schools, and it would have to devise a scheme by which fever and similar special hospitals would contribute to the training of nurses without monopolising all their time or depriving them of opportunities for more general training.

The establishment of such a scheme would, no doubt, be difficult of attainment. As a nation we dislike organisation and any interference with the natural course of things; we have not yet brought ourselves to accept the necessity for the organisation of our educational system, and we have lately been supplied with painful evidence

of our national inability to enforce good administration even in our public departments. The registration of midwives was only won after a long struggle with the prejudices of a portion of the medical profession and the indifference of the public. To obtain the registration of nurses the same battle will have to be fought, though on this occasion we may probably expect more sympathetic support from the medical profession ; for the object of this scheme is not to fit nurses to perform any of the duties of a doctor, but rather to make them more efficient subordinates, so that the forward strides now being made by medicine and surgery may not be hampered and retarded by want of skill and knowledge in those to whom the observation of illness, the enforcement of scientific cleanliness, and the superintendence of remedial processes are so largely entrusted.

HELEN MUNRO FERGUSON.

RELIGIOUS APOLOGETICS

THERE is an old saying about 'slaying the slain.'

It was scarcely worth while to expend so many pages of clever argument and so many quotations from bishops and others to prove that the standpoint in theology (as in all departments of thought) is not the same in England now as it was sixty years ago. How can it be? Every succeeding generation presents to itself its thoughts about things invisible with a different environment, as the waves of advancing knowledge overtake one another. We are not at the end of the process yet. After all, if that which is essential and vital remains, the environment matters not very much. Indeed it is gain, if, as is the law in the evolution of things, the standpoint shifts continually more and more from the innocent wonderment of childhood to a more intelligent appreciation. The able disputant about *religious apologetics* in these pages¹ proves easily enough that the authority of Paley and Butler is not what it was in their own period. Has he shown, or does he wish to show, that Christianity is therefore exploded?

Let me in passing observe that it would be, to say the least, a rather hasty way of generalising to class Butler with Paley as an 'Old Bailey advocate' for Christianity. Butler's reasoning is built too much on 'natural religion,' which is certainly an insecure foundation, although not so regarded by Butler's opponents, the Deists. Still, with this limitation, Butler's is quite another kind of argument than Paley's way of putting the Apostles into the witness-box and cross-examining them, in order to extract the truth from their lips. Perhaps there is rather too much of the 'Old Bailey advocacy' in the peremptory demand for eyewitness of the Resurrection and the Incarnation.

The truth, that is what every honest thinker wants to find. But there are two meanings of the word, and it is of importance not to confuse them nor to put the lower before the higher. I am not speaking of the subjective meaning of the word, which is what we call 'sincerity,' but of truth objective so far as man can grasp it. There is truth concrete, and there is truth ideal. We want Plato

¹ Walter R. Cassells—October 1908.

again among us, to remind us which of these two aspects of truth is to take precedence.² The mere archæologist will probably say, Give me facts, figures, names. Those with a deeper insight and a wider survey of man and his capacities know that the truths which transcend others are not ponderable nor measurable, nor can be tested by the fallacious, treacherous experience of the senses. Try to ascertain precisely what took place on any occasion, in private life or public, and even from trustworthy witnesses you get statements conflicting one with another. But the fundamental laws of right and wrong have a general, if not a universal, consent, which even a Pyrrhonist cannot put aside as of no account. To know the exact distance of our planet from the sun is like the answer to an amusing riddle. To know that it is worse to cheat than to be cheated is a step onward in the growth of a race or of an individual. Unless the controversies about religion start from ethical principles, they are merely 'beating the air.'

Before taking for granted that 'miracles are discredited' and that the 'supernatural' must be ruled out of court, it is well to define what is meant by these terms. Probably there are very few educated persons now who regard an alleged 'miracle' as an arbitrary interruption of a law of nature. The word itself tells its own story; it is something wonderful. The same phenomenon which nowadays is clearly explained by physical causes may be a wonder, a sign, a portent to men in other ages or in other countries. It served its purpose if it startled the careless and fixed their attention on what might otherwise have been disregarded. So far as a 'miracle' is the outcome of an extraordinary combination and adjustment of ordinary forces—as when in an emergency the east wind drives back the waters—it is objectively as well as subjectively a miracle, for to effect this combination and adjustment is beyond the power of man. But obviously the thing is quite as truly 'miracle' if at the time and in given circumstances it seems inexplicable, although it shall be resolved into the operation of natural laws as physical science moves on.

In this sense it would be rash to say that miracles are 'discredited,' or to prophesy that they ever will be. 'Wonders never cease.' The horizon recedes as science advances. That the miracle no longer holds so prominent a place in the thoughts of believers in Christianity as in patristic, mediæval, post-Reformation periods—is a truism. When a missionary lands on a far-away island, hitherto unvisited by Europeans, the fact that he comes across the ocean in a ship commands the reverence of savages. He seems miraculous, and they are predisposed to hear him. But this is only the preface to the book. What he has to tell them must appeal to the conscience, which responds, however faintly, in everyone to such an appeal. So

² Those who prefer it can read Plato now in Jowett's translation.

it is, so it has been in the history of the world. It is the Message itself that concerns mankind. The credentials of the messenger are merely prefatory.

An intelligent Christian accepts what is incomprehensible to him in Christianity because he has ethical reasons for giving credence to Christ, for trusting Him. He does not base his faith in Christ on miracles alleged of Him, though these may have helped to gain a hearing for the Gospel in the first promulgation of it. Satisfied reasonably of the trustworthiness of the Person who claims his allegiance, he is content to take on trust what he cannot explain. He believes in Christ's miracles, because he believes in Him.

The real question then is, Are the moral credentials of the Christ adequate? Do they justify the surrender of self to Him? By this test Christianity must stand or fall. This is a question which modern criticism even of the New Testament does not touch. The personality of Jesus is unique. It cannot have been invented. 'L'inventeur en serait plus étonnant que le héros.' Whatever uncertainty there may be as to the names and dates of the writers or compilers of the several narratives, whatever inaccuracies may be detected in this or that paragraph, the ethical character of the Teacher and of His teaching stands above these minutiae. Of none else in the world's history could it be truly predicated, 'He hath done nothing amiss,' 'He hath done all things well,' 'No man ever spake like this Man.'

The objection, that we have only a portion, a fragment of His life, is hardly to be considered. As Owen or Cuvier could construct the extinct mammal from the foot only, or the thigh, so from what has been preserved in the record of Christ it is easy to see the rest. Indeed, the silence of the life preparatory to the ministry and the self-effacement in Nazareth, some thirty years, are more eloquent than words. Had He come into the world to assert Himself, it might have been otherwise. He came to save.

The old objection is repeated against the incidents of the swine in Decapolis and the barren fig-tree. The old answer might suffice, that those two incidents stand alone; that, as destructive, they are the notable exceptions to the law of beneficence exemplified in the dealings of Christ, and that by their very contrast they serve to emphasise the love which manifested itself on other occasions. It might be enough to leave these incidents unexplained and inexplicable on the ground that the confidence placed in the Christ (for valid reasons) is strong enough to justify so doing. In the case of a friend, who has proved himself in other ways worthy of our fidelity, we are not alarmed even though some things in his conduct seem inexplicable. The misgiving is outweighed and stilled by other prevailing considerations. But, surely, to those who realise what sin is, there is no need to go far in search of an explanation of this

apparent severity. In both Gadara and Bethany there is, for those who care to see it, an object-lesson, more telling than language, of the awfulness of submission to evil.

This it is which underlies all questions of the credibility of Christianity. Leave this out, and the Gospel is not, cannot claim to be, what the word denotes ; the ' good tidings ' are not worth having, the whole narrative is a tissue of impossibilities. But if anyone knows the need for forgiveness, if anyone hungers and thirsts to be set free from the tyranny of evil, then the appearance on earth of a ' Son of Man ' altogether sinless who comes to rescue man from an evil power too strong for him unaided, is the master-key to problems of life otherwise insoluble ; and if His presence on earth brings with it much that is to finite capacity incomprehensible, this is the inevitable accompaniment and sequence of His coming. The self-sacrificing life and death of Christ, the unselfish lives and deaths of those who really surrender their wills to Him, are practical evidence for the marvels of Bethlehem, of the empty Tomb, and of Mount Olivet.

Of course it is easy to cite other instances of high ethical teaching and, what is more, of high practice from other lives. The conscience of mankind, sometimes feebly remonstrating, sometimes upbraiding boldly, is for ever making its protest for right against wrong, ever aspiring upwards, a flame that cannot be kept down. But sin is selfishness, and the perfect unalloyed unselfishness of the Christ in life as in teaching is a thing different from the self-annihilation of Buddha or the self-elaboration for self's sake of the philosophy which culminates in the lofty ethics of M. Aurelius. Let it once be realised that self-seeking, however dressed up in almost countless disguises, is the essential quality of sin, and that self-sacrifice for others' sake is the training of man for his most complete development, and the enigma of life is solved. The pain and suffering on earth which seem superficially irreconcilable with a just and kind providence are the probation for perfection.

Nor is it only within the four corners of the New Testament that this moral testimony supports the claim of the Christ to be the ' Son of God made man.' The subsequent influence of Christianity on the world, what it has done and does in every age, in every land, must be counted in. Prescription by itself is nothing : it may be cited for any and every abuse ; even the permanency in the world of Christianity, its endurance through all the vicissitudes of time, in spite, too, of monstrous inconsistencies in those who have professed it, cannot be insisted on as irrefragable. But the practical fruit of Christianity in the lives, however sparse, of those who have embraced it, really is an argument which cannot be resisted, so long as the antagonism is recognised between vice and virtue. Such a career as that of Saul of Tarsus is an evidence in itself for the truth of the

Gospel. What drew him over to the side of Christ from the front rank of opponents was the very motive which is the root of all real Christianity, a longing for perfect holiness in a world, to say the best, of a very mixed character. Men and women like Xavier and Elizabeth Fry, books like the *Imitatio*, the *Christian Year*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, will be, to the end of time, impregnable against cavillings, however ingenious, about the precise accuracy of the sacred records. Can any other teacher (I quote one³ of the profoundest thinkers of any age) say 'Come unto Me and I will give you rest'? The inherent power of Christianity to raise the fallen is the greatest wonder in the world. 'Faith is not an assent to a proposition, but trust in a Person.'

I. GREGORY SMITH.

³ Augustine of Hippo.

FREE TRADE AND BRITISH SHIPPING

IN the consideration of the great fiscal problem which now absorbs the attention of the whole country, there is no side of the controversy deserving of more serious thought than British shipping. We must clearly keep before us the fact that, as a nation, we cannot afford to neglect or injure this great industry, all important to us in time of peace, and vital to our security in times of emergency. When we remember that, year by year, we are relying more and more upon foreign countries for our food supplies, that we receive about two-thirds of our wheat from outside our own Empire, and that the supply of grain stored in the United Kingdom is only sufficient to feed our vast population for some six or eight weeks, then it is at once apparent to what an extent we are dependent, for our very existence, upon our mercantile marine.

The evidence given before the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies clearly proves that British shipping is very seriously handicapped in competition with foreign shipping, and a summary of this evidence provides matter for most serious reflection. It will be necessary in the course of this article to give prominence to some of the grievances complained of by British shipowners, to consider whether these disabilities may be removed by a change in our fiscal policy, and, finally, whether Mr. Chamberlain's policy of preferential trading with the Colonies is likely to prove beneficial or detrimental to British shipping.

Up to the present, our shipping owes its unique position to the continuous and untiring efforts of those engaged in the industry: it has received very little government support, and, in fact, it is freely contended that our shipping has been hampered by legislation. Ship-owners grumble at what they are pleased to call the 'grand-motherly interference of the Board of Trade,' both as regards the loading and equipment of their vessels.

These restrictions, however, have been principally enforced for the protection of life and property in what is undoubtedly one of the most dangerous of our national industries, and it is quite a moot-point whether British shipping has been subjected to a greater degree of government interference than other British industries of a dangerous character, for it is patent to all that legislation during

the last two generations has invariably been exercised in the direction of improving the condition of labour, as regards the terms and hours of employment, precautions against accident, compensation, &c., and consequently to generally raise the standard of life among our working classes. These restrictions, imposed by Parliament, add to the cost of working, and are especially felt in times of severe depression, such as has unfortunately now overtaken this important branch of industry.

In considering this question, it is of supreme importance to remember that foreign shipping, which now competes so severely with our own, is not restricted in this precautionary manner, but on the contrary is vastly assisted by direct and indirect subsidies, exemptions, assistance by State railways, smaller registered tonnage, &c. In short, foreign governments offer every conceivable inducement to foster their shipping, with results now so clearly evident, and which are causing much uneasiness to those who have their capital locked up in our mercantile marine.

The Report of the Subsidies Committee states :

That the granting of shipping subsidies, at considerable pecuniary cost, by foreign governments, has favoured the development of competition against British ship-owners and trade upon the principal routes of ocean communication, and has assisted in the transfer from British to Continental ports of some branches of foreign and colonial trade ; but that, notwithstanding the fostering effects of subsidies upon foreign competition, British steam shipping and trade have in the main held their own, and *under fair conditions are able to maintain the maritime supremacy of this country.*

Under fair conditions the enterprise of the British ship-owner may be safely relied upon, but *the conditions now met with in competition with the foreigner are not fair.* Abuses have grown and continue to grow, in spite of protests repeatedly made by ship-owners to our Government. Our insular free trade has been an encouragement for our foreign rivals to strike a blow at our maritime supremacy, and it is doubtful if it is even now fully realised to what extent our shipping trade suffers through the continuance of this one-sided policy.

It is impossible to minimise the splendid position our shipping still holds in comparison with that of foreign nations, or to detract in the least from the credit due to the British ship-owner : to make a just comparison, it is necessary to compare our shipping with the combined tonnage of the world ; comparison with any single nation would be ridiculous, but it must be remembered that it is with the whole world that we have to compete, and it is because we have the huge estimated amount of 120,000,000*l.* invested in ordinary cargo trading steamers alone, plus the capital in liners and sailing ships, that ship-owners and ship-managers should devote special attention to this very important side of a great question.

How have the protests put forward by ship-owners been received by different British governments? How much attention has been attached to their legitimate grievances? Sir Robert Giffen told the Subsidy Committee that when he was at the Board of Trade, and ship-owners complained about foreign subsidies, it was always possible to say to those who complained, 'See what a prosperous industry you have as a whole, and how rapidly it is expanding,' or, in other words, they were always able to assure our ship-owners that there was no danger from foreign competition by pointing out the preponderance of British trade, the prosperity of the industry and its continued extension. But in dealing with national trade it is not always safe to shield ourselves behind a mass of statistics. Our policy in approaching this question is not to rely upon our achievements in the past, or even our present favourable position, but to look to the future and to take serious note of what is being done by our foreign competitors. When Sir Robert Giffen was at the Board of Trade he evidently did not consider that subsidies to foreign ships would seriously affect the prosperity of our own. What are his views to-day?

My opinion [says Sir Robert Giffen] is that during the last few years a very serious change has taken place in the relative circumstances of British shipping as compared with the shipping of other countries, especially France and Germany, so that now the question of foreign subsidies to their ships has become pressing, though I believe that it might not have been so pressing formerly.

The question of subsidies granted by foreign governments is universally considered, and undoubtedly is, the most objectionable form of competition against which British shipping has to contend. Its effects have been especially disastrous to our sailing ship tonnage. With the advent of steam it was inevitable that this class of tonnage should decrease, but there are certain long-distance trades where sailing vessels can still successfully compete against steam, and will doubtless continue to do so for an indefinite period. The position of British sailing ships in these trades is at present deplorable, owing principally to the operation of the subsidies granted by France.

During the six years from 1896 to 1901 inclusive, British sailing ships sold to foreign nations numbered no less than 1,205, of a gross register of 610,290 tons; the latest figures for 1903 show that whereas there have been added to the British register only 33,650 tons of sailing-ship tonnage, during the same period about 110,000 tons have been removed. Lord Brassey has recently stated that our sailing-ship tonnage has decreased from 2,200,000 tons in 1894 to 1,400,000 tons in 1901, and concurrently the French sailing-ship fleet has increased from 235,504 tons in 1895 to 415,029 tons in 1902.

The object of foreign subsidies is of course apparent. Jealous of the preponderance of British shipping (upon which they have largely to rely for the carriage of their merchandise), foreign nations naturally wish to create and encourage their own mercantile marines, with a view of diverting to themselves trade at present held by Great Britain; and, in addition, France is offering every inducement in the way of bounties to further the operations of her shipbuilding industry.

The decrease in our sailing-ship tonnage gives ground for anxiety, as it is of vital importance to every nation which possesses a large and increasing navy to retain a sufficient number of sailing ships as a means of providing a training-ground for reserves of seamen in case of national danger. Lord Brassey, recognising the importance of this policy, suggests that our Government should subsidise sailing vessels under our flag on certain conditions, in the same manner that France has already subsidised her sailing ships.

Can we be surprised that the French fleet has increased so rapidly, concurrently with an enormous decrease in the same class of British tonnage, in view of the fact that France offers a subsidy of 1fr. 70c. (equal to about 1s. 4½d.) per gross ton per thousand miles navigated? To show to what an extent French subsidised sailing ships participate under the bounty system, Mr. R. W. Leyland, in giving evidence before the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies, stated that under the law of 1893 the total bounty that the French sailing-ship owners will receive in 1904 will be 740,289l., and to illustrate the actual working of the system he gave the following examples:

Taking a French ship from London to Melbourne, of 2350 gross register: from London to Melbourne is 12,000 miles, and she would make 1938l. 15s. From Melbourne to San Francisco, which is a common voyage, via Newcastle, the distance is 6990 miles, and she would there make on the mileage an additional 1129l. 6s. 5d. Then from San Francisco home to the United Kingdom or Continent, a distance of 13,500 miles, she would make on her mileage a further 2181l. 1s. 10d., or a gross total on that round of 5249l. 3s. 3d. This is for a small vessel of 2350 tons gross register.

Can we be surprised at the outcry of our sailing-ship owners who have to struggle against these adverse influences? What possible opportunity has the Britisher of a fair return upon capital invested, when a remunerative freight is practically unobtainable, owing to the cutting of rates by heavily subsidised vessels, whose main object is to sail the longest possible distances, upon which depends the amount of bounty earned? Clearly the question of the fluctuation of the freight markets, all important to the British ship-owner, becomes of secondary importance to a vessel enjoying such a substantial subsidy, and it is idle to expect British owners to invest

further capital in sailing-ship tonnage; the natural outcome can only be the extinction of this important branch of our shipping industry.

Now let me briefly refer to the subsidies paid to steamship tonnage. In granting subsidies to our ships, the British Government has in view the importance of providing a regular, fast, and efficient postal service, and, with one or two exceptions, does not grant State aid to encourage general steamship lines in any particular direction, the exceptions being in favour of Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co., on the West Indian service to Jamaica, and the subsidy recently granted under the arrangement with the Cunard Company.

Foreign governments, on the other hand, adopt a much more extreme policy.

France is paying nearly 2,000,000*l.* per annum in postal subsidies, construction and navigation bounties, with the result that she has increased her steam and sailing ship fleet from 1,094,752 tons in 1895 to 1,622,016 tons in 1902, an increase of nearly 50 per cent.

The subsidies paid by Germany to her large general lines amount to 417,525*l.* annually: these companies also benefit largely from the indirect forms of bounty granted by the German Government in the way of preferential railway rates on goods coming from inland German towns for shipment in the German liners. These preferential rates are a source of most serious competition to British trade, as they place the German export manufacturer in a position of great advantage. The fostering effect of German State aid is shown by the increase of the German steam fleet from 1,343,357 tons in 1895 to 2,794,311 tons in 1902.

Russia pays bounties to the extent of 365,000*l.* per annum, and in addition pays the Suez Canal dues on all her subsidised ships using that important waterway. Her mercantile marine has increased from 240,888 tons in 1895 to 578,343 tons in 1902.

Austria contributes to her shipping to the extent of 318,988*l.* per annum, and she has more than doubled her mercantile marine in the short space of seven years.

Italy is also increasing her fleet very considerably under the bounty system.

Japan, following the lead of the Western nations, now pays considerable subsidies, and her tonnage is increasing rapidly. The following extract from the Subsidies Report is of great interest, as showing the lavish manner in which capital is expended in order to promote the shipping interests of our Eastern ally:

In Japan, the system of subsidising has developed immensely, practically since 1897. The principal amounts authorised in 1898 for particular services included 272,959*l.* to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha for the European Line, 66,765*l.*

to the same Company for the Seattle Line, and 108,500*l.* to the Toyo Kisen Kaisha for the San Francisco Line. In addition to these, increasing annual sums are paid for construction and navigation bounties. In 1899 the total amount of subsidies was estimated at 584,696*l.*

In 1900, further sums of 29,793*l.* for the Yangtse Line, and 59,208*l.* for certain lines to North China and Korea, were provided. In 1901 a subsidy of 53,660*l.* was authorised for the Australian Line, and 18,250*l.* for the Bombay Line, and there are other large subsidies. The average subsidy paid per round voyage from Japan to London and back by the Japanese Government is stated to be about 10,000*l.*

It may be taken as certain that the Americans will sanction subsidies in the near future: it will be remembered that a Bill actually passed the Senate in March 1902, but was thrown out by the House of Representatives.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress on the 7th of December last, under the heading of the 'Merchant Marine,' recommends Congress to direct the Secretary for the Navy, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of Commerce and Labour, associated with such representation from the Senate and the House as Congress may designate, to serve as a Commission for the purpose of investigating and reporting to Congress at its next session what legislation is desirable or necessary for the development of the American merchant marine and American commerce, and incidentally of a national ocean mail service, of adequate auxiliary naval cruisers and naval reserves.

Let us hope that if a Subsidy Bill is passed by the American Government, it will not be on the basis of the drastic and extraordinary terms of the two Bills which have just been introduced into the House of Representatives. One of these, the Sulzer Bill, provides

(1) That a duty of 1.25 dollars (or 5*s.* 2*d.*) a ton on the gross admeasurement, in addition to the regular duty imposed on tonnage by law, shall be levied and collected from every vessel not of the United States that shall arrive with merchandise, passengers, or mails to be landed in the United States from a country, its colony, or possession to which the said vessel does not belong.

(2) That a duty of 2 dollars (equal to about 8*s.* 3*d.*) a ton on the gross admeasurement, in addition to the regular duty imposed on tonnage by law, shall be levied and collected from every vessel not of the United States that shall arrive from one foreign country under engagement to load for another foreign country, or that shall effect such engagement after arrival, there being one or more vessels of American registry in port listed at the Custom House as ready to engage for the same or a similar voyage.

(3) That rebates of tariff duties of from 5 to 10 per cent. shall be allowed on all goods imported into the United States from other countries where these goods are brought in by vessels flying the American flag.

(4) That on all goods imported direct by vessels belonging to other countries than the country of origin or the United States, there shall be an additional duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on all such goods imported indirect an additional duty of 15 per cent.

It is clear that we may anticipate serious competition in the near future from American shipping for the world's carrying trades, and the first attack will certainly be made upon the Atlantic trade with the help of the Morgan Combine, and it is reasonable to anticipate a determined bid for supremacy. Already, with their extremely liberal postal subsidies, the United States are indirectly subsidising some of their principal lines.

How are these attacks to be met? Certainly not by formal protest, which is presently the only weapon open to our Government. Why do we allow subsidised foreign ships to participate in our coasting trade, our colonial and intercolonial trades, while the coasting trades of the United States, Russia, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and other countries, are closed to our ships? Russia does not allow British vessels even to carry cargoes between the Russian Baltic ports and the Russian Black Sea ports, or from Cronstadt to their far eastern port of Vladivostock. France prohibits the employment of English ships on her coasts, or even between France and Algeria.

The United States reserves her coasting trade for vessels of her own nationality, and will not allow foreign tonnage to take a cargo round from New York to her Pacific ports, say to San Francisco. Trade between the United States and the Philippines will shortly be closed in the same manner.

Our present generous policy must be of considerable advantage to foreign nations, and it is safe to conclude that here we have the medium for a bargain which may help to open those trades now closed to British ships, and may at the same time remove some of the disabilities under which our shipping is at present labouring. Foreign nations enjoy free access to our markets for their merchandise, and the privilege of trading their ships between not only our home ports, but the ports of our vast Empire; and they surely cannot complain if in return for these valuable concessions we ask them to reciprocate by throwing open the whole of their coasting trade, and also to agree, when carrying cargoes to or from ports in our Empire, to observe the same regulations, and be governed by the same conditions, as our own ships.

Again, it is a common cause of complaint in shipping circles that the foreigner, not having a compulsory load-line, has a distinct advantage over his British competitor. Nothing can be said against the regulations which compel vessels to be loaded in accordance with the dictates of safety in the interest of both life and property, but it is clear that the absence of this restriction in the case of foreigners handicaps our ships in competition. The Board of Trade has power to prohibit the sailing of foreign vessels from British ports when overloaded, but it is evident that unless a vessel is provided with a load-line painted upon the side in the same manner as

British ships are marked, cases of overloading are bound to occur, as it is impossible for Board of Trade officials to detect by casual inspection other than flagrant cases of overloading. At night, again, the difficulty must be greatly aggravated.

There is an example given of a vessel which under the British flag had a carrying capacity of 1825 tons. She was sold to the Germans, and under her new flag came to Liverpool carrying 2100 tons, a difference of 275 tons over what she carried when subject to our Board of Trade regulations.

The absence of a compulsory load-line is all in favour of the foreigner when brought into competition with British ships trading between foreign ports.

When dealing with shipping matters, we are constantly reminded of the fact that we have more than doubled our shipping during the last thirty years; but it must not be forgotten that although Great Britain still holds 52 per cent. of the world's steam tonnage, yet twelve years ago we had 62 per cent., having thus lost 10 per cent. in this short period, and the mercantile marines of our rivals, under protection, are steadily increasing, and of course correspondingly decreasing our lead. Again, if we credit the United States with the 850,000 tons of shipping at present flying our flag, but really under the control of that country, represented by the ships of the Morgan Combine, our position is still further prejudiced.

An examination of the transfer of British steam tonnage to foreign flags during the six years from 1896 to 1902 will show that no less than 1483 vessels changed nationality, representing a gross register tonnage of 2,257,723 tons, and if to this figure be added the sailing-ship tonnage sold during the same period, we have a total turnover of 2,868,013 gross tons of shipping.

What has been the effect of this enormous transfer of British ships to the foreigner? Naturally it has practically revolutionised our spheres of trade. Whereas our ships formerly preponderated in the short trades, as well as in the distant trades, now, having sold the fleets which were employed in short trades and replaced them with a larger class of steamer, we have practically abandoned the shorter trades in favour of the long-distance voyages.

It has been the opinion that in times of severe depression the second-hand boats sold to the foreigners during the last few years would not be able to continue trading; this, however, is a fallacy, as we find that the transferred vessels do continue running, and they now control practically the whole of the short Mediterranean and Continental trades; moreover, they live at freights which would spell ruin to the British shipowner.

It is evident that, by disposing of such a large proportion of our

smaller ships to the foreigner, we have parted with the good-will of the shorter trades into the bargain.

This doubtless will account for the great increase in the growth of foreign ships trading from our home ports. An analysis of the tonnage arriving at the five great coal ports in South Wales and Monmouthshire shows that for the year 1902, as compared with 1897, there is a decrease of 13 per cent. in the number of British ships, representing a decrease of 9 per cent. in tonnage, while foreign vessels have increased 52 per cent. in number and 92 per cent. in tonnage.

The figures for the port of Swansea are so startling that they deserve special notice. If we compare 1893 with 1903, we find that 2533 British ships cleared from that port in 1893 and 2578 in 1903, while foreign vessels have risen from 237 in 1893 to 817 in 1903, or an increase in the foreign tonnage for that period from 134,015 to 557,800 tons.

The figures for the port of Blyth during 1903 are also remarkable. The number of British steamers clearing from that port amounted to 877, while the foreign vessels totalled 1591. British sailing vessels numbered 93 and foreign sailing vessels 125. The total British tonnage works out at 632,705 tons, as compared with 1,144,799 tons of foreign ships.

To show the extent of the change in the character of British shipping, it is important to contrast the relative size of British-owned steam vessels with six or seven years ago. A glance at the following tables compiled from Lloyds' Register for 1895 and 1903 will illustrate my point. It will be seen that the tendency is all in favour of larger ships. We continue to increase the number of vessels over 3,000 tons gross register, while there is a heavy decrease in ships of smaller size.

Gross tons	1895-6				1903-4			
	British	German	Norway Sweden	France	British	German	Norway Sweden	France
Above 10,000 . .	2	—	—	—	39	25	—	2
„ 7,000 . .	16	7	—	5	107	21	—	5
„ 5,000 . .	105	21	—	10	295	93	—	32
„ 3,000 . .	683	86	16	81	1,393	160	47	95
„ 2,000 . .	1,293	137	33	75	1,034	182	94	88
„ 1,000 . .	1,737	189	133	158	1,306	314	454	156
„ 400 . .	1,263	272	397	100	1,183	309	491	96

Some ship-owners, who discuss the possible effects of preferential trading with the Colonies, dread the idea of a disturbance of trade; but, as already pointed out, a transfer has actually taken place, for, having disposed of the smaller class of tonnage, English owners had to engage in more extended voyages with the vessels of much larger type which took its place, and these longer voyages have been found more profitable.

It is, therefore, to the interest of our large vessels to undertake the distant voyages, and if, by a system of preferential tariffs, we must look for our food supplies in the future to Canada, India, Australia, and our other Colonies, we are already equipped with the right type of vessel to transport their produce.

A survey of the tonnage recently chartered to carry coal to the Far East shows that the ships are almost exclusively British, which is a clear indication that British owners are ready to engage upon voyages to the most distant parts of the world.

The fact that we so largely control these long-distance trades is another reason why we should endeavour to come to terms with the foreigner now. The advantage Great Britain possesses with her vast proportion of the carrying trades of foreign countries enables our Government to demand a cessation of the measures adopted by our rivals with the direct object of injuring our commerce, but if we delay and allow our better-class steam tonnage to be crippled in the same manner that our sailing ships and small steam vessels have suffered, or even if we hesitate until foreign nations increase the size of their vessels (which doubtless they will do by force of example), and we are confronted with a still further improved foreign mercantile navy, the possibility of redressing our grievances becomes remote.

An argument often used to combat a policy of retaliation is that the result would be counter retaliation. This contingency is however very improbable, as foreign nations are dependent to so large an extent upon our shipping for the carriage of their merchandise that even if reprisals were attempted they would probably be more injurious to our opponents than to ourselves.

In a recent speech, Mr. Winston Churchill, dealing with the efforts of the Americans to capture the Atlantic trade, stated that the Morgan Combine had become a laughing-stock for Liverpool ship-owners. This Combine, which recently came into existence and bought up some of the Liverpool-owned Atlantic Lines, caused great alarm throughout the country at the prospect of the Atlantic trade falling into the hands of Americans. The danger was pointed out to our Government, which, departing from usual custom, came to the assistance of the Cunard Company.

The Cunard Company has now undertaken to build two large steamers of higher speed than any vessels afloat. These two vessels are to cost about 2,500,000*l.*, which money the Government lends at 2½ per cent. interest per annum for a period of twenty years, supplemented by an annual subsidy of 150,000*l.* So decisive a step on the part of our Government has apparently stopped any further dealing by the Morgan Combine with English ship-owners, and affords a striking example of the beneficial effects of judicious retaliation.

If the British Government intimates an intention of dealing with the question of foreign subsidies in the same manner that it has dealt with the Sugar Bounties, there is no reason to doubt success. As we have levied a countervailing import duty upon bounty-fed sugar, so we should penalise all subsidised foreign vessels entering our ports, to an extent sufficient to neutralise the advantage which the subsidy affords them.

Referring again for a moment to the possible transfer of trade which would follow the imposition of preferential tariffs, there is no need for ship-owners to fear any divergence of trade ; our ships can follow commerce wherever it may gravitate. As an instance : in 1891, the Russian Government prohibited the export of grain from that country, with the result that the Argentine, which until then was of secondary importance as a grain-producing country, took advantage of this opportunity to develop its export with Europe, and it is now one of the largest centres of the grain trade, finding employment for many of the larger class of English ships ; and it is quite reasonable to conclude that if by a preferential tariff our Colonies are given the opportunity, they will in like manner develop their grain production. In this connection, it may be of interest to mention that during the three days, the 30th and 31st of December and the 1st of January last, no less than forty-one steamers were chartered homewards from the River Plate, with a cargo capacity of 160,700 tons. It is also instructive to note that the prohibition of grain from Russia, instead of raising the price, as was generally anticipated in the United Kingdom, was followed by a fall in price.

We are told upon the authority of experts that the time is not far distant when, owing to the great increase in their population, the Americans will not have at their disposal such large quantities of surplus grain. The United States sent us over 4,000,000 quarters less last year than in 1902.

This decrease was made up by increased shipments from Canada, British India, Argentina, and Russia. The *Daily Telegraph* of the 7th of January last, commenting upon the decrease in American shipments, says

The points of interest are as to the ability of the Colonies to continue their large supplies. What Russia may do is always a matter of speculation, because political as well as economical considerations appear to influence her conduct in the matter.

If, however, we give our Colonies a preferential tariff, their resources will be developed even more rapidly than in recent years. The contention that grain cannot be brought from our North American Colonies during the winter months is absurd. The following extract from a letter written by Mr. William Thomson, shipowner, of Dundee,

will be of general interest, and should remove the fallacy which has unfortunately been so freely circulated :

I would, however, allude to one special point you raise, as it comes within the scope of my own knowledge. I refer to the bogey—it is nothing else—about America making a retaliatory transit duty on Canadian goods. This statement was, I think, first made by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, when he said that Canadian grain could not be shipped during the winter months except through United States ports, and that he was certain the United States would retaliate in the manner indicated. The facts are, however, that Canadian grain and other products are shipped the whole winter through from Halifax and St. John—more particularly the latter point—from both of which weekly steamers are run throughout the winter to at least Glasgow and Liverpool, with regular sailings in addition to Bristol and London. It is true that one part of the Canadian Pacific system, which carries a quantity of the stuff in question to St. John, does for a comparatively limited distance run through American territory, but on the other hand, the Canadian Pacific Company itself has a line of communication right through to St. John, New Brunswick, without running through American territory at all, and in addition the Intercolonial Railway from Quebec runs right through to Halifax and St. John without touching the States. Further, the new Grand Trunk Pacific Bill, which was passed at Ottawa the other day, provides for another line to be constructed wholly through Canadian territory to Moncton, and thence to St. John or some other new port on the Canadian coast.

The voyage to Canada is by no means short, but in case we were at war with a European Power, it would offer far less facilities for an enemy's ships to capture our food supplies on the high seas than if our supplies of grain were coming from the south, say the River Plate. The voyage from the United Kingdom to the River Plate and home covers some 12,000 miles, and means for the ordinary tramp steamer about sixty days' steaming. On this long voyage there is not a single British coaling station, so that our ships would be dependent for their renewals of supplies of bunker coals upon foreigners. If, as would be almost certain, coal was declared contraband of war, our troubles would be greatly accentuated. Our Admiralty would immediately have to face the difficulty of protecting our mercantile marine upon these extended routes, involving the withdrawal of a large number of ships from the fighting line. In any case, it is doubtful whether our transports could be adequately convoyed, as experts are of opinion that the difficulties of so doing, under modern conditions, would be practically insurmountable. We have seen the British army chasing a De Wet during the recent war in South Africa: we do not want our British fleet chasing De Wets upon the ocean.

A few fast hostile cruisers, menacing our grain-carrying vessels upon their prolonged ocean routes, would work incalculable damage, and be the source of the utmost danger and anxiety.

A policy of Tariff Reform which would reduce the importation of foreign manufactured goods would have none of the evils for shipping which are so freely predicted by those opposed to change.

If an import duty checks the flow of finished articles into this country, then we must import the raw material to furnish our manufacturers with the wherewithal to make these commodities: this would increase to a very large extent the number of ships employed.

It may be well to remind ship-owners, who find so much consolation in attacking the Board of Trade, that, however loud their protests, they will obtain no relief in this direction. Much as the lot of the sailor has improved since the introduction of the Plimsoll reforms, it is idle to suppose that the condition of seafaring life is such that ship-owners can look forward to a period of freedom from legislative interference: the very nature of their trade precludes any such conclusion. The British Government has imposed restrictions upon our shipping in spite of the protests of those engaged in the trade, and with full knowledge of the fact that similar legislation would not be imposed upon foreign shipping, and would therefore add to the burden of the British ship-owner. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that if a policy of retaliation is sanctioned by the people of Great Britain, shipping will be greatly benefited by the new power the Government will be able to wield in their efforts to place alien tonnage trading to and from ports in our Empire under the same regulations as our own. Surely, as the first maritime Power of the world, we will no longer submit to our supremacy being filched from us, not by the legitimate competition of our rivals, but by the organised policy of foreign governments.

W. H. RENWICK.

LAST MONTH

I

It seems desirable that I should preface my remarks this month by a few words respecting the changed conditions under which I shall write in these pages for the future. For several years past I have been honoured by the Editor of this Review with a commission to write a monthly survey of political events that should be as nearly impartial as was compatible with the fact that I myself, so far from being impartial, am an old and convinced member of the Liberal Party. I have done my best since 1899 to discharge this rather difficult mission faithfully, and have always made it my business to set forth, so far as I was able, both sides of the questions that have from time to time arisen in our public life. But now that the country is engaged in a political controversy of exceptional acuteness, which is being waged on all sides with increasing vehemence, it becomes much more difficult to preserve that attitude of impartial detachment which I have hitherto striven to maintain. In these circumstances, the Editor proposes to invite, in addition to myself, a convinced member of the political party opposed to my own to comment monthly upon current public affairs, and he has kindly released me from the attempt to write from a non-partisan point of view.

The fairy who may be supposed to have presided over the entrance of Mr. Chamberlain into this world undoubtedly endowed him with many precious gifts, which have already carried him far in the race of life. But she unhappily denied to him that saving sense of humour which, valuable in any calling, is nowhere more needed than in statesmanship. If this had not been the case, the history of last month would not have furnished such amusing reading as it does to those who have not been captivated by the Birmingham politician's new fiscal policy. We should hardly, for example, have witnessed the formation of a 'Commission' composed of a number of undoubtedly respectable gentlemen, not one of whom can, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as being in the front rank of our public men. Nor should we have seen this so-

called Commission opened with that pompous formality which has inspired our great political caricaturist with one of his happiest ideas. It was unlucky for Mr. Chamberlain that his committee of business men, who, with singular unanimity, happened—quite accidentally, we are assured—to share his views upon fiscal reform, should have been opened in so grandiose a fashion on the very day on which his new policy received the crushing blow of the Norwich election. Mr. Chamberlain's robust and unfailing belief in himself will no doubt be proof against this, as it has been against many similar disasters ; but it is difficult to believe that there is nobody on his Commission who can perceive the rather farcical light in which that body has been placed. It met, with a great flourish of trumpets, to consider the details of a scheme by which, at some future date and under some Government not yet in existence, a general scheme of 'protection' for our commerce and industries is to be carried into effect. Nobody could have gathered from the manifesto delivered by Mr. Chamberlain at its first sitting that there was any doubt, in his mind, at least, that the country was about, by a popular vote, to cast aside the system of free trade to which it owes its present position at the head of the commerce of the world, and to adopt in its place a revival of the ancient fallacies of protection. It must surely have struck some, at least, among the Commissioners that the appearance in the newspapers, side by side with the manifesto of their illustrious chief, of the figures of the Norwich election made them all look more than slightly ridiculous. Norwich is not a city to which we should look in ordinary times for any definite pronouncement upon a great political question. Only once in the last eighteen years had it given a majority of Liberal votes ; the majority then recorded (in 1886) standing at the modest figure of 347. But in the election of the present month the Tory votes had fallen from 8100 (in 1895) to 6756, whilst the Liberal vote had grown from 7270 to 11,020, showing a clear majority of 4264 in favour of Liberalism. Such a turnover is rarely seen in any constituency. Nor was there any ground for doubt as to the question upon which this sweeping defeat was inflicted on the Ministerial candidate. That gentleman stood avowedly as a protectionist. His two opponents were equally clear and decided in their championship of free trade. Norwich, at least, it is evident, is not to be reckoned among those constituencies which have been captivated by the alluring eloquence which Mr. Chamberlain devotes to his propaganda on behalf of the food-tax. One swallow, I need hardly say, does not make a summer, and though the Norwich election, coming at the particular moment at which it did, was extremely awkward for the new protectionists, it would hardly have possessed serious significance if it had stood alone. But it only emphasised the result of the contest earlier in the month in the Ashburton division of Devonshire, where the free trade

candidate, although a new man, comparatively unknown in the constituency, nearly doubled the majority of his predecessor, who was, by common consent, the most popular resident in the division. In Gateshead, too, the free trade candidate was returned with a larger majority than that of his predecessor, Sir William Allan. Nor is this all. In the eleven by-elections ending with Norwich which have taken place since Mr. Chamberlain began his present campaign, whilst there has been a decrease of 1 per cent. in the Ministerial vote, that of the Opposition has been increased by not far short of 50 per cent. These are figures the significance of which cannot be misunderstood. I said some months ago in these pages, when giving my reasons for refusing to believe that Mr. Chamberlain would succeed in his ill-starred enterprise, that the issue rested, after all, with the working classes of this country, and that there was no proof that the member for West Birmingham had captured their support. When we see that in eleven by-elections they have converted a Ministerial majority of 12,906 into a Liberal majority of 3660 few will care to contest the soundness of the view which I then expressed.

Mr. Chamberlain, however, is a man not only of brilliant ability as an electioneerer, but of high courage and immense resourcefulness. I do not believe him to be one who is likely to be terrified even by such a turnover of votes as that which has led the *Standard* to cry out in anguish against a policy fomented, it declares, 'by statesmen, agitators, wire-pullers, and subservient newspapers,' which is driving the country straight to 'a Unionist defeat and an Opposition victory at the next General Election.' These words, which are not mine, but those of the ablest and most independent organ of the Conservative Party, may make an impression upon some persons, but I doubt if they will make any on Mr. Chamberlain. That gentleman has already, in his 'raging and tearing agitation,' risen superior to still more grievous disasters than the mere conversion of Ministerial majorities into minorities in the ballot-box. He was not stayed in his impetuous course when one man after another of the highest authority in the Cabinet of which he was a member, including all living ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer, publicly protested against a policy which combined the oldest heresies of Protectionism with that new spirit of Jingoism that soared to its highest point on the memorable night of Mafeking. When the Cabinet itself was broken up, and the distracted Mr. Balfour was seen rushing hither and thither, searching for new Ministers in every possible and impossible corner, Mr. Chamberlain's equanimity was not disturbed. Like a certain Irish landlord known to fame, the shooting of his agent was an incident that had no personal interest for himself. Again, when that Liberal Unionist Party of which he was once so proud, and in which he was so long a ruling spirit, was broken into fragments, the only matter that seemed to trouble him was the fear that he might

not be able to lay hold of the cash-box, which had been notoriously filled by men who were unable to follow him in his new adventures. A man who has preserved his self-confidence and composure under so many trials can hardly be expected to lose heart merely because a seat is lost here and there to his party.

But is he really gaining ground in his attempt to convert the country to his revolutionary policy? A month ago most persons seemed to think that he was. Free-traders appeared to be almost cowed by his volcanic energy, and the audacity with which he went on repeating statements that had been not only contradicted but disproved a hundred times over; and all the less intelligent sections of the public, especially those sections to be found in the West End of London, shouted for joy, as such people always do when they think they have found 'a sure thing,' whether in politics or on the turf. But now—well, now there is a distinct subsidence of the tide which seemed to be carrying the ex-Colonial Secretary to the haven of success; and it is a subsidence which cannot be attributed merely to the evidence furnished by the by-elections. A strong disposition to hedge has been shown by not a few of his backers in the Ministerial ranks, and even the long-suffering Prime Minister has gathered courage to suggest that it is quite possible to go too fast, even in an agitation which is avowedly intended to be 'raging and tearing.' If one asks for an explanation of this undoubted change of mood on the part of those who were convinced a month ago that Mr. Chamberlain was about to 'sweep the country,' I do not think that it will be difficult to find an answer to the question. In the first place, fate has been exceptionally hard during the past few weeks on the cause of fiscal reform. That cause owed its origin, according to the oft-repeated statements of its founder, to two great reasons: first, the grave state of our trade and its ever-increasing depression; and secondly, the desire of the Colonies to establish new commercial bonds between us and them, in the shape of preferential tariffs which, in our case, would involve the taxation of food. 'If you desire to keep the British Empire in existence,' said the member for West Birmingham in effect, 'you must make some sacrifices; you must even submit to a tax upon your bread.' And in the same breath he explained that we should really be helping rather than hurting ourselves if we yielded to the appeal of the Colonies and adopted a new fiscal system, inasmuch as our trade was in such a bad way that unless something were done, and done speedily, we should be reduced to 'the rank of a fifth-rate Power'—a doom with which we have constantly been threatened ever since the appearance of Macaulay's *New Zealander* upon the stage of politics. Here, then, was a double basis—hard fact and high sentiment—on which Mr. Chamberlain appealed to the country; and no doubt it was upon this basis and this alone that he secured the support of no inconsiderable

section of the public. But where is that basis now? Can even the eminent commercial gentlemen of the Tariff 'Commission' tell us how much of it remains, after the publication of the Board of Trade figures for 1903, and Mr. Chamberlain's failure to produce, in reply to the repeated challenges he has received, any evidence of those imaginary offers from the Colonies on which he based his appeal to the spirit of Imperial unity? The Board of Trade returns show that 1903 was the most prosperous year our trade has ever known, with a solid increase of fourteen and a half millions of imports and of eleven and a quarter millions of exports over the preceding year. The evidence we have had from the Colonies shows that public opinion is divided there, just as it is here, over the new policy, and that nowhere is there any apparent intention of offering any substantial concession to the commerce of Great Britain, or of demanding any sacrifices on our part in order to purchase the continued unity of the Empire. Sensible Colonials, indeed, even where they are avowed protectionists, openly scoff at the idea that the food of the British workman should be taxed for the benefit of his fellow-workmen in Australia and Canada. Lord Rosebery has not hesitated to stigmatise as 'preposterous' Mr. Chamberlain's assertion that we have received proposals on this subject from the Colonies; and I really do not see how that word can be improved upon.

'But,' say the thick-and-thin advocates of fiscal reform, 'statistics, even the statistics of the Board of Trade, cannot alter the fact that the country is just now experiencing hard times, that money is scarce and the value of securities low'; and the only cause to which they attribute this unpleasant state of affairs is that 'obsolete' system of free trade against which they have girded up their loins. That we are experiencing something in the nature of hard times is not to be denied, though any man who has lived for fifty or sixty years can recall seasons of depression infinitely more severe than that through which we are now passing. Yet can no reason but the tardily discovered defects of our present fiscal system be assigned for the relatively mild hard times of to-day? Have the fiscal reformers forgotten that we are staggering under the absolute loss—from the economic point of view—of 220 millions expended upon the South African war? Are they ignorant of that enormous increase of expenditure, with a corresponding increase of taxation, which we have now to carry on our shoulders? Successive Finance Ministers have warned us again and again of the inevitable consequences of our reckless national extravagance, and have pointed to the very consequences of that extravagance which we have now to endure. Mr. Chamberlain and his friends, with an audacity that excites one's admiration, ignore these things. They forget the hundreds of millions that have been sunk in the gulf of war and incompetent administration, and virtually insist that, after all, the only true statesmen of recent years

have been Mr. Chaplin and Mr. James Lowther, who have never wavered in their belief that free trade and free trade alone is to be blamed not only for the big blue-bottle flies in our butchers' shops, but for any diminution of our national prosperity. Apparently, however, the 'Fiscal Reformers' have not found everybody so willing to endorse their canonisation of these respectable country gentlemen as they could wish. The recent letters and speeches of not a few Ministerial members, including some members of the Ministry itself, show that searchings of heart are being experienced even among those who not long ago seemed inclined to applaud Mr. Chamberlain as a new saviour of society.

Yet another reason that accounts for the change, slight but significant, which is creeping over the mood of the Ministerialists, is the extraordinary fact that the arch-propagandist of protection has not even begun to attempt to answer the arguments that have been urged against his proposal by his opponents. With wonderful cleverness he eludes every effort that is made to bring him to close quarters with those who denounce his policy, and who support their denunciation by facts and arguments. This feature of his tactics was specially conspicuous in his speech at the Guildhall. If he had the overwhelming weight of authority in statesmanship and in economic learning on his side, this might conceivably be a wise policy. But it is notorious that this is not the case. Without wishing to be disrespectful to the gentlemen who, in the columns of what the *Standard* bluntly calls 'subservient newspapers,' expound at prodigious length and in imposing type the weird doctrines of what is known to them as the 'new political economy,' I may at least maintain that they are not the only wise persons in existence. I might even go further and suggest that men who for the greater part of their lives have been engaged in the management of the financial and commercial affairs of the richest and greatest commercial nation in the world may conceivably know their own business better than the young journalists who dismiss their arguments with a triumphant sneer. After all, sensible people do not see why even Mr. Chamberlain should take no notice of the criticisms of such men as Lord Goschen, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and Sir Henry Fowler upon questions which they were studying closely and dealing with, in practice as well as in theory, long before the ex-Colonial Secretary found time to devote his meteoric attention to them. When one remembers further that two of these eminent men have made a heavy sacrifice of their political inclinations in order to enjoy the privilege of speaking their minds, their right to be treated with due respect by the apostle of the economic revolution seems undeniable. But it does not appear to be a right that is admitted by Mr. Chamberlain. That gentleman has now carried on his agitation for more than eight months. But so far as argument is concerned he has not advanced it by a single

step. Mr. Pecksniff, as most of us remember, had a horse, the appearance of which was imposing, and which stepped in a way that impressed all who saw it. The misfortune in the case of this noble steed was that, like the farmer's claret, it did not enable its rider to 'get any forrarder.' If we turn back to Mr. Chamberlain's first declarations last May and follow him through all his subsequent speeches, we cannot fail to see that he is mounted on Mr. Pecksniff's horse. He has never even attempted to get beyond the initial declamation of his great campaign. We are still without any answer to the serious and reasoned arguments to which his proposals have been subjected. We have still no higher authority for his manifold assertions than his own *ipse dixit*. He has told us certain things which he has not attempted to prove, and he has remained stubbornly silent when challenged to furnish the evidence that is needed to establish their accuracy. Everything is to rest on his personal pledge that, if we follow his leadership, certain benefits—some of them savouring of the miraculous—are to accrue to us. Is it surprising that even some of those who were originally captivated by the boldness with which he revived the antiquated doctrines of protection are beginning to murmur at his failure to meet argument with argument? Claptrap is effective enough for the moment, but time invariably puts it in its proper place. Perhaps if Mr. Chamberlain's personal career had been different, his cause would now have been more hopeful than it is. But no one can forget that the man who is so confident to-day in announcing the benefits of protection to his fellow-countrymen was not long ago equally confident and vehement in denouncing anyone who ventured to say a word in favour of that system. 'Protection very likely might, it probably would, have this effect: it would increase the incomes of the owners of great estates, and it would swell the profits of the capitalists who were fortunate enough to engage in the best-protected industries; but it would lessen the total production of the country, it would diminish the rate of wages, and it would raise the prices of every necessary of life.' I know of no clearer or more forcible exposition of the inevitable results of protection than this, and I quote the statement from the lips of Mr. Chamberlain himself. He can hardly expect the whole body of his fellow-countrymen to change as quickly as he has done from the views he expressed in 1885 to those which he professes to day. We do not all belong to the class from which the 'lightning artists' of the music-halls are recruited.

The general political situation has undergone some noteworthy changes during the month. Mr. Balfour has made another attempt to remind the world of the fact that he is, after all, the titular Prime Minister of England. It can hardly be said to have been a very happy effort. It is impossible for fair-minded men, whatever may be their political opinions, not to feel a certain amount of

sympathy with Mr. Balfour in his present situation. He has had to suffer, as other men have had to suffer before him, from the titanic energy of a colleague who invariably 'drives straight'—as the *Standard* says—at the object at which he is aiming, without any undue regard for the feelings or interests of those who happen to be in his way. Mr. Balfour's own position is tolerably clear. That he has been influenced by the opinions of his imperious colleague can hardly be doubted. Even if we had not the evidence of Lord George Hamilton on the subject, it would be impossible to come to any other conclusion than that last autumn he was halting between two opinions, undecided as to whether he should throw in his lot with Mr. Chamberlain or take that middle course of retaliatory tariffs which has really satisfied nobody. But over and above everything else in his mind was the thought of the unity of his party—a thought naturally uppermost in the mind of a Prime Minister. The means which he adopted in order to secure this unity have resulted in an almost tragical failure. To the genuine free-trader it must seem that they deserved to fail. A Prime Minister of England who cannot make up his mind upon such an issue as that which was set before us by the Birmingham propaganda does not represent the type of statesmanship which the people of this country have been taught to admire. But the failure of the attempt made by Mr. Balfour to devise a formula upon which all Ministerialists could agree is not altogether his own fault. No sooner did the struggle between protection and free trade become real than the hollow official shibboleth ceased to charm. Mr. Chamberlain, with the true instinct of the fighting man, refused to be satisfied with the benevolent neutrality of Ministerial candidates and members, and the caucuses of the party were pressed into requisition in order to force the pace. No man in England understands the manipulation of a caucus better than Mr. Chamberlain. Himself one of the founders of the first organisation of the kind known in this country—that out of which the National Liberal Federation sprang—he has throughout his life believed that victories on the political field require to be organised as thoroughly as those upon the field of war, and he has always attached much importance to what in America men call 'the machine.' Not unnaturally, he made it his business at the earliest possible moment to lay hands upon the 'machines' which organise the forces of Conservatism and Liberal Unionism. Apparently, he had little trouble with the Conservative organisation. Its members tendered lip-homage to the Prime Minister, but the overwhelming majority made no attempt to conceal the favour with which they regarded Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. 'Whole-hoggers' was the not very elegant name which some of these gentlemen assumed to describe their attitude towards the new protectionism. There can be little doubt that all over the country the active spirits of the

Conservative associations have all but openly adopted the member for West Birmingham as their leader. But the case has been different with the Liberal Unionists. Among them, at all events, there remained a sturdy remnant who refused to abandon the fiscal faith which they had professed throughout their lives. They had withdrawn from their old party rather than abandon their opinions on one great question, and they who had refused to yield to Mr. Gladstone were not prepared to bow to Mr. Chamberlain. As it happened, every recognised leader of the Liberal Unionist Party with the exception of Mr. Chamberlain himself remained a free-trader. But here, again, the local members of the caucus had been won round to protectionism, and in the North of England they carried resolutions in favour of tariff reform that led to the immediate resignation of several members of Parliament and persons of influence in the Liberal Unionist ranks. The silent struggle that has been carried on for months for the possession of the party machine, culminated last month in the publication of the correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain. The Duke, as founder and president of the Liberal Unionist Association, proposed, now that its members could no longer act in agreement, that it should be dissolved. Mr. Chamberlain suggested that the members should decide for themselves whether they should continue to exist as an organised body, and on which side their support should be given in the great controversy. The Duke of Devonshire is, by common admission, one of the most honourable and high-minded of living statesmen. But he is certainly no match for Mr. Chamberlain in the manipulation of political machines and caucuses. Nor has he grasped the modern idea which leads some of our politicians to conduct a public agitation on the lines of a travelling circus. Those who read the correspondence between the two men could not fail to perceive, first, that the old Liberal Unionist Party had been destroyed; and, secondly, that Mr. Chamberlain was confident that he had obtained command of the organisation by which it had been so long carried on. It was on the day on which this remarkable correspondence appeared in the newspapers that Mr. Balfour addressed his constituents at Manchester. Yet, strange to tell, he had nothing to say upon a subject which was engaging the attention of every politician. It was the end of a great political alliance, to which the Conservative Government had owed its long spell of unbroken power, that was signalled by that correspondence, but it drew not a word of comment from the Conservative Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour contented himself with a vague remonstrance directed against those who were trying to force the pace, and precipitate divisions in the party. But his language was so general and misty that he seemed, as Sir Henry Fowler afterwards said, to be 'trying to walk down both sides of the street at once.' It may be assumed that his

remarks did not please Mr. Chamberlain and his followers. It is difficult to understand how they can have satisfied anybody else. In face of the great party crisis in which the Unionists of both sections are now involved, with their old leaders ranged in open antagonism, and with members in scores of constituencies at variance with the local associations that have hitherto supported them, the leader of the party and the head of the Government had nothing but these mild platitudes to offer to his distracted adherents.

The approach of the session is necessarily drawing the attention of the country once more to the House of Commons. It is difficult even to attempt a forecast of the Parliamentary year, but upon one point I at least remain firmly of an opinion that I have more than once expressed in these pages. That is that the dissolution is very near to us. Even if the work to which Ministers are committed, work dealing with such questions as the establishment of a Catholic university in Dublin, and the provision of compensation for dispossessed licensed victuallers, were not of so contentious a character, it would be impossible to believe that the present Government could live long without having obtained another mandate from the country. When one remembers that, in addition to the highly contentious measures I have named, Ministers are bound to face a budget which can hardly be a pleasant one either for the Government or the country, and that must inevitably raise the fiscal controversy in a more or less acute form, as well as that question of the army which is still, next to free trade, the burning question of the hour, the chief wonder is that they should even dream of holding fast in their places. The air even now is full of rumours as to fresh resignations; and some Ministers, at least, have made it clear that any further advance of the Chamberlain agitation will meet with their strenuous opposition. Upon the whole, it is not unreasonable to expect that the appeal to the country will take place within the next three months. What the country will have to say to the Government is a speculation into which I shall not enter. The only thing that seems certain is that we shall not have a repetition of the scandal of the khaki election of 1900.

WEMYSS REID.

LAST MONTH

II

‘ONE thing seems to be certain, and that is, that the ducal manifesto must bring about the disappearance of the Liberal Unionists, as an independent organisation.’ So I wrote last December. I entertain a profound distrust in all prophecies, my own included; but, on the present occasion, events seem to more than justify my prediction. The correspondence between the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain, which was published in the first days of last month, throws a curious light on contemporary history. It seems that shortly after Mr. Chamberlain’s return from South Africa, the Duke became perturbed in his mind by doubts as to whether the then Colonial Secretary, the real founder and leader of the Liberal Unionist party, of which the then President of the Council was the titular chief, was altogether sound in his adhesion to the dogmas of free trade. It is not stated in the correspondence whether his Grace’s perturbation was removed by a meeting of the committee of management at which his colleague assisted. Be this as it may, his apprehensions, if not removed, slumbered till the end of last October. Suffice it to say that after four months of deliberation the Duke discovered it to be his duty ‘to look a little more closely’ than he had apparently done hitherto ‘into the operations and finance of the central organisation’ over which he had presided since the date of the Liberal secession. He had apparently discovered to his surprise that ‘one of its [the central association’s] most important functions was the distribution of grants to local Liberal Unionist associations, that these grants . . . were made from a fund which in no wise belongs to the Association, but was, to quote the Duke’s words, collected by me, and entrusted to me personally, as the leader of the Liberal Unionist party, to be applied at my discretion for political purposes.’ Speaking for myself I have long been sceptical as to the advantage of keeping up Liberal Unionism, as a separate political organisation distinguished from the Conservative party by some minute shade of opinion unintelligible to ordinary intellects. But I never realised till the other day that I belonged, or was supposed to belong, to a party financed by the Duke of Devonshire, and dependent upon his

personal opinion of the views I might hold, not on the question of Home Rule, but on any political issue of which his Grace might happen to hold different ideas from my own.

On the 23rd of last October the Duke communicated his opinion, that under the above circumstances the Liberal Unionist Association ought to be dissolved, to Mr. Chamberlain, who replied by stating that he saw no necessity whatever for breaking up the Liberal Unionist organisation, and contended that such a step, if taken at all, could only be taken after the matters at issue between the Duke and himself had been submitted to the consideration of the members of the Association. The Duke, with his usual good sense when left to himself, seems to have appreciated the force of this argument, and, after admitting that the terms he had used with reference to the violent breaking up of the Liberal Unionist Association 'may have implied more than he intended,' asked for further time for consideration. This letter was written on the 31st of October, but November and December passed well-nigh away, and, as the correspondence reads, no further information was vouchsafed. After prolonged hesitation the Duke resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and then, without any previous intimation to his late colleagues, issued instructions to the Unionist electors advising them to withhold their votes from any Unionist candidate who was not prepared to repudiate Mr. Chamberlain's heresies in respect of free trade. Thereupon Mr. Chamberlain wrote on the 22nd of December reiterating his contention that it was for the Liberal Unionist party, as represented by its Council, or by a conference of delegates of the local associations—and not for their President—to decide whether conformity with the orthodox dogmas of free trade should or should not be an essential condition of their remaining members of the Unionist party. To this his Grace replied by a somewhat pompous missive complaining of Mr. Chamberlain having raised an issue never contemplated by himself when he joined the Conservative party for the defence of the Union, and declaring that he, for his part, entertained no apprehension of the Home Rule agitation being revived by the split in the Unionist party. To speak the plain truth, the Duke comes second best out of the controversy. The honours, such as they are, rest with Mr. Chamberlain.

I happened, more years ago than I care to recall, to be present in the House of Commons on the night when the then Marquis of Hartington had—for the first time as Under Secretary of State for War—to explain the military estimates. Few spectacles are more distressing to witness than the collapse of a speaker who has got a statement to make and finds himself utterly unequal to the task. Of all such collapses that of the future Duke was the most signal I have ever witnessed. He could not find his notes; he could not recollect his figures; he was manifestly at a loss to think of anything to say; and he must have broken down hopelessly if Lord Palmerston, who was sitting by his side, had

not kept on prompting him audibly with figures and phrases. On leaving the House after the speech was over, I met an old Parliamentary reporter with whom I was acquainted, and remarked to him, 'After this fiasco there must be an end of Lord Hartington's Parliamentary career.' 'Oh, no,' my acquaintance replied, 'you are altogether wrong. A man who can make such a failure and bear it with such complete indifference is bound to get on in Parliament.' So the event has proved. In the utterances of his political career he has never risen above commonplace, but on the other hand he has never sunk below common sense. No doubt he owes much to the accident of his position. I remember hearing John Bright once say, in speaking of the House of Commons: 'It is the fairest assembly in the world. Every member is judged by his own individual capacity, irrespective of rank or wealth or party. There is only one slight exception I know of, and that is that a Duke's son and heir always commands a sort of respectful attention not accorded to ordinary members.' No one can blame the sometime titular leader of the Liberal Unionist party if he has never forgotten and never allowed others to forget that he was, or would be in the course of nature, head of the House of Cavendish. His consciousness of his family traditions, of his great wealth and of his high responsibilities, is the main cause of his success in public life, and at the same time of his failure to convert success into power. Between himself and Mr. Chamberlain there could never have been much in common. The few intimates, both political and personal, who enjoyed his confidence were persons of very different calibre from his late colleague.

I suspect myself, if these intimates could speak the truth, they would admit that the Duke never felt quite comfortable in being a member of a Conservative Ministry, and could never exactly understand why, by the logic of events, he was forced, even in the Liberal Unionist section of the Conservative party, to play second fiddle to a Minister who did not resent being known by his countrymen as 'Joe.' If this suspicion is correct it is intelligible enough that this sort of latent irritation should have been kept alive by his surroundings. In the English drama of a bygone era, the hero was always associated with a subordinate personage who listened to his soliloquies, sympathised with his grievances, and espoused his affections and his enmities. This personage in the list of characters was generally designated as 'Charles his friend.'

Be this as it may, it is well known that for some years past there have been members of the ducal circle, belonging to the 'Charles his friend' category, who have contemplated some new political combination in virtue of which the Duke might be raised to the position they considered him fully entitled to fill, that of Prime Minister of England. There have been rumours of negotiations with Lord Rosebery and others by which a party might be formed composed

of moderate Liberals, half-hearted Liberal Unionists, and malcontent Conservatives who would join and support any Government of which the Duke was at the outset to be Premier and Lord Rosebery was to be Foreign Secretary with the reversion of the Premiership. These projects have hitherto fallen through, partly because the party was still *in nubibus*, and even more because the Duke's loyalty debarred him from taking any active step to sever his connection with the Unionists. When once, however, he had been induced to resign his seat in the Cabinet these schemes were revived, and the Duke was over-persuaded that his duty as the head of the House of Cavendish was to come forward as the champion of free trade, and in consequence as the opponent of the Unionist party, which under Mr. Chamberlain's misguided influence had committed itself to the pestilent doctrines of preferential duties and retaliatory tariffs, if not to the unpardonable sin of protection. The championship of free trade involved, as a logical consequence, opposition to the return of Unionist candidates who were not prepared to vote with the Liberals on the fiscal controversy; and from this admission it followed that Free Food Unionists must in future act in harmony with the Liberals. Given these premises the conclusion is so obvious as to justify the belief that some form of coalition between the adherents of the Duke, the partisans of Lord Rosebery, and the less advanced section of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's followers has been—if it is not still—in contemplation. It would be the height of absurdity to deny that the high personal character of the Duke, his distinguished career, his exalted position, and his conscientious sense of duty must render his secession from the Unionist party a serious loss to the cause of the Union. I am, however, inclined to think that the political importance of this secession, even if it should be carried to the length of his seeking re-admission into the Liberal tabernacle, is apt to be overrated by the clique of minor notabilities who, on the stage of politics, play the part of 'Charles his friend.' In the early days of the Secession War the then Marquis of Hartington was a visitor at New York, and was reported to have appeared at a ball in the Empire City wearing a rosette composed of the Confederate colours. The report, whether true or false, excited not unreasonable irritation throughout the North. Shortly afterwards his Lordship visited Washington and was in due course presented to the President. According to a story current at that period in Washington, the only remark made by Abraham Lincoln on hearing the name of his distinguished visitor was 'Hartington, Hartington, curious name, rhymes to Partington.' The force of the remark will suggest itself at once to those amongst my readers who remember the story of how Dame Partington proposed to push away the Atlantic with her mop and pail. I may be told of the powerful influences which support the Duke in his new departure. I may be reminded of the old French

saying that *Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut*, but till I see proof to the contrary, I adhere to the belief that the Duke's withdrawal from the Unionist party will leave matters very much as they were before this catastrophe occurred. I was confirmed in this belief when the other day I came across the following passage in Creevey's letters: 'There has been some talk of Lord George Cavendish. . . . The Cavendish system with the Duke of Devonshire at the head is not the thing for the present day.' This statement, which was made in 1816, and whose truth was fully justified by the event, is certainly not likely to be disproved in 1904.

The result of the recent by-elections has proved in the main what I anticipated when I wrote last month. The elections at Lewisham, Dulwich, the Ludlow division of Shropshire, and Mid Devon have resulted in the return of candidates belonging to the same party as their predecessors, and have thus left unaltered the numerical balance of parties. I read in free-trade organs that these elections have, however, materially changed the relative strength of the Ministerials and the Opposition, because the Unionist majorities in the three first-named constituencies have been reduced, while in Mid Devon the Liberal majority has been substantially increased. Again, at Norwich, the Liberals have actually gained one seat, counting two on a division. The conversion of a Unionist majority of 500 to a Radical majority of 2000 is a serious loss. Still, one swallow does not make a summer. The evidence, moreover, seems to show that the victory of the Liberals was due much more to the desire of the Norwich electors for the direct representation of labour in Parliament than to the views of the electorate on fiscal policy. The one real lesson to be learnt from these casual contests is that up to the present the fiscal changes propounded by Mr. Chamberlain have not excited the amount of popular indignation that was so confidently anticipated by his opponents. Our artisans and labourers nowadays have it in their power to control the result of every election in the vast majority of our constituencies. It is therefore utterly incredible that if they were animated by any ardent enthusiasm for free trade, or were convinced that the policy of which Mr. Chamberlain has made himself the champion was hostile to their own well-being, they would not have exerted themselves to secure not only the nominal reduction of Unionist majorities but the actual return of free-trade representatives. On the contrary, they have deliberately forfeited the opportunities afforded them for demonstrating their supposed enthusiasm for free trade by running Labour candidates whose candidatures, whether wise or unwise, are calculated to be detrimental, if not fatal, to the prospect of a free-trade representative being substituted for a partisan of protection. This being so we may take it for granted that the cry of the big loaf of free trade as compared with the little

loaf of protection has fallen dead, in as far as our artisan constituencies are concerned.

Up to the time at which I write, the question of peace or war between Russia and Japan remains very much as it was when I wrote last month. If the two countries were European Powers war would seem absolutely inevitable. But Japan is altogether an Oriental Power, and Russia is more than half so ; and in the East words bear less resemblance to facts than they do even in the West. My own personal conviction is that Russia, up to now, has never believed that Japan would seriously confront the risk of war. Acting on this belief she has reckoned confidently on carrying out her designs in the Far East by professing to be ready for war if her demands were disputed. Supposing this confidence should prove to be ill-founded, she would only be acting after Asiatic fashion in withdrawing her pretensions, or, more correctly speaking, in postponing their execution to a more convenient season. The pride of race which might preclude a Western nation from acknowledging that she stood committed to a position she was not prepared to sustain, is unknown in Russia ; and in this fact I see cause to hope that war may still be averted. In politics the game of bluff is as well understood by the Muscovite as it was by the Heathen Chineese.

The Whitaker Wright trial has throughout the past month occupied more public attention than it perhaps deserved on account of its intrinsic importance. The verdict of the jury will, I think, commend itself to the approval of the public. But the terrible ending of the case precludes further comment. This much I can predict, that the decision at which the Court had arrived will do little or nothing to establish any new code of financial morality. If it were not for the spirit of speculation inherent in our race, England would never have won her commercial supremacy. So long as shareholders, allured by the promise of extravagant profits, are found ready to invest their money in speculative enterprises about which they know, and can know, nothing, promoters will trade upon the cupidity of the public. No legislation, however skilfully devised, can ever render speculation a safe and sound pursuit for persons of narrow means. The tares and the wheat will grow up together to the end of time ; and all that any Government can do is to root up occasionally any plot of tares exhibiting an exceptional luxuriance of growth.

I suspect, however, that during last month the majority of newspaper readers took far less interest in commercial morals, party politics, or in the prospects of peace or war in the Far East than they did in the great cricket matches between England and Australia. To believers in Imperialism it is gratifying to note how our fellow-countrymen at the Antipodes are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. The run upon the papers which published from hour to hour the scores of the matches

must have caused the most thoughtless of readers to reflect upon the extent to which submarine telegraphy has brought England and Australia so near to each other as to remove the most formidable of the obstacles which have hitherto stood in the way of a united British Empire.

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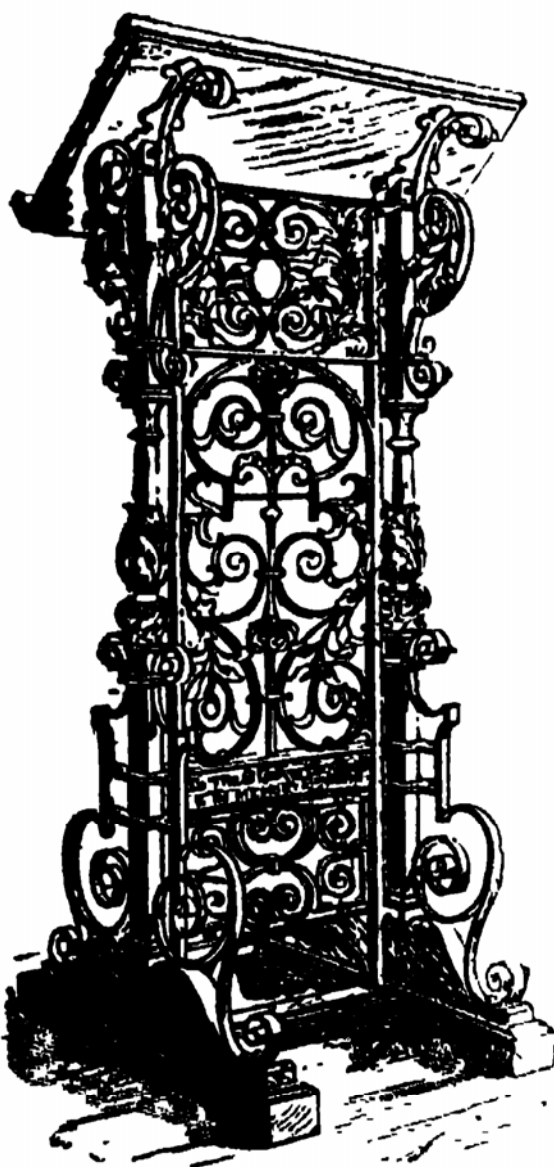
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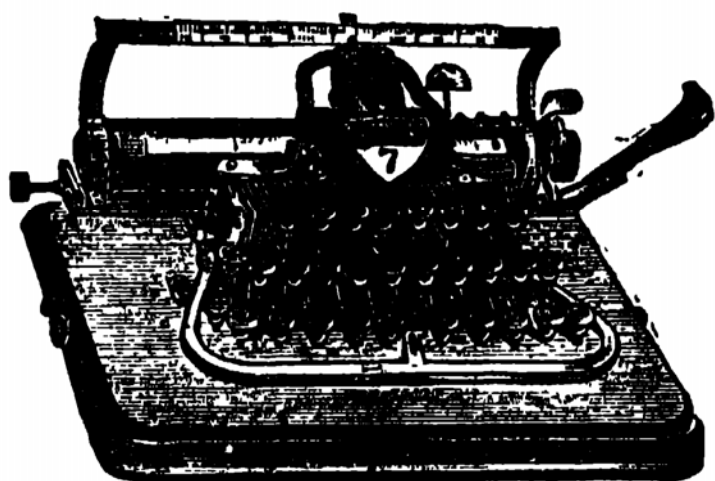
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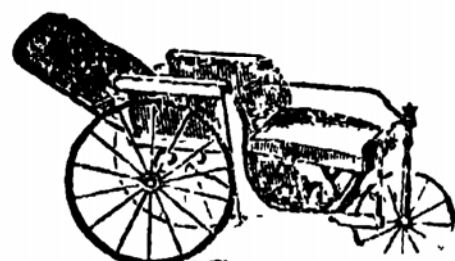
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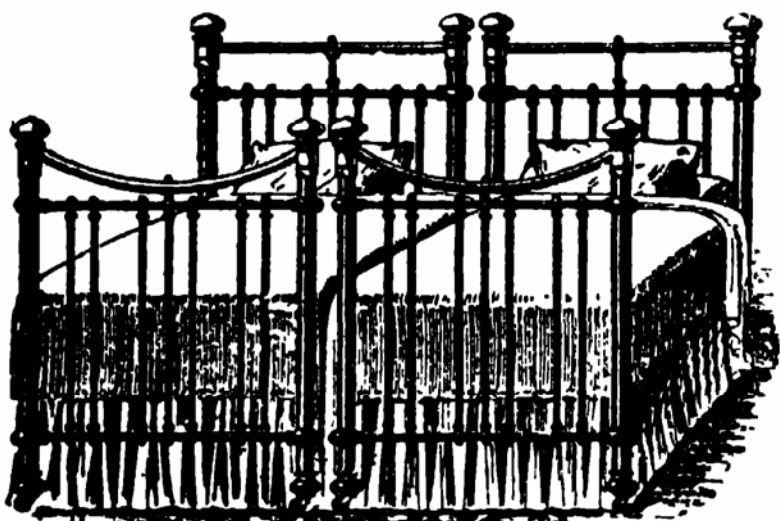
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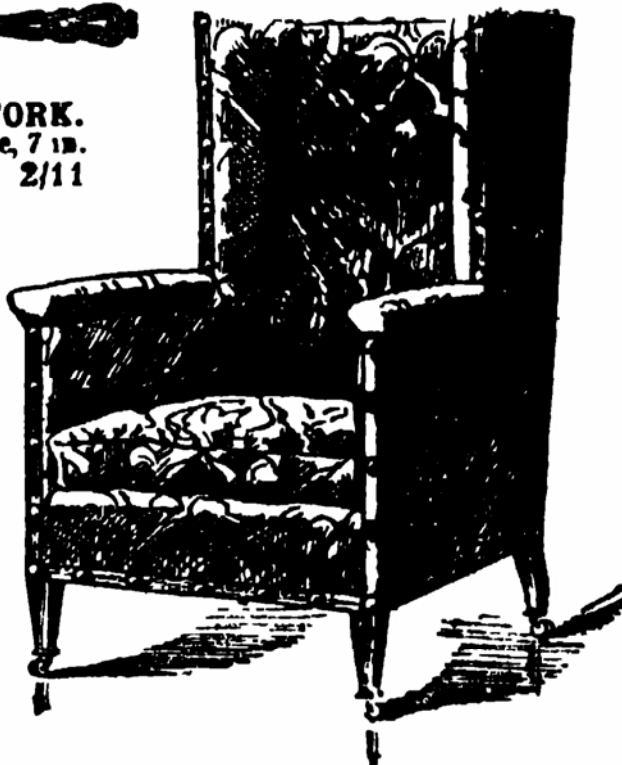
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No. CCCXXV—MARCH 1904

THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE

THE unity of the Empire and Imperial rights are in everybody's mouth, yet few understand what constitutes an empire and what Imperial rights include. Again, the man in the street clamours for a closer union between the Mother Country and its dependencies; but he has only a scant notion as to what is meant by dependencies and what are the component parts of the British Empire. He discourses largely of preferential tariffs to be enacted by the Colonies, and is profoundly ignorant of the real meaning of a preferential tariff, with its complicated relations. We hear faint suggestions of the creation of an Imperial Zollverein as a step to a self-supporting Empire, and the statement that such an institution existed in Germany is deemed a sufficient proof of its feasibility. Lastly, and most absurdly of all, we are told in grandiloquent language that he who is not in favour of preferential tariffs is a Little Englander who wishes to drive our over-sea brethren into the wilderness and shatter the fabric of the Empire.

Now, this vague talk about the unity of the Empire is most mischievous and misleading in so far as it indicates a doubt of its existing solidarity, and implies a charge that the Mother Country has not done, and is not doing, all in its power to protect the Colonies and to

secure their affections. It confuses also under the term of Colonies the vastly differing communities which constitute the British Empire. It pays no regard to the mode in which those communities have been governed, and are governed, or to the great progress that has been made in the views of British statesmen in regard to the Colonies—in short, it is the outcome of ignorance of our colonial history.

To begin with definitions, the driest and yet most essential element in a disquisition such as this—What is an empire, and what are dependencies? Burke thus describes the former:

Perhaps I am mistaken in my idea of an empire as distinguished from a single state or kingdom, but my idea of it is that an empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarchy or presiding republic. It does in such constitutions frequently happen (and nothing but the dismal cold dead uniformity of servitude can prevent its happening) that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between these privileges and the supreme common authority the law may be extremely nice.¹

A dependency has been defined by Sir G. C. Lewis to be ‘part of an independent political community which is immediately subject to a subordinate government.’

A colony is, strictly speaking, a species of the genus dependency. It may be defined to be a portion of the population of a country which settled on distant lands with the intention of forming a political community subject to a dominant community—the Mother Country. But, in ordinary language, all our dependencies except India are called colonies, as formerly they were all called plantations. Bearing these definitions in mind, we look at the map and find that the British Empire occupies about one-fifth of the surface of the habitable globe, and consists of the United Kingdom, with its attendant islands, and about forty-three dependencies under separate and independent governments,² varying in size from Canada, which is thirty times the size of the United Kingdom, to Gibraltar, the area of which is two square miles and seventy-six times smaller than Rutland. These dependencies may be classified as follows for practical purposes:

- (1) Self-governing colonies.
- (2) India.
- (3) Other dependencies.
- (4) Spheres of influence and quasi dependencies.

The extent of each division in area may be approximately given as follows:

	Square miles
The United Kingdom	120,979
Self-governing colonies	7,000,000
India	1,766,000
Other dependencies	2,500,000
Spheres of influence and quasi dependencies	500,000

¹ ‘Speech on Conciliation with America,’ p. 191.

² *Colonial List*, p. xxiii.

Thus the area of the British Empire is ninety-eight times that of the United Kingdom, while the area of the self-governing colonies alone is nearly sixty times as large as that of the Mother Country.

Next let us turn to the question of population :

	Population
The United Kingdom	41,605,323
Self-governing colonies	12,000,000
India	294,000,000
Other dependencies	12,000,000

Here, then, if we omit India, which has neither part nor parcel in any scheme of colonial federation, and regard population and not area, we have the comparison completely reversed, for the United Kingdom, if in area sixty times less than that of the self-governing colonies, which are alone concerned in the scheme now before the consideration of the public, contains a population about three and a half times as large.

Construct, then, a map of the colonial world on the scale of population and Canada will be dwarfed into a space of one-eighth and Australia into a space of one-eleventh of that of the United Kingdom, and so on with the other Colonies. The Big Englander and the Little Englander may squabble to their hearts' content over their respective maps of the Empire, but the fact remains that, if men and not cattle or barren wilderness are the chief factors in government, the United Kingdom completely overshadows the Colonies.

Perhaps it would be well if the Big Englander would reflect that size is no more the characteristic of grandeur in nations than in individual men. 'The Little Corporal,' whatever may be our opinion of his moral stature, still stands out in modern history as the greatest of men. Palestine and Athens have exercised an influence on the world in comparison with which the Assyrian Empire, Babylon, and even Rome herself almost sink into insignificance. Yet Palestine proper is not as large as Wales. From Dan to Beersheba is 186 miles, and its extreme breadth is fifty miles. Attica is nine times smaller than Palestine—its greatest length is fifty miles, its breadth is thirty miles—and, as already stated, the United Kingdom is ninety-eight times smaller than its dependencies.

If we turn from the areas of the countries which make up the British Empire to considering the relative volume of trade of the Mother Country with foreign countries and with its dependencies, we again find how striking is the position of the United Kingdom. The value of her whole commerce is in round numbers 850 millions—of this 600 millions is with foreign countries and 200 millions with our dependencies. This 200 millions is divided nearly equally between the self-governing Colonies and other dependencies, the balance being slightly in favour of the self-governing Colonies. As

the dependencies other than the self-governing Colonies, with few exceptions, deal with us on the principles of free trade, nearly half of the internal trade of the Empire is carried on under circumstances that do not admit of the introduction of preferential tariffs without imposing on them the system of protection. India, for example, a free-trade dependency, has dealings with us to the extent of 62,447,600*l.* a year, while Australia, our best self-governing customer, stands in the list at 45,448,463*l.*, and Canada at 27,571,246*l.*

The result, then, is that foreign customers, to the value of 600 millions, and customers in the British possessions, to the value of nearly 100 millions, are to be offended, disturbed, and interfered with in order that we may attract an hypothetical additional trade with customers who deal with us to the extent of a little more than 100 millions.³

A mere knowledge, however, of the extent and population and trade of the Empire is only a first step towards a comprehension of the problem of Imperial unity. Before we can judge of any proposals for strengthening the bond between the Mother Country and her children, we must inquire how the Empire has been built up, what have been the ties between its constituent members, and what the measures and opinions which from time to time have had a favourable or unfavourable influence on consolidation. What then was the origin of this vast community of states? Truly a very small one. The first attempt at colonial settlement was made in 1583 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, which still retains precedence as the first British Colony. Next came the acquisition by degrees of the thirteen colonies in North America, and the conquest of Canada, which together made the United Kingdom the greatest colonial power in the world except Spain. Besides these vast territories, the Empire, at the time of the revolt of the American Colonies, included certain possessions in India, some territory on the Gold Coast of Africa, Jamaica and other islands in the West Indies. In the course of the great French war, many dependencies of other countries which were wholly under absolute government came beneath our sway; but though penal settlements were founded in Australia, little progress was made in colonisation properly so called.

During the reign of Queen Victoria our Colonial Empire advanced by leaps and bounds, and made greater progress than during the centuries since the foundation-stone was laid by Gilbert in Newfoundland. Much territory in India, South and East Africa, and the Pacific Ocean was acquired; and the development of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and much of Canada belongs to the same period.

India is under a different administration from that of the Colonies, and must be considered as altogether detached from them. It has

³ See *British Trade and the Zollverein Issue*, chap. v.; by Chiozza.

been acquired by conquest and annexation at various times, beginning with the victory of Plassy in 1757, and not ended to-day.

In their infancy the Colonies were protected by British law. Certain fundamental maxims were laid down by the judges. A country acquired by conquest or cession retains its own laws until they are altered by the conqueror, with the exception of such as are repugnant to the essence of the British Constitution. The power of changing such laws resides in the King in Council, subject to the authority of Parliament.⁴

In the case of a colony properly so called, that is to say a territory discovered and planted by English subjects, of which Virginia, founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, is the most conspicuous example, the colonists carry with them so much of English law as is applicable to their situation, and the law of England is immediately and *ipso facto* in force in the new settlement.

The King in Council cannot legislate for such a colony ; but he has the right of appointing governors and other officers for the execution of the law, of erecting courts of justice and of summoning representative assemblies for the purpose of internal legislation.⁵ On the other hand, every colony, however acquired, is always subject to the legislative authority of the British Parliament, by whose power its existing laws may be repealed, new laws enacted, or a new Constitution imposed ; but this theoretical omnipotence of Parliament is practically limited by the constitutional maxim that the inhabitants of a colony cannot be taxed for Imperial purposes without representation in our Parliament, and by the fact that the Colonies would not tolerate continual interference in their affairs.

The history of the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies, like the history of the British Constitution itself, is an account of gradual change and of gradual progress varied by periods of reaction. In the early time of colonisation America was practically the only country open to emigration. The dominant motives of the emigrants were a desire to search for gold or a spirit of freedom seeking in another hemisphere a refuge from religious persecution at home.

Raleigh and his followers are examples of the goldseekers, and the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts and the deeds of the Pilgrim Fathers are instances never to be forgotten of the triumphs of Puritanism and religious zeal. Whatever was the exact form of government in the several colonies, liberty and freedom were the creed of the people. This spirit displayed itself when James II. tried to enforce the Royal Prerogative without the aid of Parliament. It broke into open rebellion later, and ended in a disruption of the thirteen Colonies when, acting on the theoretical maxim of the lawyers that Parliament is omnipotent, and can do everything but make a man a

⁴ *Clark on Colonies Law*, pp. 5, 6. Lord Mansfield, *Campbell v. Hall* Cooper, 204.

⁵ *Clark on Colonies*, p. 94.

woman or a woman a man, the Ministers of George III. attempted to tax them by Imperial statute, forgetful that the omnipotence of Parliament is limited in the degree stated above.

It is true that from a very early period of colonial history the Colonies, though not subjected to direct taxation, were oppressed by various restrictions. With a view to injure the trade of the Dutch, then the great carriers of the world, an Act was passed in 1650 prohibiting the ships of foreign nations from trading with any British plantation without a license from the Secretary of State, and this restriction remained in force for two centuries. Still, this legislation appears to have created little discontent in the Colonies, probably because similar disabilities were created by the statutes governing the coasting trade of the Mother Country.

A long period of almost indifference to the Colonies ensued between the Proclamation of Independence of the thirteen colonies and the year 1844. The first part of this period was occupied by the great continental war with France; the second stage was taken up by the burning questions of Catholic emancipation and reform, and by the suffering and degradation of the people caused in some degree by the fall of prices on the cessation of the war. Public opinion ceased to regard the Colonies with any favour, and James Mill proved to his own satisfaction that our Colonies not only were no advantage to the Mother Country, but were an absolute detriment, for they might at any time involve her in war and costly operations for their defence without any counteracting benefit.

While public opinion was indifferent to the Colonies, the Government ceased to confer any power of legislation upon their inhabitants, and substituted for the freedom of internal government, which had prevailed, constant interference by a department of the home Government, which, after various changes, acquired the name of the Colonial Office.⁶ The origin of this change is to be found in the fact that, after the revolt of the North American Colonies, no colony of British origin remained to us on the continent of America, while Canada and the numerous conquests during the French war had been wholly under absolute governments, and ruled in a manner contrary to the genius of our old colonial system as well as to the spirit of the British Constitution.⁷

A new era opened for the Colonies when Lord Durham arrived in Canada in March 1838 as Governor-General. He retained his office only six months, but during this short period he made his famous report to the British Government, in which he laid down that the existing state of things allowed the Canadians no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possessed, and no stimulus to liberty.

Few despatches ever had more influence on the destinies of an

⁶ Lewis on the *Government of Dependencies*, p. 16.

⁷ Merivale's *Lectures*, p. 7

Empire. The first fruits were shown when the Imperial Parliament granted in 1846 a Constitution to the reunited provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. By this Constitution, responsible government was granted to a colony for the first time, since it was provided that if the Executive Council, or, as we should call it, the Ministry, could not command a majority in the Legislative Assembly, they must vacate their offices and a fresh Ministry be formed. The Governor's power of disallowing Bills passed by the Assembly was restricted by his instructions not to oppose the wishes of the Assembly unless the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire were deeply concerned.⁸

England had at last found out the truth of Burke's assertion that 'the fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English Colonies probably than in any other people on the earth,' but it was some time before the principle was fully established. After Lord Durham came Sir William Molesworth, Lord Norton (formerly Mr. Adderley), Lord Kimberley (Lord Wodehouse), and Mr. Roebuck, who were the great builders of the new Empire, and among them Sir William Molesworth was perhaps the chief.

In 1850 a Society for the Reform of Colonial Government was formed, of which Lord Norton became the Honorary Secretary, and men of all politics—such as Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Spencer Walpole, Lord Wodehouse, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and many others, including the writer of this article—were members. The society was established, as stated in the instrument of foundation, 'to aid in obtaining for every dependency, which is a colony of England, the real and sole management of all local affairs in the colony itself,' including the disposal of the waste lands, and a right to frame and alter the local Constitution at pleasure. Sir William Molesworth, with the assistance of the present writer, prepared a scheme on the model of the American Constitution, distinguishing Imperial and local powers, vesting the Imperial powers in the Crown and leaving all local powers to the colony. An opportunity soon occurred for bringing the whole question before Parliament. When Lord John Russell in 1851 brought forward a bill for the better management of the Australian colonies, Sir William Molesworth introduced his scheme as an amendment. He supported his proposal by stating 'if we wish to frame a measure which shall remove the great and fundamental cause of colonial discontent, we must deprive the Colonial Office of the present power of interfering in the internal affairs of the Colonies,' and, again, 'The only mode of removing the cause of discontent in the Colonies is by strictly limiting the power of the Colonial Office to questions affecting Imperial interests,' and again, 'We ought to look upon our Colonies as integral portions of the British Empire inhabited by men who ought to enjoy in their own localities all the rights and privileges that Englishmen do in England, but we are entitled to reserve to our-

⁸ *Short History of the Canadian People*, p. 397.

selves the common concerns of the Empire, because Imperial power must be located somewhere for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, and because we are the richest and most powerful portion of the Empire, and have to pay for the management of two common concerns.'⁹ Sir William Molesworth, though defeated by a majority of sixty, gained a victory for his principles, since Lord John Russell admitted that his colonial policy would be founded on commercial freedom and colonial self-government.

By this time public opinion had entirely veered round, and the next few years saw free Constitutions with responsible government granted to the major part of the colonies now included in the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia, as well as to Newfoundland and New Zealand.

The grant of responsible government placed the coping-stone on the structure of colonial independence, so far as is consistent with the unity of the Empire. A colonist attained all, and even more than all, the privileges of an Englishman ; his local powers over the Constitution of his colony were as great as those exercised by his kinsman at home ; and, if his Imperial powers were not so directly effectual, he was more than compensated by his exemption from the heavy burden of taxation for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and for other Imperial purposes. The gratitude which this grant of political emancipation elicited from our brothers beyond the seas formed a strange contrast with the indifference with which they greeted the abolition of the navigation laws and other restrictions on trade, and with the silent reception accorded to the extraordinary power conferred on them from time to time of imposing a protective tariff against the Mother Country. So little, indeed, did this latter gift attract attention, that there is difficulty in discovering when and where it was first bestowed.

These facts made it abundantly clear that the Colonies were not nations of shopkeepers, and that commercial advantages were not the lodestar by which they steered their course ; still, the conviction lingered in the minds of the political economists that the colonists were too much inclined to grind their own axes, and that secession was possibly the ultimate fate to be anticipated for the Mother Country and her Colonies. In the sixties England was sickened by the expense and bloodshed of New Zealand wars, which brought neither profit nor glory ; and it was felt that the local defence of the Colonies against intestine enemies must be left to the Colonies themselves. Gradually, however, the Colonies began to show signs that instead of desiring to separate from the Mother Country they were proud of the connection, and willing to share its perils as well as to inherit its glory. This feeling reached its height when the war in South Africa broke out, and the unity of the Empire became a watchword, and the extension of its limits over the Transvaal and the Orange Free State was advocated by Canada,

⁹ *Molesworth's Speeches*, p. 312.

Australia, and New Zealand, as ardently as by the Big Englanders at home.

We have now accumulated ample material for forming an opinion how far, and by what means, if any, the constituent members of the Empire can be more effectually welded together. We have seen that the Empire is made up of the Mother Country, and some fifty dependencies scattered over the globe, and differing in size, government, capacity for self-government, extent of trade, race, language, religion, and in every particular in which human beings can differ. We have at the top of the tree Canada and Australia, with their vast expanse of territory, and India with her teeming population. We have at the bottom of the ladder garrisons like Malta and Gibraltar—Malta not so large as the Isle of Wight, and Gibraltar with an area of two square miles. Nobody in their senses supposes that the unity of the Empire can be secured by any general system of legislation applicable to all or to the greater part of these dependencies. We must, then, dismiss at once from our consideration and treat as a negligible quantity an enormous part of the Empire in treating of any proposals for unity, and confine ourselves to the self-governing colonies. If we inquire what the legal tie is between these colonies and the Mother Country, we find it to be the slightest possible. It consists in the sovereignty of the Crown, the power to make peace and war, the power to make treaties, and the appeal to the Privy Council. And the history of Imperial union shows that as the legal ties are slackened, the moral bonds are tightened. No sooner was the heavy hand of the Colonial Office uplifted from the Colonies than they sought to nestle under the wing of the Mother Country, to meet her wishes in peace, and to stand by her in war with their best and noblest troops. Are there, then, any signs that the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country are ripe for a change? The year 1902 was the most prosperous year that England had yet seen, and the Colonies were contented and restful. Without warning and without apparent reason, we were told that the unity of the Empire depended on our granting the Colonies a preferential tariff. A great agitator startled England by declaring that the Imperial system was rotten to the core, and that the only remedy was to offer the bribe of preferential tariffs to the self-governing Colonies.

A preferential tariff is, as its name imports, a tariff which gives a preference to one importing country over another in respect of Customs duties levied on one or more descriptions of goods. For example, if England levies a five-shilling duty on Canadian corn and a ten-shilling duty on Russian corn, the duty is a preferential duty as respects Canada. Such a system is necessarily a militant one, and in conciliating one state creates an enmity in all others. Moreover, in a commercial system such as obtains in England, it has a twofold aspect. In the first place, it creates a demand in every colony for

preference—for if Canada obtains it with respect to corn, Australia requires an equal privilege for her wool, New Zealand for her meat, and so on, not only with the self-governing Colonies, but with all the dependencies of the British Empire. A preference granted to one colony involves the question of a similar grant to every other dependency, and a cause of offence to every country dealing in the article in respect of which preference has been given. Raw material is not to be taxed; no benefit, therefore, can be given to the lumberman of Canada or the wool-grower of Australia; there is nothing to show that South Africa, India, or the Crown colonies will reap any advantage; indeed, this magnificent scheme for welding the Empire dwindles away, and is found, on examination, to effect nothing beyond taxing the working man at home for the benefit of wheatgrowers of parts of Canada and the sheepfarmers of New Zealand.

In the second place, what does each colony propose to give us in exchange for a boon so costly to the Mother Country? It certainly will not admit our manufactures free; at most it will differentiate between English goods and foreign goods, but this it will do not by lowering the duty on English goods, but by raising the duty on foreign goods. But if our neighbour has built a wall ten feet high, which shuts out the view from our windows, it is a poor consolation to be told that he has built it twenty feet high in front of Smith's windows next door. Moreover, any such arrangement supposes a permanent agreement between England and the Colonies; but neither the Legislature of the Colony nor of the parent country can bind its successors, even if it can make a satisfactory agreement at any particular time. For example, the natural market and the natural source of supply for Canada is the United States; and, if the latter choose to bid against us for the trade of Canada, the Colonial Ministers will find it mighty hard to resist, no matter what engagements their predecessors may have contracted with England. It follows that the idea of a preferential tariff enacted by the Mother Country in exchange for colonial concessions is not within the range of practical politics, even if restricted to the self-governing colonies, and is simply impossible of extension to India, which is a free-trade dependency, and which exceeds in commercial importance any one of the self-governing Colonies. Preferential tariffs, then, however efficacious as a means of retaliation, cannot possibly be a cementing influence between the Mother Country and its children, but must be a disintegrating and centrifugal force.

The advocates of the preferential tariff scheme propose that the Colonies shall not only modify their existing protective duties in favour of the Mother Country, but shall engage not to create any fresh industries under the shelter of protection. Such a proposal seems to be the madness of credulity. For half a century England has announced to the world that she considers free trade the essence of commercial policy, yet on a sudden we are told that all this is to be changed.

Where, then, is the stability of legislation ? What is there to prevent the doctrines of a certain impetuous and ambitious Minister being subverted by another statesman equally desirous of distinction ? There evidently can be no finality in agreements between legislative bodies. The issue is, moreover, confused by the proposal to use protective tariffs as a weapon against foreign manufacturers—a proposal of the school who think that hitting hard is the true mark of a great man. It is possible that in some instances retaliation may be advisable, but this policy rests on entirely different grounds and does not come within the scope of this paper. It is obviously a hostile and disintegrating policy, and has no affinity with the use of preferential tariffs as a cement of the Empire. A scheme far more likely to promote Imperial unity would be a system of free trade between all the constituent members of the Empire with a protective hedge against foreign countries, thus making the Empire self-sustaining ; but such a plan, whether its adoption would or would not be politically wise, is, we know, unacceptable to the Colonies, and may be relegated to the date of the Greek Kalends.

The author of the preferential tariff scheme asserts that the unity of the Empire depends on its acceptance by England, and at the same time shadows forth that, if adopted, it will be followed in due time by the consolidation in one compacted nation of the Mother Country with all her dependencies, or, at the least, with the self-governing colonies. Now, a little reflection will show that it is an error to hold that the Colonies look upon a commercial boon as a link in Imperial unity. A colonist regards his country as an Englishman regards England—as the first country in the world ; his ambition is rather to expand his political power, say, by acquiring the right to treat independently with foreign nations than to sell his corn at a shilling more the bushel. What clearer proof can there be of the character of the aspirations of the Colonies than the fact that when, from time to time, commercial restrictions have been imposed and taken off, and preferential duties have been given and withheld, the Colonies have remained unmoved, while the attempt to restrict their liberty of taxation drove them into rebellion, and the grant of responsible government called forth an outburst of gratitude without a parallel in our history ? So it is plain that the Colonies are ambitious of political freedom, rather than worshippers of the ‘ Almighty Dollar.’

In many minds commercial union is associated with the idea of political confederation ; and political confederation is regarded as the ultimate aim of a British colonial policy, while the United States and the German Zollverein are quoted as examples to be followed. As has been already observed, a Zollverein would be an additional bond between the Mother Country and the Colonies, but it implies free trade between the constituent members of the Empire, and that, in existing circumstances, is not possible, for the Colonies

have announced their intention not to give up their protective tariffs. But, as a matter of fact, neither preferential tariffs nor free trade have any tendency to produce a confederation, still less a federal Constitution such as that of the United States. A confederation is an association of independent states for the purpose of mutual defence, who vest certain Imperial rights of supremacy over all the members in a central body elected by the constituent members. It differs from a federal or national government in that it carries down its decrees not to individuals, but to states in a corporate capacity. A national government recognises no communities, but addresses itself solely to individuals, and makes its power felt by them through the agency of its courts of justice.

The essential difference between the two governments is most apparent in the matter of taxation. A confederate government demands a contribution from its constituent members, and enforces non-payment by force of arms. A national government has its taxing officer in every component state, and enforces its taxes by levy on individuals, and in default by judicial process. The American Constitution is a national not a confederate government. Every American has a double citizenship : he is a citizen of the United States and a citizen of his particular state. He pays federal taxes and state taxes. Accordingly, the cardinal principle of the British Constitution, that taxation must be accompanied by representation, is not violated, as each citizen has a vote not only for the State Legislature, but for the Federal Legislature as well. His privileges are co-extensive with his obligations. If all the powers of government except those of making peace and war, contracting treaties, and one or two more were conferred on the London County Council, the position of the Londoner would be similar to that of the New Yorker ; he would pay local taxes under the name of rates, and federal or Imperial taxes to the central government. These forms of government, a confederate or a federal government, are the only possible modes in which the constitutional bond between free communities can be drawn more closely than that now existing between the Colonies and the Mother Country. In either case the Colonies must have adequate representation in the central legislature, in which the power of taxation resides ; and it is, therefore, clear that neither form can be adopted as a means of consolidating the British Empire. Imagine an addition to the House of Commons of members from Canada and Australia. What power would they have on Imperial questions ? If Ireland complains that she is practically swamped by the overwhelming wave of English members, what would be the case of a particular colony having interests antagonistic to those of other members of the Empire ? If, on the other hand, we constitute a small central council, whose members should represent the Mother Country and the Colonies, and entrust it with the administration of Imperial powers, is it possible

that England would entrust to such a body the power of taxing her 41 millions of inhabitants, while the Colonies could only be asked to contribute and not compelled except by war? We must, then, dismiss from our minds the idea that the Empire can possibly become a unity under any form of representative government. There still remains the possibility of tightening the commercial bonds of the Empire, but surely this should be done by the Colonies abolishing their protective tariffs against the Mother Country, and not by the Mother Country establishing protective tariffs for the benefit of the Colonies. It can hardly be expected that the British citizen, who pays so much to maintain the forces under the shadow of which the Colonies levy their protective tariffs, would consent to be further taxed for the benefit of his richer fellow-citizen in Canada or Australia. Why is England alone to play the unselfish part, and her children to consider nothing save their own material interests?

Are we, then, driven to the conclusion of the elder Mill? Are the Colonies merely sources of expense, and useful only as dumping grounds for our surplus population, or must we adopt the more modified form of the same doctrine, that they are communities like the Greek colonies, wholly independent and bound only by affection and common origin to the metropolis or parent state? These ideas had a certain plausibility at a time when the millennium of free trade was expected to create a millennium of peace, and a brotherhood of nations was regarded as possible; but a declaration of war would at once convert an independent colony into a neutral state, and thus create a new state of things under international law. The colony might not display its attachment to the Mother Country by conferring on it any preferential benefit; for example, the ships of war of the parent state could not reinforce their crews or obtain supplies in what was till now a colonial port, accessible for all purposes to ships of the Mother Country, could not capture hostile vessels within three miles of the colonial shore, could not enlist men within its boundaries, could not march troops through its territories, could not, in short, obtain any advantage over its enemies through the medium of the colony.

What, then, separation would mean as regards the parent country will appear from a glance at one of the many maps which depict the trade routes of Great Britain over the globe. Paint all the spots marked red with a neutral tint, and clearly the commerce of Great Britain would be crippled to a disastrous extent. But if separation would injure the Mother Country, what would be its effect on the colony? The only privileges a self-governing colony would acquire by independence would be the power of making peace and war, of making treaties, and of framing its own Constitution. In other respects a Canadian enjoys at present the same rights as an Englishman, he is a subject of the same Sovereign, can be elected to the British Parliament, can go into the Army or Navy, be called to the

Bar ; in short, can enter on any of the avenues leading to success in life which are open to a native of England. He can claim the protection of the British Ambassador and the aid of the British Consul abroad ; while at home he has full power as regards local affairs. A privilege which he has not, is to be taxed to the amount of 35,000,000*l.* a year for the Navy to protect his shores, and the same sum for the Army to repel any foreign invader, besides the millions required for other Imperial Services. What would be the position of Australia, with an area of nearly three million square miles, twenty-five times as large as the United Kingdom, one-fourth less than Europe, and a population of three millions and a half, or as nearly as possible the same as that of Yorkshire, if left to itself with any of the Great Powers of Europe hovering on its shores, or landing 20,000 men on its territories ? Turn to the subject of finance. A colony desiring to borrow money, if not sustained by the power of England, would be reduced to bankruptcy to-morrow.

Let us, then, briefly review the whole subject of Imperial unity. The Empire at present is bound together by common interest ; for any separation of the Colonies would be injurious to the commerce of the British Empire, but ruinous to the Colonies. The Empire is also bound together by the ties of a common race and a community of sentiment ; how strong these ties are all history witnesses. Ask the Pole, ask the Slav, ask the Finlander, ask the Czech, whether there is no strength in such bonds. Centuries cannot untie them, although in all these cases sentiment is opposed to pecuniary interest. Why should they be less binding in the British Empire, where a preponderating weight of interest is combined with sentiment ? No case can be made for disturbing the present condition of so many millions of people. Why should the Mother Country be asked to imperil her enormous commerce in order that a series of bargains may be struck with a group of Colonies reluctant to abandon a system of protection in favour of free trade, which has for half a century been the pride and aim of the Mother Country ? The very question throws an apple of discord between Great Britain and her children. The bargaining incidental to any prosecution of the preferential tariff system must tend to separate rather than bind closer a vast group of almost independent communities, differing in their products, their interests, and ambitions. Moreover, the scheme leaves out in the cold the greater part of the Empire, which will necessarily be alienated by being differently treated from those who will be deemed by them their more fortunate brethren.

The whole substance of the proper policy to be observed in the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and the probable consequence of such policy, are contained in a speech made by Mr. Gladstone at Chester in 1855.¹⁰ ‘ Govern the

¹⁰ See Morley's *Life*, vol. i. p. 363.

Colonies upon a principle of freedom. Defend them against aggression from without. Regulate their foreign relations. These things belong to the colonial connection. But of the duration of that connection let them be the judges, and I predict that if you leave them the freedom of judgment, it is hard to say when the day will come when they will wish to separate from the great name of England. Depend upon it, they covet a share in that great name. You will find in that feeling of theirs the greatest security for the connection. Make the name of England yet more and more an object of desire to the Colonies. Their natural disposition is to love and revere the name of England, and this reverence is by far the best security you can have for their continuing not only to be subjects of the Crown, not only to render it allegiance, but to render it that allegiance which is the most precious of all—the allegiance which proceeds from the depths of the heart of man. You have seen various colonies, some of them living at the antipodes, offering to you their contributions to assist in supporting the wives and families of your soldiers, the heroes that have fallen in the war. This I may say without exaggeration to be among the first fruits of that system, upon which within the last twelve or fifteen years you have founded a rational mode of administering the affairs of your Colonies without gratuitous interference.’ These are the words of a statesman.

THRING.

RUSSIA, JAPAN, AND OURSELVES

THE cloud which has long hung over the Far East has burst ; war is declared between Russia and Japan. What will be the result, and what is our position ? Those are the questions everyone asks, with an idea, dim though it may be, that the vital and permanent interests of our own race, as well as of the actual combatants, are at stake, and they are asked in an uncertain manner, as by men groping in the dark, in ignorance of conditions existing on the other side of the world. Yet those conditions are no new ones ; they date back some sixty years, to the time when China, whose future is among the problems chiefly involved, was first awakened by the war of 1840, which ended with the treaty of Nanking, giving us possession of Hong Kong and opening to our trade the cities of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. That was the first blow on the wedge into the splendid isolation of China. Another, and far more heavy, blow was given twenty years later, when the Anglo-French forces penetrated to Peking and there dictated terms. The effect of that action has hardly been sufficiently realised, especially its effect on the minds of the Japanese, who for generations had derived their culture, their civilisation, their official language, their whole ideas from the far larger and adjacent country. It was that expedition which opened their eyes to the fact that, as China had been shown to be powerless before the foreign barbarians whom they detested, and kept at a distance, as much or more than their Chinese neighbours, they too were powerless. Quicker of thought than the Chinaman, imitative in a yet higher degree, the Japanese grasped the idea that there was more to be got from adopting the methods of the West than by adhering to those of the East. For a few years the leaven of this thought worked in their minds, and the revolution of 1868, with its suppression of their old feudal system, the introduction of European vessels, of railways, of telegraphs, of those outward signs which have marked what we call our progress, was the result. In all these matters they are marvellous copyists ; they have not got originality, they have not got the seed of Western civilisation, but they have stripped the fruit of it from the trees.

It is a common error to suppose that the Japanese, as a people, have Europeanised themselves. They have*done nothing of the kind ;

for one thing they dislike Europeans too much, for another they like themselves too well, to attempt it. Those who come here are an exceedingly small percentage; even they, on returning to their own country, often become more anti-foreign than those who have never travelled. Taking the whole population, there may be one of them in a hundred thousand who has really assimilated Western thought; ten, in that number, who have partly done so. From these latter come the 'soshi,' partly educated on foreign lines, not sufficiently so to obtain employment; therefore, soured men and discontented, the class who cut down their own statesmen and assault foreigners in the streets.

But, while the great bulk of the people live as their fathers lived, think as they thought, till the fields as their fathers tilled them—and one has only to travel in districts beyond the reach of the globe-trotter, who writes misleading books based on his experience of a few weeks, to see this—they are very amenable to the lead given to them by the exceedingly shrewd group of statesmen at the head of affairs. These latter realised after the war of 1860 that, as a matter of business, there was a good deal to learn; and, like diligent students, they applied themselves to the task, making careful note of the fact that, as China had been shown to be vulnerable to others, she might later on be equally so to themselves.

That the control of China, the copying on their own account of the European occupation of Peking, was for long an objective to the Japanese is proved by the existence of a detailed map covering the whole region of Korea, Manchuria, and the coasts of the Gulf of Pechili, with the roads all marked, the contours of the hills given, and an amount of detail shown which must have occupied the clandestine surveyors of the most inquisitive race on the earth for many years until it came into use by the Japanese staff in the war of 1895. A copy of that map was given to the present writer at that time, and is now in his possession. It, in itself, furnishes evidence of the long-cherished design to invade China, and disproves the assertion, then made, that Japan was forced into war on that occasion. On the contrary, it was a deliberate and carefully planned invasion, with the object of obtaining supremacy over the millions of Chinamen. Russia denounced it as a pure piece of aggression, and she was perfectly justified in so doing; backed by France and Germany, she compelled the Japanese to evacuate Manchuria and abandon Port Arthur, the key to that region. She did her best, through her then Minister in Japan, to induce us to fall into line, but our representative in Tokio had fortunately known this Russian *diplomat* elsewhere, in a little matter of the kidnapping of a Prince, and he kept us clear of participation in those proceedings. If we had been mixed up in them we should have merely played Russia's game, as France and Germany did, and incurred the latent hostility of Japan to no purpose. When the Japanese found themselves foiled

after all their elaborate preparations—so elaborate that they had actually ascertained the resistance to projectiles of the obsolete Chinese ironclads, and arranged to have guns on their latest cruisers capable of penetrating that armour—they were furious with rage and disappointment. Served by the best spies in the world, they had found out that China, large as it loomed to the Powers of the West, was but a flabby inert mass, a bubble that could be pricked with impunity. They had hardened their hearts and pricked the bubble, only to find themselves treated by Russia with a cry of ‘Stop thief!’ But what is one to think of any one who raises that cry on seeing a man running off with his neighbour’s clothes, and then proceeds to put the clothes on himself?

That is exactly what Russia did. She took from Japan the hint that liberties might be taken with China, and proceeded to act on it. For the last nine years she has been quietly doing so. Profiting by our hands being full in South Africa for part of the time, she has made the most of her opportunities. It was when we were so engaged that she took what she diplomatically called a lease of Port Arthur, and called on us to remove our squadron from the harbour. That our Government most foolishly did, thereby acknowledging Russian pretensions. A bolder policy on our part at that time would have probably prevented, or at all events deferred, the present crisis, for Russia’s grip on Manchuria would not have been the same. Her grip has again been tightened by her construction of a system of railways, running southwards from the main line across Siberia, and on her having, for her own advantage, spent money on these undertakings she rests the least flimsy of her pretensions to a country about as large as India south of the Ganges.

While Russia has thus been busy on land, Japan has been equally so at sea. In 1895 a Japanese official said to the writer in Tokio: ‘There is one thing these Russians have forgotten, and that is the intensely vindictive nature of our people. We will never forgive them for the way in which they have robbed us of the territory we have conquered. If our generation does not have revenge, our sons or our grandsons will. We would fight Russia now if we had got battleships as she has, but we have only got cruisers yet. We pitted them against the old Chinese battleships in the action off the Yalu River, and we only just won. We cannot possibly risk them against the Russian fleet; we must get battleships for that. Meanwhile, the Russians will try to get Port Arthur.’ That was said on the 12th of November, 1895, and both predictions have been verified. The Russians have got Port Arthur, and Japan has a powerful squadron of six battleships which have cost her tenfold what they would us. For in Japan, to a native, the purchasing power of a yen, or dollar, worth two shillings, is as much as that of a sovereign here, and thus, mea-

secured against commodities, a million spent by them in sterling on the Tyne in buying an ironclad is equivalent to ten millions on our part. That shows how great has been the strain on their finances to get those ships, but the burden has been cheerfully borne in view of the object. With this new weapon she confronts Russia. May it not also be the case that, by means of her ubiquitous spies, she is armed with special knowledge of that being true which many suspect—namely, that Russia, like China, may be standing on feet of clay, and be far less formidable than she appears, especially when the point of attack is a far distant extremity like Port Arthur or Vladivostok, to which the lack of coaling stations would prevent access by sea in war-time, leaving communications from the centre dependent on a single line of weakly-constructed railway more than five thousand miles long. Unless the Pekin correspondent of the *Times* has been inaccurate—and it would be an unheard-of thing on his part—in giving the whole land forces of Russia to the east of Lake Baikal at barely 150,000 men, it is on them that the brunt of the Japanese attack will fall, for it will be difficult to reinforce them, and if the sea can be cleared of the Russian fleet they can be attacked in detail. Japan ascertained the inherent weakness of China before she made her attack; she may have done the same with Russia. That country was struck by Napoleon at the heart when he marched to Moscow and brought about his own downfall; we bit her in the foot in the Crimea, and she nearly bled to death; the bite of the Japanese on a foot now extended much further may be even more deadly. Again, while Russia consists of a number of dissimilar races, such as Persians, Poles, Finlanders, and Tartars, whose only bond of union is the suzerainty of the Czar, and whose common grievance is the bureaucracy which oppresses them, Japan is inhabited by a frugal, hardy, homogeneous race, all of the same blood, full of intense patriotism, full too of a self-confidence so extreme that it is sometimes called self-conceit, led by statesmen keen, wary, and not so overburdened with scruples as to place them at any disadvantage in dealing even with a Russian *diplomat*. One hears them spoken of as a small people, but their population of nearly forty-five millions exceeds that of the United Kingdom, so there is not much in the impression that this war is a case of a little boy standing up to a giant. There is no room for sympathy on that account; there is a good deal of room for it in the way they have profited by what their last war taught them, that they could not defy Europe without getting the worst of it. So they secured our services, by means of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, to keep the ring for them this time; when our statesmen thought they were making a mutual alliance, they were really being utilised by the shrewder Japanese for that purpose. They have made use also—though not to the same extent—of the United States by establishing an interest in common in Manchurian treaty ports, getting the two treaties with China signed together. As against the

open effrontery of Russia in ignoring her engagements in Manchuria they have behaved with perfect coolness, until the time came to back that up with equally perfect nerve in breaking off negotiations conducted, on the Russian side, with dilatoriness and insolence. And as regards the Japanese insistence on Korea being kept clear of the Russians, that is absolutely essential to them ; with the coast of Korea, *vis-à-vis* to Japan, in Russian hands, Japan would live under perpetual menace, and her security would be at an end.

Very misleading impressions of Japan have been given by the superficial books written about the country by people who have spent but a few weeks or months there, spending spare cash freely, and received by the natives with the warm welcome which such expenditure usually obtains. The Japanese have thus been accepted as a light-hearted, superficial race, easy of access, and ready to take the Western man at his own valuation. Nothing can be further from the truth. A very able man, a missionary who had lived twenty years among them, and thoroughly knew their language, a very difficult one, and so a great impediment to interchange of thought, when he was asked what he thought of the Japanese character, replied : ' Between our minds and those of the Japanese there is always a curtain, which they take care is never lifted.'

They are an intensely secretive, astute, and self-contained race, very difficult to understand, because of the ineradicable racial difference between them and ourselves.

Our great misfortune in dealing with them has been that our Ministers to Japan have been men sent there in the ordinary course of their diplomatic service, which, while it had given them experiences of other Courts and other statesmen, gave no clue to the separate habits of thought which obtain in Japan. To this rule there have been two notable exceptions, the late Sir Harry Parkes, whose whole career was divided between China and Japan, and Sir Ernest Satow. When the appointment of the last-named as British Minister to their Court was announced to the Japanese Cabinet, it was met by the remark that we were sending to them the man who knew fully as much of their country as they themselves did.

Such men are of necessity rare. We are fortunate in now having Sir Ernest Satow at Peking, but it is doubtful whether his removal there from Tokio, which is now the centre of action, has been advantageous. For the Japanese take a great deal of knowing. They are our very good friends to-day, while we are doing a great deal for them ; how far their friendship may be counted on hereafter to keep an open door for us in China, when they have got the key of the door in their pocket, may prove quite another story. The real *carus belli* between Russia and Japan is the control of China and her commerce ; neither country is rich, and that is enough to enrich either of them and give

to the winner a preponderance, very great and very difficult to estimate in amount, on the Pacific.

That commerce we opened out by the war of 1840, followed by that of 1860. We have admitted all nations to share in the trade of Hong Kong—sixty years ago a barren island on the China coast, now one of the greatest ports of the world—and to free participation in the treaty ports of China herself. We have built up the whole goodwill of the China business, to a share in which we have admitted the other nations as they would never have admitted us. If any of them had had it, they would have blocked it to us, as they have blocked their own home markets, by high protective duties, and those home markets being so blocked makes this one, now very great, and capable of almost indefinite expansion, even more valuable to us now than formerly. Far from being received with any gratitude, this action of ours is met with the new doctrine of ‘spheres of influence.’ France in the South, Russia in the North, Germany on the North-East, have been carving slices from the joint of China. Newchwang, one of the most important of the actual treaty ports, has been practically taken over by Russia, and the customs revenues, which form part of the security for Western loans, are paid in, not to the Imperial Chinese Customs, to whom they belong, but to the Russian Bank, from which they are not likely to emerge. This we have seen done, without even any protest on our part being made. Even our supremacy on the Yangtse is disputed; the river is patrolled by German gunboats; railways running into that great valley are projected by foreign syndicates—and a railway is the first assertion of power over the district through which it runs, on the part of the nationality owning and controlling the railway. Unlike the other Powers of the West, we want no territory in China; we have enough, or too much, on our hands elsewhere; but we do want, and must have, open access to the commerce of the country. That now forms the stakes in a game in which two very wary and astute players are engaged, while we sit by with our arms folded. We are not the stakeholders but the stake-finders; whichever of them wins, we lose. It looks too much like the policy of drift which landed our fathers in the Crimean war, and ourselves in the South African war. That policy of drift seems inseparable from our system of government by party. The price we are paying for parliamentary rule is the inefficiency of the Cabinet, whose members are always looking behind them to count votes in the House, and outside it, instead of looking forward to advance national interests. We have seen lately how a man fit to rule, when he takes up a great national cause, begins by severing his connection with the Cabinet so as to be free from the trammels of party.

Let us then beware of drift, especially as the issue of this struggle involves consequences which so deeply affect us. Let us avoid undue jubilation at the first tricks in that game being scored by the one of the players with whom, in consequence of the provocation received,

we have naturally the most sympathy ; let us keep our eye carefully on the stakes, the commerce of China, and see—if it may be, with the co-operation of the United States, and that is more than possible—that those stakes are not swept off the table into the pocket of one or other of the players.

To an average Englishman, who has spent many years where that game is being played, it appears to be one which wants exceedingly careful watching.

C. A. W. POWNALL.

RUSSIA'S FINANCIAL POSITION

THOSE who follow Russia's career from afar cannot help being struck by the fact that, as far as appearances go, her financial position is one of extraordinary strength, for she spends truly gigantic sums with incredible lavishness for the most unremunerative purposes. According to Von Löbell and to Baron von Tettau, who are the best authorities on Russia's military position, her standing army consists of over 1,100,000 officers and men, with about 200,000 horses. Of this enormous host about 600,000 men, with 100,000 horses and 2,360 field guns, are massed within easy reach of the Austro-German frontier, where the maintenance of troops is far more costly than in most other parts of European Russia, while several hundred thousand men are kept at still greater expense in the wilds of East and Central Asia and in the Caucasus.

Russia's military manœuvres are on the most colossal scale, and whenever there is political ferment in Central or in Eastern Asia, she transports a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand men across two continents as if money was of no account with her.

She also possesses a huge and extremely costly navy, and we have read that she has lately ordered a number of battleships of 16,000 tons each, which even wealthy Powers such as France and Germany have declined to adopt on account of their costliness.

Furthermore, Russia not only spends enormous amounts on her armaments, but she advances money with an open hand to China, Persia, and the Balkan States, constructs in the wilderness thousands of miles of commercially unproductive, but strategically important, railways, and strategical harbours round which she builds up enormous substantially-built towns for the use of a future generation. Evidently for political and military purposes, for purposes of expansion and conquest, expense is not considered by Russia and money is never lacking.

When we now turn to Russia's annual financial statements expecting to find the traces of those vast, and apparently ruinous, expenses in huge yearly deficits, we discover that she has year after year not only no deficit but an enormous surplus. In the English books of reference we find for instance the following figures for the last financial year :

Russia's revenue, 1902	£ 218,186,000
„ expenditure, 1902	197,888,000
Surplus	15,298,000

Russia's yearly expenditure has grown perhaps more rapidly than that of any other Power, as the following figures show :

Russia's expenditure, 1885	£ 91,814,000
„ „ 1902	218,186,000
Difference	+ 121,822,000 or + 133 per cent.

If we look at these truly colossal figures we cannot help wondering whether Russia is a poor country as is generally assumed, or whether she is the richest country in the world, for no other European country can boast of similarly huge Budgets and similarly enormous surpluses.

It might be expected that Russia's foreign trade should have grown *pari passu* with the increase in her national expenditure, or at least in proportion to her increasing population. As a matter of fact it has been shrinking, while her expenditure has been growing, as the following figures show :

	Russian Exports £	Russian Imports £
1883	103,723,000	91,080,000
1902	89,130,000	56,925,000
Difference	- 14,593,000	- 34,155,000

This retrogression in her foreign trade is all the more serious if we bear in mind that her population has increased by about 30,000,000 during these twenty years, and that the Government has done its utmost to stimulate foreign trade by bounties and by other means during that time.

If we compare the Budget of Russia with that of Great Britain, France, or Germany, it would appear that Russia is by far the richest of these countries, and her usual yearly surplus should excite the envy of all the Chancellors of the Exchequer and Ministers of Finance. However, Russia's budgetary surplus is an event which occurs as regularly as does a new issue of a foreign loan. Hence her national debt has grown with alarming celerity from nothing in 1843 to 690,107,000*l.* in 1902, and continues growing with ever-increasing rapidity. For instance, between 1887 and 1899, during a time of uninterrupted peace, her national debt increased by no less than 175,000,000*l.*, notwithstanding the habitual surpluses ; but it is only fair to add that out of this vast sum 121,000,000*l.* was spent in the construction of railways. Whether this sum was laid out on remunerative railways or on strategical and unremunerative railways will be seen later on. The remaining 54,000,000*l.* of new debt probably assisted in creating a large number of the splendid sur-

pluses which were thoughtfully provided in order to keep foreign holders of Russian bonds in good temper, and to loosen their purse-strings to the perennial Russian loan.

It is not easy to analyse a Russian Budget, for notwithstanding, or perhaps in spite of, the numerous items which are published, it is quite impossible to disentangle the confused mass of figures, and to find out whence the budgetary income was derived and to what objects the public expenditure was devoted. In the first place, there are many ingenious cross-entries referring to unintelligible and unexplained financial transactions between various departments of State of which no particulars are given. In the second place, the Russian Budget gives only totals, for details are secret. Thus we find in the Budget for 1900 a sum of not less than 73,732,194 roubles under the obscure headings of 'various expenses,' 'unforeseen expenses,' 'reserve,' and 'other expenses.' Of course if the national balance sheet is prepared in such a loose and mysterious way, it is impossible, not only for the public but even for Russian financial authorities themselves, to know the real state of the public income and expenditure.

The fact that, notwithstanding the recent complaints of the public, the Russian Budgets are drawn up in a manner which does not enlighten but only confuses the student of Russian finance, has naturally created a strong suspicion that not only the public income and expenditure, but even the amount of the public debt, may be incorrectly stated, and recent exposures have strengthened that impression.

Notwithstanding the most damaging criticism of the Russian Budgets in some of the foremost Continental papers, in which their correctness was called into question, the Russian Ministry of Finance has given nothing better in reply than vague assurances and denials, but has not vouchsafed an intelligible statement of Russia's finances.

After all it matters comparatively little whether the Russian Budgets are reliable or not, whether the magnificent surpluses which are periodically announced are real or fictitious, and whether Russia's public debt amounts to the enormous sum of 690,107,000*l.* or to more. These are questions of minor importance and may be safely disregarded, the chief question being: Is Russia solvent, and is she likely to remain solvent notwithstanding her war with Japan?

In order to answer this all-important question we need not try to solve the puzzles in tabular form which are provided by the Minister of Finance, and follow him through a labyrinth of figures, but had better look into the economic state of Russia, into the condition of the people; and into their ability to pay the taxes and to provide the revenue which is required in order to meet the obligations of the State.

Russia is almost entirely an agricultural country. Some manu-

facturing industries have been started by foreign enterprise, chiefly in Russian Poland, but these have not flourished and many of them have already come to a bad end. Owing to the whole configuration of the country and to the character of the people it seems likely that agriculture will remain for a very long time Russia's most important, and almost her only, industry. Hence it is clear that the economic state of Russia can be gauged more clearly from the state of her agriculture and by the condition of her agricultural population than from the most imposing figures supplied by the Ministry of Finance.

On the whole Russia is an extremely poor country. The flourishing districts are Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, the Caucasus and Turkestan, parts which, rightly considered, are not really Russian and which are not peopled by Russians. These districts are as little Russian as India is English. The centre of the Empire, Russia proper, is decaying and starving, and if it were not for the prosperous outlying subject parts which prop up the Russian Empire, Russia would probably have been bankrupt long ago.

The yield of the Russian soil is an extremely poor one, as the following table shows :

Average yield per acre for five years previous to 1900, in bushels.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats
Germany	24·17	18·54	26·70	31·71
Hungary	16·85	16·32	20·64	27·45
Sweden	24·03	21·36	24·98	29·49
European Russia, exclusive of Poland.	8·36	10·12	11·90	15·16
United Kingdom	31·31	—	34·01	39·66

From these figures it appears that the yield of the Russian soil is less than half the yield produced on the soil of her neighbouring States, and that it is equal to about one-third of the English yield.

The soil of Russia is divided in about equal parts between the Crown, the landed proprietors, and the peasants. The peasants have the worst land. Therefore they suffer severely in times of famine. During the famine year 1891, for instance, the land owned by peasants yielded on an average only 16·7 puds per dessiatine, while the land of the landed proprietors yielded 31 puds per dessiatine.

If it is considered that Russia possesses perhaps the poorest agricultural land in the world, and that the Russian peasants possess the worst part of that agricultural land, it is easy to imagine the wretched conditions under which they live, especially if we remember that they are weighed down by an extremely heavy taxation, and that they are hampered constantly by the exactions of bureaucracy and by many years of military service.

In the St. Petersburg *Viedomosti*, edited by Prince Uchtomsky,

the friend of the Czar, we read on the 13th of November, 1901, the following terrible indictment :

Russia is chronically starving, pauperism increases in extent and degree, and there are neither ways nor means apparent either to stop or to mitigate this evil. Expenditure is growing on all sides and in all directions without bounds, but the sources of productive labour are exhausted. . . . The people in the country, young and old, labour with all their force, but all their exertions do not suffice to satisfy the requirements of the State and of those who live on the labour of the peasants. . . . There is but one way towards a brighter future, and that is the delivery of the people from the yoke of bureaucracy.

The statement of the *Viedomosti*, 'Russia is chronically starving,' is unfortunately only too true, notwithstanding the sparseness of the population, which amounts in European Russia to only fifty-one people to the square mile, and to but fifteen people to the square mile for the whole of the Empire. The increasing frequency with which terrible famines break out in Russia has made the public only too familiar with this sad fact.

It might be expected that, owing to scientific progress and to the advent of railways, agriculture in Russia should have improved, but the contrary has been the case. The railways have, strange as it may sound, proved not a blessing but a curse to Russia, and the following is the reason why that has been the case. Russian agriculture has always been extremely primitive ; scientific culture of the soil was, and is even at the present day, almost unknown. Therefore the peasants hardly knew the process of enriching the soil with manure, but left it fallow for a time after each harvest in order to allow it to recuperate. The advent of railways led to higher price for grain and to a grain boom. The grain boom lasted up to the eighties, when the disastrous fall in corn prices ended the short-lived prosperity of the grain producers and left the soil permanently impoverished.

If we turn to the official figures supplied by the Ministry of Finance, we are able to gauge to some extent the position of Russia's agriculture. . Russia's harvest of grain amounted to 400,000,000 hectolitres in 1870, and to 515,000,000 hectolitres in 1894. On the surface these figures denote a satisfactory progress. But if we remember that during that period the population of Russia increased from 70,000,000 to 106,000,000, we find that Russia produced per head of population only 4·9 hectolitres in 1894, as against 5·5 hectolitres in 1870. This decrease in the quantity of grain grown is all the more serious, as the quantity of grain exported increased, while the quantity of grain harvested fell off. Thus we find that during 1890–1894, 6,708,000 tons of grain were exported against only 3,132,000 tons exported during 1870–1874.

It appears that in 1895, a year during which the grain exports were unusually large, 240 kilogrammes of grain were consumed per head of population, which is a little more than is consumed in

Germany. But in Germany much meat, potatoes, and other vegetables are eaten, while bread and other grain foods are the staple food, and almost the only food, of the people of Russia, where extremely little meat and vegetables are consumed by the masses. It also appears that the Russian Ministry of the Interior officially estimates that the minimum of grain required for consumption is 330 kilogrammes per head of population per year. Hence it may be concluded that during 1895, which was a good year, the whole population was on an average only three-quarters nourished. As many people, no doubt, consumed their 330 kilogrammes or more, the less fortunate ones had evidently to live on considerably less than a three-quarter diet. If this happens in a good year, what happens in bad years?

In view of these facts it is not astonishing that the Russian people are habitually underfed, that famine has become chronic in Russia, that scurvy and famine typhus are constantly rampant in the rural parts, and that in time of dearth the Russian peasants have to subsist on grass, wild roots, and the bark of trees, while millions of horses and cattle die of hunger. Owing to chronic underfeeding, the death rate in Russia is, as a rule, about twice as high as the death rate in Great Britain, and the mortality figures are apt to rise by ten, fifteen, and twenty per cent. in years of famine.

In consequence of the terrible and frequent famines which of late have devastated Russia, a Commission was appointed in the spring of 1899 to inquire into the economic decay of the Central Governments of European Russia. One of its members, Mr. A. D. Poljenow, has recently published some results of that enquiry, from which it appears that the quantity of grain sown per head of population decreased by 35 per cent. between 1861-1865 and 1891-1896. The deficiency in the quantity of grain food and bread available for the population, which resulted from this state of affairs, seems not to have been set off by a corresponding increase in the consumption of vegetables and meat, for we are told 'the Russian peasant living in these Governments suffered chronically from insufficiency of food, and the terrible consequences are already apparent to a pronounced degree.' How greatly exhausted the soil has become is evident from the fact that, according to the Commission, the ground yields now 27 per cent. less than it did thirty years ago. The impoverishment of the population has been so great that, in spite of the great increase of the numbers of peasants, the number of horses has decreased by 48 per cent. between 1868 and 1895. As so many horses have died of famine, many peasants have taken their wives and children into the plough.

Notwithstanding the frightful and habitual dearth of the most necessary food, more than half of Russia's exports always consists of corn, flour, and meal. These exports of food represent a money value of from 30,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.* a year. If the Russian

population were properly nourished, Russia could not export any grain, but would have to import it, as is evident from the official figures which have previously been given. But the peasant cannot always afford to eat his own grain. Immediately after the harvest the Government gathers the taxes, and many taxpayers are left to starve after the harvest is over. Their food has been collected by the Government in the form of taxes, and is sent out of the country in order to pay interest on the huge foreign loans which have been contracted by the Government for the furtherance of Russia's expansionist policy. Thus Russia's enormous army and navy, her strategical railways and harbours, her loans to China and Persia, her secret service, her shipping subsidies and her export bounties are paid for with the food of the peasants, and if the peasants were allowed to eat their own food Russia would speedily be bankrupt.

The St. Petersburg *Viedomosti* wrote on the 13th of March, 1902: 'Already Russia consumes one-third less bread per head than Germany, without allowing for the fact that the Germans eat more potatoes and wheat than we do. If the Russians were as well nourished as the Germans are we should not be able to export any corn.' This remark of the *Viedomosti* is perfectly correct, but that newspaper omits to say how the Government can be carried on in its present wasteful fashion, unless the interest on the foreign loans is paid for with the peasants' food. If Russia should consume her own grain her exports would fall off by one-half, the gold would leave the country, and financial ruin would be a matter of months, not of years.

How frightfully rapid the impoverishment of agricultural Russia has been, owing to the gradual impoverishment of the soil and owing to the rapid increase of direct and indirect taxation, which, after all, the peasant has to provide, may be seen from the fact that, according to Poljenow, the taxes in arrear in the Central Governments amounted to 10 per cent. during 1871-1875, while they amounted to no less than 42 per cent. during 1896-1898. According to Scharapow, the rural indebtedness has similarly risen, for it has grown by no less than 66·1 per cent. between 1892 and 1902.

Owing to the primitive and wasteful methods employed by the agricultural population, a minimum result is achieved with a maximum of exertion. According to Lochtin, 'there is no land on earth in which the yield per acre is smaller than in Russia, or, in other words, there is no country in which agriculture is worse carried on.' The proof of this assertion is found in the following figures:

	Average yield per dessiatine	Percentage of seed used
England	123·4 puds	7·3 per cent.
United States	83·2 "	5·3 " "
India	74·0 "	4·0 " "
Germany	74·8 "	14·0 " "
Italy	57·5 "	10·0 " "
Russia	88·8 "	21·9 " "

If the figures given by Lochtin are correct, and they seem reliable as far as they can be checked, it would follow that the soil of Russia is not only extremely poor, but that a maximum of seed and of exertion is required in order to produce these extremely poor results.

The exceedingly serious condition of the Russian peasantry is well known in the official circles of Russia, and is creating increasing alarm among the bureaucracy, which clearly recognises that economic and financial Russia leans entirely on the peasantry. We have already seen that the rural population is chronically underfed and periodically starving, that the position of agriculture is on the whole decidedly deteriorating, that at the same time taxation is increasing, that the arrears of taxation are accumulating. The arrears of annual payments by the peasants for the land distributed among them at the time of the emancipation of the serfs are similarly increasing, and amount now to the staggering sum of 120 million roubles.

That owing to all these burdens and misfortunes dissatisfaction is growing apace, not only among the population of the towns, but also among the peasants, is only natural, and the Russian bureaucracy begins to recognise that it is impossible to wring more money by direct or indirect means from the poor moujik, who in the end has to pay for Russia's costly policy by going without his food. The Controller of the State has already declared in a recent confidential report to the Czar 'that more radical measures are necessary to relieve the peasants of taxes, which they are not in a position to bear.'

On the 30th of December, 1902, Mr. de Witte, who was then still Minister of Finance, explained the Budget before the Council of State, and said :

. . . The Minister of Finance must confess before the Council of State assembled that the population is weighed down by direct and indirect taxation to the uttermost limit that can be borne. A further increase of taxation would not only be without purpose, but would hardly be permissible in the present condition of the country. At present a sound financial policy must strive to do everything in its power to lessen the weight of taxation.

The Council of State endorsed Mr. de Witte's views in the following manner :

The ability of the population to pay taxes has certain limits which cannot be transgressed without damaging the economic position of the country. On it rests not only the financial strength of the State but also its actual strength and its international political prestige. Hence the Council of State agrees with the declaration of the Secretary of State, Mr. de Witte, that it is impossible to increase taxation any further in order to satisfy the growing requirements of the various departments of State.

From the foregoing it is clear that agriculture, the fundamental and almost the only industry of Russia, is in an extremely unsatis-

factory condition, that taxation has arrived at its utmost limits, and that the enormous Budgets of Russia with their magnificent surpluses stand in a striking contrast with the growing pauperisation of the country.

We have seen what the 'new era' has done for agriculture, and it remains now to see what it has done for the other industries and for the railways. Under the guidance of the late Minister of Finance, Mr. de Witte, the Russian Government acquired the State railways at extravagant prices, and tried to create manufacturing industries in the country. Both experiments were undertaken on the most enormous scale and both attempts have lamentably failed. According to a statement made by Mr. de Witte on the 30th of December, 1902, before the Council of State, it would appear that the working of the State railways has, so far, had the following result:—

1896	.	.	.	.	.	.	11,300,000 roubles profit
1897	.	.	.	.	.	.	?
1898	.	.	.	.	.	.	8,800,000 „ „
1899	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,200,000 „ „
1900	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,600,000 „ loss
1901	.	.	.	.	.	.	32,900,000 „ „
1902	.	.	.	.	.	.	45,000,000 „ „

The future results would, according to Mr. de Witte, be the following:

1903	.	.	.	.	.	.	60,000,000 roubles loss
1904	.	.	.	.	.	.	69,000,000 „ „
1905	.	.	.	.	.	.	84,500,000 „ „

These results are startling enough, but it may well be doubted whether these figures give a full and fair account of the real position of the railways. It is not clear whether due allowance has been made for the interest on the money invested in the railways, for the redemption of the railway loans, and for the depreciation of rolling stock, for renewals, &c. Various experts have tried their hand at analysing the Russian railway accounts, and they have arrived at the conclusion that these accounts are not reliable, that renewals have largely been paid for out of capital, and that the service of the loans has been treated as a separate item, not being included in the railway accounts. No reliable statistics exist which show how much money has actually been spent on the railways, but it has been estimated that the yearly interest on these loans must amount to at least 150,000,000 roubles. If this item has indeed been treated separately, it seems very probable that the loss on working the State railways amounts now to several hundred million roubles a year.

The attempt to construct a network of railways entirely on strategical grounds is evidently proving financially disastrous. Nevertheless Russia continues building strategical railways with a

sublime disregard of the principles of sound business and finance, and she will probably continue to do so as long as the French investor will first find the money for building these railways, and afterwards provide more money for paying the interest on the loans previously contracted.

The constantly growing financial requirements of the State caused the Government to impose increasingly heavy import duties on all manufactured goods, until it was discovered that the limit had been reached, that the population became financially exhausted, and that higher duties did no longer produce an increase, but a decrease, of revenue. Naturally a large part of these duties had to be paid by the peasants, because many of the articles which came from abroad and were taxed could not be supplied at a cheaper rate by Russian factories because manufacturing industries had not yet developed in Russia.

Under the shelter of high protection it was possible to create manufacturing industries, and the Government greatly encouraged their foundation. For a time industrial enterprises, and especially the iron-works, flourished greatly—that is to say, as long as Russia was able to construct railways regardless of expense, owing to the constant influx of French capital. Almost the whole iron production of Russia was absorbed by the Government, for the poor peasants could not afford iron implements and continued to use their primitive wooden ploughs, wooden wheels, wooden axles, wooden nails, &c. Then only did it occur to Russia's leading men that Russian industries could not develop a market at home, because of the extreme poverty of the masses of the people which were unable to buy the products of those enterprises. The Controller of the State therefore reported 'an extensive industry will prove impossible until after the creation of a domestic market, which again is dependent upon a flourishing agriculture.'

Agriculture was ruined owing to the financial exigencies of the State, and the manufacturing industries, which had been promoted by the Government at the expense of agriculture, were languishing because of the poverty of the agricultural population. Therefore Mr. de Witte tried the daring experiment of creating a market for Russian manufactures abroad, and thus converting the failure of Russia as an industrial country into a success. With that object in view, steamers were subsidised, export bounties on the most lavish scale were granted, commercial commissions were appointed to develop trade, Persia and China were to be converted into outlets for the Russian industries, and were to be rigidly closed against the industries of the rest of the world. Thus Russia was rushed headlong into her Asiatic adventures in order to find the funds required by the Government.

When the activity of the Government in building railways lessened, the artificial stimulus which so far had supported Russia's

industries was withdrawn; the huge ironworks which worked chiefly for the Government found themselves suddenly without orders, and the vast industrial fabric which had been erected during many years threatened to collapse. Therefore the Russian Minister of Finance not only endeavoured to create markets abroad for the tottering industries, but he had to try at the same time to keep these industries afloat at home by Government orders and by apparently illegal loans. The Controller of the State reported on these loans as follows:

. . . All these advances have been made under special conditions which, properly speaking, were inadmissible under the statutes of the State Bank. Such loans not justified by the statutes amounted to about 41,000,000 roubles at the beginning of 1900, to 65,000,000 roubles in the following year, and to more than 100,000,000 in 1902. A further injurious effect of these industrial loans is that the representatives of the State Bank, entrusted with the surveillance of the enterprises for which they are made, assume a preponderant part in the management of the business, thus exercising two incompatible functions, namely, those of controllers and administrators. That proceeding led to undesirable results and much friction, especially when the subsidised enterprise, in spite of the assistance given to it, cannot be saved from bankruptcy.

If we now survey Russia's financial position by means of the facts and data given in the foregoing, it appears that the position is precarious and almost desperate, notwithstanding the enormous Budget and the splendid surpluses.

Now let us see how Russia has got into that desperate position. Owing to the geographical position of the country, Russia need fear no foreign attack. Nevertheless she chooses to maintain the largest army in the world and the third largest navy. Her alliance with France, which was concluded at a time when money was exceedingly cheap and plentiful in the money markets of the world, provided her with enormous funds at an unusually low rate of interest, and Russia, like a wasteful spendthrift, squandered the hundreds of millions which she obtained from France on unproductive objects, on objects which flattered her vanity, but which have ruined her. Thus she has during the last decade wasted her substance and mortgaged her future.

Russia's position is like that of a nobleman who has a large but utterly neglected estate and a house that is falling about his ears, who is deeply in debt, who pays one lender by borrowing from another, who sees his debts steadily mounting up towards the point at which ruin becomes unavoidable, and who desperately makes the most fantastic attempts at making money, hoping to disentangle himself. One of Russia's strange expedients for getting money was lately revealed in the *Times*. According to its extremely well-informed Peking correspondent, Russia claimed after the Boxer rising from China an indemnity of 17,900,000*l.*, on the ground that she kept 179,000 soldiers in China at an expense of 100*l.* each. According to the Peking correspondent of the *Times*, she kept in

reality only 50,000 men in China, and the Russian Exchequer should thus have made a net profit of at least 12,900,000*l.* out of this transaction.

Of late years the supply of loanable money has for various reasons become scarce and dear in the various money centres of the world, and it would have been extremely difficult for Russia to provide for her ordinary peace expenditure, as she would not easily have been able to obtain those loans without which she can apparently not make both ends meet. Therefore it is not easy to see how Russia will be able to raise the funds necessary for carrying on the Japanese war, which will probably prove exceedingly costly, and how she will meet her current obligations, unless she should abandon her over-ambitious policy, which is beyond her financial strength, and disband her army and navy. However, such an event seems hardly likely.

Many of the best observers have for a long time past been of opinion that Russia is financially unable to conduct a great war. However, lack of money has never prevented a nation from going to war, for it may make up for its war expenses by repudiating its public debt. Whether Russia will meet her obligations in full remains to be seen. If she should be forced to repudiate or to compound with her foreign creditors, either because of the costliness of the present war or because the international money market can no longer supply Russia's insatiable financial requirements, it will be an evil day for the French nation, which has lent to Russia more than 300,000,000*l.*

Russia's financial collapse would probably mean the break up of the Dual Alliance, for in the first place the thrifty Frenchman is exceedingly sensitive when his pocket is touched, and in the second place Russia would have proved herself financially unable to be an efficient ally to France in case of war. Ample funds are, after all, sinews of war which are as indispensable as are armies and fleets.

O. ELTZBACHER.

THE PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL CONCORDAT

A NONCONFORMIST REPLY

THE evidences of a growing desire on the part of all parties to effect an amicable settlement of the weary controversy over the education of our children fill the hearts of all earnest educationists with hope that, with wisdom and moderation on either side, the present deadlock may be soon removed. By none were the able articles of the Bishop of St. Asaph and Mr. Lathbury, in this Review for January, more cordially received than by the Nonconformists. They contain much with which they disagree, and the proposals are not altogether such as could be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of their grievances ; but the tolerant spirit in which they were written, and the frank recognition that the present state of affairs constitutes a serious injustice, together with their valuable suggestions of a *modus vivendi*, have created the most favourable impression, and have revived their hopes that a way may yet be found to remove their grievances without inflicting any injustice on their opponents.

The universality of the opposition referred to by the Bishop of St. Asaph is the very best proof of its sincerity. It must be admitted that many have adopted a most extreme attitude in their hostility. This must, of course, be looked for among a certain section of the community in every agitation. What has surprised us, however, is the extent to which this attitude has been adopted by men who have always maintained the reputation for moderation. I have never been an advocate of the passive resistance movement in the form which it has assumed in England, because I believe that constitutional opposition is the only one worthy of the importance of the cause, and, in the long run, if carried out intelligently and wisely, the most likely to attain the object in view. I must, however, confess that the adoption of this method of opposition by so many of the leaders of the denominations—men who have always been famous for their law-abiding advocacy—and their determination to bear any penalty that the law can inflict upon them rather than bow to the unjust provisions of the Act, have come as a shock of surprise upon many of us.

This is a strong proof that the principles involved are of greater importance than any that have been touched by any other legislative proposals in modern times.

That this position has arisen largely from the utterly irreconcilable attitude adopted by the Government and the Church party when the Bill was introduced, and during its passage through Parliament, cannot be denied. The supporters of the Bill were, as was frequently pointed out to them at the time, utterly ignorant of the deep and widespread hostility they were arousing in the country both by the nature of their proposals and their ruthless methods of procedure. The Bill itself was more reactionary in its provisions than the majority of Church people had ever thought possible. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, in his famous reply to a charge of inconsistency in supporting the Bill after his previous declaration that rate-aided denominational schools were impossible, admitted that he had never expected to find any Government bold enough to attempt to establish such a system. To what extent the bishops and their followers are responsible for these provisions is beside our present point, certain it is that the most sanguine among their ranks never dared to expect, a few years ago, that such proposals would ever come within the range of practical politics in this country. If, then, the Bill came as a pleasant surprise to the supporters of denominationalism, how much greater must have been the indignation of the supporters of the Board and undenominational system! Add to this the irritation caused by the refusal of the Government to give the people's representatives an opportunity of even discussing some of the most important parts of the Bill in the House of Commons, together with the doubtful methods which were adopted to stiffen its provisions, particularly in the Upper House, and the popular revolt is fully explained.

The attempts to administer the Act in those parts of the country where it has been already adopted have not tended to any modification of the popular hostility. It is not too much to say that the Board of Education have shown the most flagrant partiality in the manner in which they have used their prerogative since the Act was passed. Their attempts unduly to rush the Councils to administer the Act before they were given time to make the necessary arrangements; their insistence on altering schemes so as to include an undue proportion of co-opted members on the Education Committees; their attempts to hand over schools to the Church of England which had always been conducted as free parochial schools; their insertion of provisions in their draft final orders, for appointing clergymen *ex-officio* managers, and confining the selection of foundation managers to *bona-fide* members of the Church of England; their decisions as to endowments; and their ill-advised circulars to Voluntary Schools Associations, together with many other indiscretions, have been the means of greatly strengthening the opposition, and of driving man:

who had not previously taken a strong stand against the Act to join those who, from the outset, refused to accept it as a settlement of the question. I mention these factors not for controversial purposes, but to show how very difficult the policy of the present Government has made it to bring the opposing parties together, with a view to arriving at a settlement that might be acceptable to the most moderate section on either side. All will agree that it will be impossible, in present circumstances, to devise any scheme that will satisfy everybody. The extremists on each side will probably oppose every proposal but their own, so that if the matter is to be settled at all, it is inevitable that they must be left out of account. The difficulty, however, is that the longer the settlement is delayed the less likely are we to succeed in effecting one, and the more numerous will be the extremists of both parties. It is an undoubted fact that whilst a workable compromise might have been arrived at if both parties had met with that view eighteen months ago, the terms that would be accepted now, after all that has happened in the interim, would have to be very different.

But there are other factors in the controversy which must be considered before any successful attempt can be made to bring the parties together with a view to arriving at an acceptable agreement. It must be admitted that their experience of the compromise of 1870 is no encouragement to the Nonconformists to enter into another. As the Bishop of St. Asaph admits, the only surviving factor of that compromise at the present time is the Cowper-Temple Clause. Point after point has been dropped by the Church party during the last thirty years, and without the slightest regard to the views of the other party.

Each successive Conservative Government that has been in office since 1870 has taken a slice off the compromise. The Nonconformists as a body did not regard it with favour when it was first entered into, but they accepted it in all sincerity for the sake of peace and educational progress. The several points of the agreement were dropped so quietly and so insidiously that many of them were not conscious that this was being done. The Act of 1902, however, caused them to realise fully that they had been betrayed, for it made no pretence to safeguard their civil and religious rights. The controversy since the Bill was introduced has deepened this feeling, and I fear that it will be difficult to persuade the many of them to venture on another compromise.

The events of the last two years in connection with this question have done more: they have convinced many of those who have throughout maintained the necessity for simple Bible teaching in the schools that the only logical and workable solution of the difficulty is to banish all religious teaching from the schools. Personally, I should deplore the necessity for such a solution, and I am not without hope even now that some arrangement can be arrived at by which this can be avoided. But we must take the facts as they are. I must confess

that I have not the same assurance as the Bishop of St. Asaph seems to have that 'the people of this country will not have a secular system of education.' I see signs around me on every hand that the feeling in favour of purely secular education is making rapid strides, and that the people are in a great number of cases becoming convinced that the Bishop's second proposition—viz. 'an efficient system of national education'—can never be obtained unless the cause of the strife which has so long retarded the achievement of this ideal is removed from the schools.

Neither does the attitude of superiority which the Church party have all along assumed in their dealings with, and their references to, Nonconformists, make for a settlement. The Bishop of St. Asaph in his article admits many of our grievances, and suggests such remedies for them as appear to him adequate. But even he, the most tolerant of his party, falls into this error—no doubt unconsciously. He speaks of the 'grievances' of Nonconformists, but of the 'claims' of the Church. We maintain that our claims for justice and fair play for our children, and civil and religious freedom for ourselves, are as much our rights as any claims that the Church can put forth. Nor can we admit that the Church has a monopoly of religion as has so frequently been implied during this controversy. We believe that we can prove that in all parts of the country the Free Church system and teaching has resulted in fostering lives as pure and as saintly as any that the Church of England can produce. Among Nonconformists as such, there is no deep-rooted intolerance towards the Church. We believe that in its Protestant purity it has in the past achieved magnificent results by its influences for good on the life of the people. But we do not believe that the Church has done all the good. We differ from Churchmen on what appear to us important points, but we concede to them the rights of their belief, and naturally expect the same concessions and respect from them in return. In other words, Nonconformists only contend for an equality in freedom of thought and privileges with members of the Church of England.

It is perfectly evident, even from the Bishop of St. Asaph's article—moderate and tolerant as it is—that the position of Nonconformists has not yet been grasped by the Church party, and until this is achieved no lasting compromise can possibly be arrived at. The Bishop attempts to defend the Nonconformists against the old sneer that they are inconsistent in their present opposition to rate-aid after so patiently and so long having tolerated tax-aided denominational schools. He gives as a reason for this that 'taxes are largely indirect, and therefore impersonal, miscellaneous in purpose, and centrally administered.' But this explanation only touches the fringe of the truth. The fact is that Nonconformists, as a body, never did agree to the system of tax-aided denominationalism in schools any more than they believe in an Established Church supported by public

money. It is true that they accepted the Act of 1870, but it was on the clear understanding at the time that religious instruction in all State-aided schools was not to be one of the grant-earning subjects, and would therefore be outside the region of tax-aid. The absence of any child from religious instruction was not to be the means of his forfeiting the share earned by him of the Parliamentary grant, and it was a distinct part of the compromise that the Church was not only to provide the buildings and keep them in repair, but also to contribute half the cost of the secular instruction in return for the privilege of teaching its distinctive tenets to the children of parents who did not object to such teaching. This arrangement on the part of the Church only lasted six years, after which it was gradually dropped by successive legislation, until, in 1897, it completely vanished. The Nonconformists, however, observed their part of the compromise, and quietly paid, because, although they realised to some extent that they had been betrayed, they were not willing to disturb the education of the children, nor to be guilty of breaking an agreement solemnly entered into on their behalf in 1870. But since the present Act seeks to levy a direct rate upon them for the support of denominationalism, in addition to legalising the infraction of the compromise without as much as consulting them, they naturally regard themselves as being unjustly dealt with, and their long pent-up feelings of dissatisfaction assert themselves.

These being the facts, it is decidedly ungenerous on the part of the denominational party to raise this argument against the Nonconformist protest. It is also equally unfair to attempt to discriminate between rates and taxes for the purpose of showing that the cry for public control is an unreal one. The lack of appreciating the facts has led the supporters of denominational schools to assume that the public are not entitled to control in respect of the amounts contributed to the support of these schools from Imperial taxation. They admit that they have some sort of a right in proportion to the amount they contribute directly by means of local rates. This is placed by the Bishop of St. Asaph at one-twelfth of the whole, the assumption being that, since the Act of 1902 gives the public one-third of the management, they have much more than they are fairly entitled to. He further admits that the State contributes two-thirds of the cost in respect of which he denies the right to public control. We, however, refuse to accept this distinction. The taxpayers and the ratepayers are the same people. A distinction is also made between 'public control'—which is treated as the control of his Majesty's Inspectors—and 'local public control.' His Majesty's Inspector is, however, only concerned with the efficiency of the school and the secular instruction imparted therein. In no sense does he control the spending of money, neither is he responsible to the paying public for any extravagant or improper disbursements. All the public money

that he ever sees is his salary. In practice there is no recognised distinction in this country between 'public control' and 'local public control' except in the case of denominationalism. In civil matters all Imperial money spent for local purposes is accompanied by local control. This principle is conceded in the Act of 1870, and the various Local Government Acts that have been passed since then, except in the solitary case of Voluntary schools. In the case of School Boards the grants from Imperial sources were paid to the representatives of the public in the locality in which they were to be administered, and this is the case in respect of the Whisky money and other Imperial contributions for local purposes, to County and other Councils. Why should this difference be allowed in the case of Voluntary schools? The fact that this unjust anomaly has to some extent been tolerated for more than thirty years only proves that the time has now come when it should be removed.

Assuming the correctness of the Bishop of St. Asaph's figures, then, since the public contribute three-fourths of the cost of Voluntary schools from Imperial and local sources—as a matter of fact they do contribute, on a liberal estimate, more than four-fifths, but let that pass for the moment—it follows that they are on his own showing entitled to that proportion of control. But the Act of 1902 bids them be content with one-third, and that under conditions which deny them any real voice in the management of the schools. On the other hand, it practically allows the foundation managers (under totally inadequate supervision by the Education Committee) a free hand as to the local expenditure of money which is derived from the public purse. But if *public* control of such money is unfair, *private* control must be much more so. Nonconformists do not claim public control as a favour. They simply claim that the ratepayers and taxpayers shall have complete control of the money contributed by them towards educational administration, and that on the ground of 'financial equity.'

Neither is the position of Nonconformists regarding religious tests on teachers fairly treated. The Bishop of St. Asaph quotes the figures—to his credit be it said—rather more favourably to the Nonconformist position than the facts warrant, for he includes the teachers in undenominational Voluntary schools among those on whom tests are imposed. But, though he is actuated by a laudable desire to be fair, what he admits is only what is palpable to all who have studied the question. The figures given are those of the Government Blue-books, and although the fact that nearly two out of every three of the elementary head-teacherships of the country are permanently closed to all Nonconformists has been officially announced year by year, the Church party not only acquiesced, but urged the Government by every means in their power to regard these posts as part of the Civil Service, not only without removing the tests, but accom-

panied by additional safeguards to their perpetuation. The Bishop gives the figures without comment. The statement of the fact in that form is perhaps something to be thankful for, but a frank admission that this is not only a grievance but an intolerable injustice, which must be removed, would have done much to bring about a disposition on the part of the Nonconformists to enter into an agreement.

The fact is that this is one of the most potent weapons wielded by the Church to proselytise Nonconformist children, especially in the rural districts. There are more than 7,000 districts in England and Wales without any but denominational schools, and the headship of these is exclusively confined to teachers who adopt the religious views of the Church of England. Among the children attending them a large number are those of Nonconformist parents of the labouring classes. I know of many denominational schools in Wales where more than 95 per cent. of the children are such. Many of them are especially bright, and their parents are anxious that they should have opportunities to improve their worldly position by a better education. In these rural districts the only chance that presents itself for this is to enter the teaching profession. If taken on as pupil-teachers, they would be an acquisition to the schools, but the only condition on which this could have been possible in the past was that they gave up the faith of their fathers, and adopted that of the Established Church. Their parents conscientiously dissent from these tenets, and in many cases have adhered to their own conscientious views, even to the detriment of their worldly position. What were they to do? In some cases they gave way rather than retard the advancement of their child, and the parents and child are henceforth divided, one attending the chapel as a matter of conscience, and the other becoming a Churchman for worldly gain. The child is taught that his father is a heretic, and the father, in his heart, cannot forgive himself for allowing his boy's supposed mundane progress to override his duty towards him in a spiritual sense. The effect on the character and peace of mind of both cannot be considered satisfactory, and the religious benefit to either is a very doubtful one. In the majority of cases the parents, however, resist the pressure thus brought to bear upon them, and prefer seeing their children deprived of the possibility of entering an honourable profession to the betrayal of the principles which they regard as so precious. These principles are more dear to many Nonconformists than anything else in life, and they believe implicitly that upon their adherence to them depends their eternal welfare, and that to encourage their children to renounce them for any object would be the greatest sin. Why, then, should they be deprived of the pleasure of seeing their children rise above their own hard lot in life because of their honest adherence to their conscientious convictions? Is not this a form of the most unjust religious persecution that has ever disgraced the history of any civilised

community? It is a denial of civil rights to law-abiding citizens who refuse to violate their conscience at the dictation of the State Church.

I am not unmindful of the provision in the Act of 1902 which gives the managers the option of appointing Nonconformists to the position of assistant teachers in denominational schools, nor of the other provision which gives the local education authorities the right of selecting pupil-teachers when there are more applicants than vacancies. But experience and a careful consideration of these supposed boons show that they are only paper concessions, and that they are of little or no value in actual practice. The first savours of a desire to allure young men and maidens to enter the profession in the vague hope that an opening may later on be found for them in a provided school where no tests are imposed. It is, however, a well-known fact that this hope cannot possibly be realised by the great majority of them. Provided schools are open to all sects, and there are quite as many Churchmen employed in them as there are Nonconformists. Moreover, preference is always given—and naturally so—to children educated in these schools when appointments are made on their staff, so that any Nonconformist teacher who may have spent his earlier years in a denominational school would be doubly handicapped and his chances for a headship would be very remote. Add to this the fact that, however bright and capable he might be, he would, in every denominational school, be marked with a perpetual brand of inferiority owing to his religious views, and the injustice will be apparent.

But there are more serious objections to this provision from a Nonconformist point of view. Experience shows that managers are very unlikely to avail themselves of the option offered them by the Act. If Church assistant teachers possessing anything approaching the necessary qualifications can be secured, we may rest assured that they will invariably be given preference over Nonconformists. This would result in convincing many that they had no alternative but to renounce their Nonconformity and accept the tests imposed upon them, or give up the teaching profession as their life-work, and this after devoting the best years of their life to training for the pursuit. They would realise that their acceptance of Church doctrines would not be a hindrance to preferment even in provided schools; on the contrary, it is notorious that many local education authorities as at present constituted would regard it as an additional qualification, whilst it is the *sine qua non* for denominational schools. This provision is, therefore, a still stronger incentive to enforced proselytisation than the old system. Under the latter parents clearly foresaw at the outset that it would be necessary for their children, in order to become teachers, to adopt the test imposed. They had the advantage of choosing between this course and placing their children in some other, if inferior, position in life. And although this was frequently a great

hardship, they were able to choose with their eyes open. But under the new system, they are enticed to an arrangement by which their children are allowed to retain their Nonconformist principles for a few years, but when they have completed their training, and seriously handicapped themselves for any other pursuit, these principles bar their way to further progress, and the pressure of necessity is brought to bear upon them to renounce them, and reluctantly to subscribe to tests that are repugnant to their conscience.

The other provision, which gives the local education authority the right of selection when there are a multitude of candidates for pupil-teachership, requires no comment. Such cases are never likely to occur, for the obvious reason that managers will not admit that there are more than the required number of candidates eligible for the positions. On these and other grounds Nonconformists hold that they are entitled, as citizens, to an educational system under complete public control, and entirely free from denominational tests. They regard these principles as the inalienable rights of the citizens of a free country.

The Bishop of St. Asaph professes himself willing to concede these two points, and to settle this controversy on that basis. But he proceeds to insist on the imposition of conditions which completely nullify the concessions. Facilities for denominational teaching in school hours, though it be only on one day a week, are quite inconsistent with complete public control, and even more so with the abolition of tests for teachers. Their provision is 'nothing more or less than legalising the extension of denominational preference to all the schools of the land, and if the teachers—as he seems to imply—are to be asked to impart that instruction, it must inevitably result eventually in the imposition of tests—in practice, if not by law—in every class of schools. These provisions could never be acceptable to Nonconformists, and legislation on these bases would only prolong and embitter the controversy. Such demands are based not only on an inaccurate impression of the claims of Nonconformists, but on an exaggerated view of the claims of the Church.

The Bishop, in stating the latter, falls into the common error of confusing Voluntaryism with denominationalism in our public elementary system. It is quite correct to state that 'elementary education in this country first began with voluntary effort.' But the Voluntary schools which were the foundation of our system were undenominational. They owe their inception to the efforts of Joseph Lancaster in the early part of last century. His system of monitorial instruction developed into the British and Foreign School Society, which was established on undenominational lines in 1809. The first committee consisted of men of all religious creeds and opinions, who were actuated by the sole desire of multiplying educational facilities. No sooner was it established, however, than the sectarian spirit was

developed, and within two years all the members of the committee who were associated with the extreme section of the Church of England withdrew, and established the 'National Society for the instruction of the children of the poor in the principles of the Established Church.' At first the objects of this Society were frankly denominational. It was a question not of general educational progress, but of capturing the children for the Church. Denominationalism came first, and the education of the children was to be used as the means of bringing them under its influence. From the very earliest times the Church has arrogated to itself the right of regulating and controlling the educational agencies of the country, and has consistently opposed all attempts on the part of the State to make adequate provisions for secular instruction. The Voluntary system would never have taken root in this country, and been allowed to retard educational progress to the extent that it has done, had the bishops not used their votes and influence to cause the House of Lords, in 1807, to reject Whitehead's Bill for rate-aided education, after it had passed through the House of Commons. The same opposition on the part of the Church has shown itself to every popularly conceived proposal brought forward since, and the growth of the Voluntary system can only be attributed to the intense desire that has existed in this country throughout the last century for educational facilities, and the fact that denominational schools were the only agencies which were allowed to hold the field and enable that end to be attained. Even the Act of 1870 was marred by this preferential treatment. Opportunities and encouragements were offered to the Church to extend its exclusive control of education, and Board schools were only established in districts where the Church failed to accomplish this; and the Act of 1902 is an admission of the failure of the Voluntary system; and a further attempt to extend the influence of the Church at the expense of the State. On a sober consideration of the facts, it is difficult to conceive how the Church can base its claim for facilities to teach its tenets on the ground of past sacrifices on behalf of popular education. The fact is that popular education has for a whole century been sacrificed in the interests of Church aggrandisement. Has not the time come when a system which is an obvious failure should stand aside in order that national interests shall become paramount?

The other ground on which this claim is made is that of religious toleration and equality. It sounds strange to Nonconformist ears to hear themselves charged with having 'no intention of countenancing a universal toleration,' and to be told that 'nothing can satisfy them, unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's conscience, to pinch them there,' when this 'universal toleration' has all along been what they have contended, sacrificed, and suffered for. Their forefathers left the Established Church for the sake of this, and for a whole century their descendants have silently and patiently waited

for its dawn. The educational system of this country has been marred by its absence, and the material progress of the race has been seriously retarded by the narrow intolerance of the dominant sect. 'Universal toleration' presupposes equality of rights and privileges to all classes of the community. It is inconsistent with the preferential treatment of one denomination at the expense of the others, either in respect of privileges or emoluments. It makes full allowance for the conscientious scruples of every individual, respects honest adherence to cherished beliefs, and permits complete freedom to act in accordance with such beliefs. It does not take up the position of arrogant assumptions that a particular form of creed or ritual must be right, and that, therefore, all other forms must be overpowered by force, and the misguided individuals who have adopted them be compelled to renounce them in favour of the traditional formulæ, even though their conscience rebel against such compulsion. The whole existence of Nonconformity is a protest against intolerance in every form, and our whole strength has been exerted all through our history to remove the pressure of that intolerant 'finger' from our brethren's conscience and our own, and to relieve the pinch. Hence our protest against the Education Act of 1902, which we feel to be an attempt to tighten the pressure and to make the pinch more unbearable. That our action should be described as 'intolerant' is, indeed, a strange irony of the situation.

This charge is based on the refusal of Nonconformists to consent to the payment of rates in support of the teaching of the distinctive tenets of one denomination to their own and other people's children. But this surely is not intolerance. Is not the attempt to enforce this upon us more accurately described by that term? There is no Nonconformist in the land who would deny to the Church the right to instruct its own children in its own doctrines, in its own time, at its own expense, and by means of its own machinery. What is objected to is the attempt to do this during the hours set apart for other pursuits, at the expense of the public, and by means of machinery designed for other purposes. Nonconformists have never attempted to obtain this for themselves, and it would be contrary to their principles of 'universal toleration' were they to do so. They only ask for the same privileges of equality in this matter that they are willing to give to others.

This principle was conceded to some extent by the Act of 1870 in the School Board system. These schools were not, as is frequently alleged, a gift to Nonconformists only. They were intended at first to make up the deficiency in educational facilities which the Voluntary system failed to supply, and only in those districts where such deficiency existed. No such school could be established to meet the wants of Nonconformists if the Church schools had sufficient accommodation for the children of the district, whatever their creed. The

Cowper-Temple Clause was applied to these schools not in order to provide a religious instruction 'after the heart of the Nonconformists,' but because it was admitted that no preference should on principle be extended to any particular denomination in a school wholly supported by public funds. By granting to each district the right of regulating the religious instruction from which all denominational bias was excluded all sects were placed on an equality. It is generally conceded that the Bible is the basis of all Christian, or at all events of all Protestant, doctrine. The distinctive denominations give different interpretations to Bible truths, but that is their business, and not that of the State, in a land where opinions on these points assume such a variety of forms. The Church party accepted this view, and cheerfully sent their children to the Board schools in those districts where they were established, and there has never been a single complaint during the thirty-three years that this system was in vogue that any Church child was placed at a disadvantage in these schools. Had the Church continued to pay the share of the cost agreed upon in 1870, in return for the privilege of teaching its distinctive doctrines in the schools which it provided, Nonconformists would not complain even now. But it certainly does appear unjust that because Nonconformists claim equality of treatment in schools which are supported by public funds, they should be charged with intolerance. We deny that Board schools as such were Nonconformist schools or that the religious instruction imparted therein was Nonconformist religion.

For Nonconformity is not a denomination, but a number of sects which differ from one another in doctrine and Church government as greatly as they differ from the Church of England. The only thing they have in common is their refusal to conform to the Established Church. But each denomination refuses with as much zeal and determination to conform to the teaching of the others on points that they consider of great importance. They, however, consider that they have a common basis of Christianity, not only with one another, but also with the Church of England, in the simple teaching of the Bible. They agree that as long as the religious instruction of the day school goes no further in the direction of the views of any denominations than this accepted basis, there can be no cause for complaint. They have adhered to this arrangement as far as publicly supported schools were concerned ever since 1870. Their distinctive tenets they have assiduously taught to their own children out of school hours, at their own expense. For this purpose classes are held in connection with most chapels during the week nights, in addition to the ordinary facilities of the Sunday schools, and are attended by the children, and every denomination holds annual examinations to test the progress made in such classes. During a ten years' experience as a Nonconformist minister, I have regularly devoted three evenings a week for eight months of the year to the instruction of the young, and I can

testify that this is done by nearly all Nonconformist ministers, and with good results. We value greatly the religious instruction given in day schools, but we realise that it is altogether inadequate for denominational purposes, and cheerfully give the necessary time to supplying the deficiency. Board school religion is described by denominationalists as inadequate, because it is negative. But it is no more negative in relation to the Church of England than it is in relation to the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Wesleyans, or the Presbyterians. They are all on the same ground, and if they want their children taught in their own positive creeds, the only fair thing for them to do is to adopt some such methods as the above. There are ample opportunities for hard-working, conscientious, and earnest clergymen and ministers of all denominations to teach 'their own children in their own faith' without encroaching on each other's rights, or extending exclusive preference to any sect. The Nonconformists are willing to abide by this principle. Why cannot the Church do the same?

But I have reasons for knowing that the Nonconformists would be willing, in order to put an end to the dispute, to go much further than this, and to agree to facilities being given for unrestricted religious teaching by the denominations at their own expense in all schools outside of school hours on one or two days a week—religious instruction on the basis of the London syllabus being given on the remaining days. This would, however, be subject to the concession of public control, abolition of tests for teachers, and adequate guarantees that these conditions would be strictly adhered to in respect of all schools. The Bishop of St. Asaph implies that the representatives of the Welsh Councils were willing in March 1903 to agree to unrestricted facilities in all schools during school hours. There is evidently a serious misapprehension on this point. Such an agreement would be totally at variance with the universal convictions of those whom they represented, and would be giving away the very principle for which they themselves had been fighting all along. I am, moreover, authorised by Mr. Lloyd-George to state positively that the utmost that the representatives of the Councils offered was facilities for unrestricted religious instruction on certain days *outside* school hours, and in this he is corroborated by every member of the committee whom I have had an opportunity of consulting. In proof of this he adduces the fact that both the Bishop of St. Asaph and himself consulted the officials of the Board of Education, and were distinctly told that this was the utmost that the law would allow; but that, in order to settle the matter, no objection would be raised by the Board to the school hours being so arranged as to enable this suggestion to be carried out without interfering with the hours of secular instruction. Although many things have happened during the past twelve months to complicate matters, and to accentuate the differences between the parties, I believe that

a settlement on these lines would be cordially welcomed even now, by many devoted Churchmen, and by the majority of Nonconformists. No agreement which went further than this would, however, be entertained for one moment. Inside denominational facilities would be inconsistent with both public control and the abolition of tests, and all the children would be compelled to attend such instruction unless they claimed the Conscience Clause—an act which frequently places those claiming it in an invidious and unbearable position. If it is only their own children that the Church of England desire to teach in their own faith, why are they so anxious to obtain these facilities during the hours of the compulsory attendance of all children? If, on the other hand, it is the moral and religious welfare of the rising generation that they have so much at heart, why cannot they accept the religious syllabus of the London School Board for all children and supplement its denominational deficiency to meet the wants of their own children, outside school hours? They might have the reasonable use of all the school buildings for this purpose. According to the Bishop's admission this syllabus covers four-fifths of the religious instruction required even by a Church child, and the deficiency could be supplied in from half an hour to three-quarters a week. This being so the difficulty cannot be a very great one, and for the sake of peace and of the educational progress on which the future of our Empire so much depends, surely this small concession might be made by the Church party. This is the only difference between the points of agreement put forth by the Bishop of St. Asaph and those which I believe would be acceptable to Nonconformists. To the latter it is of vital importance, but is it of such importance to the Church party as to warrant them in risking the welfare of the coming generation for its sake?

To this proposal there are only two alternatives. The one is the secularisation of the schools, and much as I should deplore this I fear that, unless some settlement is arrived at soon, public opinion will have none other. The other is the Scotch system. Personally I would, as a compromise, accept its extension to England and Wales. It provides the only complete public control possible. Each locality decides for itself what the nature of the religious instruction in the schools shall be, and an effective Conscience Clause protects the minority. But the total abolition of tests would even then be difficult. Still it would be better than the present position, and in no case would an insignificant minority impose grievous burdens on the majority. The will of the people would be supreme, and democratic principles would triumph. Taxation and representation would go together, and there would be complete control by the ratepayers. This settlement could not, however, be a permanent one, because the same conditions do not exist in England as we find in Scotland.

Nonconformists are weary of this conflict. It was not they who

initiated it, it was forced upon them against their will. They only entered the fray when they discovered that their most cherished principles were being assailed, and their inalienable rights being taken away from them. They have done everything possible to evade the conflict. In Parliament, in the country, by conferences and correspondence and offers of concordats, their desires were made known time after time, but they remained unheeded. Even now many of them cherish the hope that some method of settlement may be arrived at. Unless this is achieved, the conflict must continue, and the bitterness will increase, with what amount of loss to the country, both materially and spiritually, no man can tell.

JOHN HUGHES.

SIR GEORGE COLLEY IN SOUTH AFRICA

MR. MORLEY'S CHAPTER ON MAJUBA

Iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur.—TACITUS.

[Most unjust is this rule of war: in success all claim the credit, in adversity one man bears the blame.]

As for his [Lord C.'s] support, I shall have it if I am successful, and if I am not, that alone will vex me so much that the displeasure of a minister more or less will be of little importance to me.—*Diary of Sir John Moore*, vol. ii. p. 273.

IN the third volume of Mr. Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (published October, 1903) will be found a chapter entitled 'Majuba.' It is written in defence of Mr. Gladstone's South African policy in 1881, and follows Mr. Gladstone's own argument in the debate in the Commons in July of the same year: that Sir George Colley's military operations were neither authorised by the Government nor rendered necessary by the Boer revolt, but were on the contrary undertaken rashly and unjustifiably by the British general. It ought to have been possible to shield Mr. Gladstone's memory without doing this injustice to Sir George Colley, and had such a course been taken the present article need not have been written. In fairness to Sir George, it has now become necessary to record briefly the course of events during his command in South Africa. In taking this step I have no present intention of trying to affect the judgment of men upon the loss of Majuba Hill.

Sir George Pomeroy-Colley was serving in India when the appointment in South Africa was offered to him by the Conservative Government of Mr. Disraeli. He succeeded Sir Garnet Wolseley as Governor of Natal, High Commissioner of South East Africa, and Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Natal and the Transvaal. Before he left England to take up the post the general election of 1880 placed the Liberals in power. Mr. Gladstone's Government, however, confirmed the appointment, and Sir George sailed for South Africa at the end of May. The third paragraph of his Letter of Instructions from Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, refers to

a commission empowering you to assume the Government of the Transvaal in the event of your finding it necessary, either as the officer commanding her Majesty's troops, or in connection with native difficulties, to make any pro-

longed stay in that province. But in the absence of any *such special causes* it has been thought desirable to leave in the hands of Sir O. Lanyon the administration of the Transvaal which he has proved himself so well qualified to hold; and your commission to administer the Government of that province will therefore be a *dormant* one, only to be brought into operation on the occurrence of an *emergency such as I have mentioned*.¹

It will be observed that this paragraph defines very carefully the only circumstances in which Sir George Colley was empowered to assume the control of the Transvaal, namely, in the event of finding it necessary, either as the officer commanding her Majesty's troops, or in connection with native difficulties, to make any prolonged stay in that province. Consequently, until the British rule was annulled by the outbreak of rebellion, the administration of that province remained in the hands of Sir O. Lanyon, and Sir George Colley was dependent on him for all official information on Transvaal matters.

It should be clearly understood—though this is by no means distinctly explained by Mr. Morley in describing the ‘folly’ and shortsightedness imputed by him to the administration of the Transvaal—that for the mistakes and omissions, whatever they may have been, of that time, Sir George Colley cannot be held responsible.

Mr. Morley considers that the Boer revolt of 1880 ought to have been foreseen. In support of his own view he quotes a warning written by Sir Garnet Wolseley in October 1879, as to the serious condition of the Transvaal. But he does not mention that a few months later, just before the 1880 elections put the Liberals in office, Sir Garnet, then on the point of leaving South Africa, wrote officially in an opposite sense (April 10):

In my despatch of the 2nd ultimo, I informed you that, in my belief, there was a growing desire among the Boers of the Transvaal for the conclusion of the agitation against British government in that province. . . . Reports from all quarters of the Transvaal sustain the opinion that the people . . . have determined to renounce all further disturbing action. Taxes are being paid, and the revenue of the country so long disturbed, and in part suspended, is flowing in steadily in its natural course.

I believe that, with the check which has thus been imposed upon the organisation of discontent, a foundation has been laid for the administration of affairs in the Transvaal, upon which there may be built, with the aid of time, a fabric of government in furtherance of the prosperity of the people, and in unison with their sympathies and their wishes.

These opinions were also held and repeated up to the very date of the outbreak by Sir O. Lanyon, who states very fair grounds for his belief that the rising was unexpected even by the people themselves.² No doubt Sir Garnet Wolseley's conclusions carried due weight both with the Home Government and with Sir George Colley. Yet Mr. Morley can hardly intend to include ‘this eminent soldier’ (as he happily calls Sir Garnet) amongst the ‘blind guides’ whose optimistic reports he treats with bitter contempt.

¹ Italics are mine.

² C. 2959, p. 26.

Upon this reassuring information the Government proceeded to reduce their military expenses.³ As a matter of fact only one regiment (the K.D.G.'s) was withdrawn from the command after Sir George's arrival (July 1880). This reduction was carried out under orders from home, although the despatches on the subject, acknowledged by Sir George, are not in the Blue Books. Military retrenchment was no doubt desired by the Government because it implied that the Transvaal was pacific, and thus provided an effective answer to the only political attack they feared—the attack from within their own ranks. But the change of Government at home had changed the current of affairs in the Transvaal. For the Boers had built hopes of restored independence on the protests against annexation which the Liberal leaders had made in Opposition. When, therefore, on the 20th of May, Mr. Gladstone's Government announced that the Province would be retained, the Boer Committee, though bitterly disappointed, were yet certain of sympathy from within the Government. The attitude of the Liberal Party—represented in the press by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then under the able editorship of Mr. Morley—promoted, however unintentionally, a spirit of revolt in the Transvaal, and increased the difficulties with which Sir George Colley had to contend.

Another event which was certain to foment disturbance in the Transvaal was the outbreak of the Basuto War. In all likelihood it was this conflagration in Cape Colony that consumed the last hope of peaceful arrangement.

I am afraid [writes Sir George (Nov. 29) in an unprinted letter to the Secretary of State] matters in the Transvaal are not looking as well as one could wish, though, considering the number of persons who are preaching to the Boers, directly or indirectly, that this Basuto war and rising throughout the Cape should be their opportunity, one can hardly be surprised at an access of agitation.

Sir George's apprehensions were exactly fulfilled. The Boer delegates had (as they wrote to Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., on the 26th of June) 'done their duty' at Capetown, and destroyed by 'legitimate means' the proposals for a conference on Confederation. When they got home they resolved to seize the favourable moment for actual revolt. Secret preparation was easy because there was no organised police force in the Transvaal, no means of rapid information or of protecting the more loyal population against compulsion to join the insurgents. However, about the middle of November signs of disturbance became obvious. On the 25th of November Sir O. Lanyon, who in October was still 'very confident of the attitude of the Boers,' suddenly telegraphed to Sir George for troops. This unexpected demand emphasised the difficulties with which Sir George had to contend, a fact recognised at the time by the Government at home. Lord Kimberley wrote to Mr. Childers (December 20):

³ See *Life of Childers*, ii. p. 7.

Colley will require all his present force to cope with the Boers; and the state of affairs in Basutoland and the Transkei territories requires that troops should be left in Natal to protect the border.

I have full confidence in Colley; but we ought to give him the means of prompt and efficient action. It will be a terrible disaster if Natal should become disturbed, and Colley's last letter to me states that there are symptoms of sympathy between the Natal natives and the Basutos. Some of the Natal natives had crossed the border to join the rebels.

A Boer mass meeting had been called for January 1881. But in the first week of December 1880, Sir George learned that it was suddenly summoned for an early date in December. In the following week the rebellion was organised and about to break out. On the 16th December the Boers, having occupied Heidelberg, formally proclaimed the republic and issued a manifesto purporting to place the country under martial law. The following day the newly elected Triumvirate (Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert) sent an ultimatum to Sir O. Lanyon at Pretoria which concluded with these words: 'We expect your answer within twice twenty-four hours.'

Suddenly therefore, and without warning, Sir George Colley found himself face to face with a serious rebellion and with no adequate force to meet it. Up to this point no emergency had arisen which, under the letter of his instructions, would have justified his interfering with Sir O. Lanyon in the Transvaal. The outbreak of revolt enlarged his responsibilities. He was thenceforward bound to regard his dormant instructions as operative.

His first object was to concentrate his small force. When the news reached Sir George (Dec. 19) the native trouble on the western border of Natal had been more or less quelled, and he had already prepared to send up most of the Natal garrison.

The bulk of these forces will accordingly march to-morrow [he writes the same day], and the whole should be assembled at Standerton about the 20th proximo. I am not yet in a position to form an opinion upon the political aspect of the situation, but your Lordship may rely upon my using every possible endeavour to avoid bloodshed.

By the same mail he writes again: 'What I am most anxious about is that no collision should be accidentally brought about.' With this view he telegraphed to Sir O. Lanyon to avoid any movement of troops 'which could possibly bring about a collision'; and he halted at Standerton the companies already sent forward. Unfortunately the Boers showed no such desire to avoid bloodshed. 'Without waiting for a reply to their communication,' writes Sir O. Lanyon, they had 'taken steps to intercept and destroy' a detachment of the 94th Regiment, under Colonel Anstruther. This detachment, believed to be already at Pretoria, had been delayed by bad roads and flooded rivers, and was still on the march from Lydenburg. It is not necessary to repeat in detail the account of the

slaughter of this force at Bronkerspruit on the 20th of December.⁴ A minute by the Administrator in Council thus sums up the affair :

The surrounding and gradual hemming-in under a flag of truce of a force, and the selection of spots from which to direct their fire, as in the case of the unprovoked attack by the rebels upon Colonel Anstruther's force, is a proceeding of which very few like incidents can be mentioned in the annals of civilised warfare.

Mr. Morley makes no mention of this incident, except by a passing allusion (in a footnote upon another subject) to 'the news that a detachment of the 94th had been cut off'—a casual mention which altogether throws into the background the character and circumstances of the attack. To pass over in this way such prominent events, out of which the war directly arose, is hardly just or candid. As a consequence, no adequate understanding can be obtained from Mr. Morley's narrative of the predicament in which Sir George Colley was placed by the attack upon the 94th and the investment of our garrisons. The Boers, by sudden violence, had brought about inevitable war; and Sir George, in reporting the attack, recognised the fact. His telegram (Dec. 24) concludes with these words: 'This will materially alter situation, as encouraging Boers, who will now feel themselves committed.'

Having regard to the argument adopted by Mr. Morley—that Sir George Colley's measures diverged from the spirit of his instructions—the decisions of the Government upon the outbreak of rebellion must be particularly observed. They are summarised in the words of the Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament on the 6th of January, 1881 :

A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority; and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives which I had been desirous to confer.

In accordance with this decision Sir George is ordered, early in January, to make use of his dormant commission, and 'assume the government of the Transvaal immediately on entering the Province, taking the oaths of allegiance and office in the most formal manner possible'; and Lord Kimberley, in an unprinted letter (Dec. 30), writes to Sir George that reinforcements have been promptly ordered out, and that 'every support which may be necessary to re-establish the Queen's authority in the Province' will be given to him. Again on the 20th of January he writes of the 'plain duty,' which 'must be discharged before we can consider any future

⁴ Force, 255; killed, 57; wounded, 100. The eight officers were at once picked off; four, including the colonel, died. The Boers greatly outnumbered our men.

arrangements, namely, to relieve our garrisons and vindicate the Queen's authority against the armed forces which have attacked it.'

This determination to maintain the Queen's authority in the Transvaal—a determination which during Sir George Colley's life was never disavowed by the Government—must be borne in mind. Throughout the campaign it dictated the sense in which Sir George was obliged to read every instruction he received. In these circumstances he was bound to advance.

The road through Natal to the Transvaal was full of difficulty, and risks of ambush and incursion had to be guarded against. On the 20th of January, however, the little Natal garrison was successfully concentrated at Newcastle, about twenty miles from the position already occupied by the Boers at Laing's Nek within the borders of Natal. Mr. Morley describes what ensued in these words :

Colley, on Jan. 23, had written to Joubert, calling on the Boer leaders to disperse, informing them that large forces were already arriving from England and India, and assuring them that if they would dismiss their followers he would forward to London any statement of their grievances. It would have been a great deal more sensible to wait for an answer.⁵ Instead of waiting for an answer Colley attacked (Jan. 28) and was beaten back—the whole proceeding a rehearsal of a still more disastrous error a month later.

In his summary of Sir George's letter Mr. Morley omits to notice that, in calling on the Boer leaders to disperse, Sir George had required that they should 'submit to her Majesty's authority, which it is my duty to vindicate and maintain.' He, moreover, makes no allusion to the fact that the Boers were in actual occupation of Natal territory, entrenched at Laing's Nek and making it the base for further aggressive movements. Finally, he does not mention that the delay of five days was ample for a reply which might have been given in five hours. Yet it can be hardly contended that a commander confronting an enemy, which had invaded a territory entrusted to his protection, should sit indefinitely waiting for a reply while that enemy was rapidly acquiring fresh strength.

Sir George's reasons for the advance against Laing's Nek may be given in the words of his despatch (Feb. 1) :

The column thus formed was small in numbers, and somewhat heterogeneous in composition. But no further reinforcements could reach me for at least three weeks ; and having regard to the effect of such delay on Pretoria, where the loyal population has had to take refuge in the camp, and is undergoing all the miseries of a close siege, and on Potchefstroom, where the garrison is scantily supplied, and can scarcely hold out much longer, I decided to move forward at once with the force at my disposal.

He had already written to Lord Kimberley in January: 'Our continued inaction is doing harm in the country.' Accordingly

⁵ The answer when it did come, more than a fortnight after the action, stated that the Boers were 'unable to satisfy' Sir George Colley's demands.

Sir George decided on attacking the Boer position. The attack failed—as so many subsequent attacks, made with far larger forces upon Boer positions, failed in the second war. The fact of that failure does not, in the opinion of many good judges, prove that the attempt was in itself an error. Lord Wolseley and Sir Frederick Maurice have always held with Sir George's decision. In support of this I give the following extracts from an unpublished paper written in 1881 by Sir Frederick Maurice. 'Sir George missed success on that occasion,' wrote General Maurice, 'by just one of those incidents which a slightly larger force would have enabled him to repair.' Further on Sir Frederick justifies the motives of the advance :

Sir George knew that the garrison of Potchefstroom would put forward every effort and make every sacrifice, relying upon that understanding which has hitherto always subsisted among English soldiers that every nerve would be strained for their relief. . . . He never counted upon any very brilliant success, but made his move upon the sole calculation that in any case his advance would 'relieve the pressure' upon Potchefstroom and the other garrisons. That it undoubtedly did; for we now know positively that the Boers reduced to a minimum the forces besieging the several garrisons in order to meet their active assailants. The same necessity for activity in order to play the part he had chosen determined the action at the Ingogo.

There was now no question of advance till reinforcements reached the front, but the General held his position at Mount Prospect. This kept the attention of the Boer leaders engaged, and they dared not weaken seriously their force at the Nek for use in other directions. In the meantime, on the 8th of February an action occurred near the Ingogo river, midway between Mount Prospect and Newcastle. Although the action entailed serious loss it preserved Sir George's communications with his base at Newcastle, which the Boers had menaced, and freed the Colony from the danger of raids. On the 17th of February the first column of reinforcements, mainly composed of troops from India, reached Newcastle without opposition. The period of danger to our Colony was now over, the opportunity for fresh operations was approaching.⁶

Up to this point Sir George Colley's bold and energetic strategy had so effectively relieved the pressure on our garrisons that the Boers failed to take any one of our posts. His vigorous measures had checked the Boer invasion almost at the edge of Natal, and protected the Colony. At the same time his dispositions, political and military, had overawed the menace of disturbance on the native frontiers. He had accomplished all this with a miserably weak force—without cavalry and with hardly any guns. Our commanders of mounted

⁶ With regard to the period now over, Mr. Childers wrote to him on the 10th of February: 'Your letters are perfectly clear and satisfactory, and show that you thoroughly appreciated the position, and the consequences of the Boers' action as then known, and of the success or failure of your contemplated proceedings.'—*Life of Childers*, ii. p. 18.

troops in South Africa during 1901 will consider this no small achievement for an isolated column of 1,200 infantry.⁷

While Sir George, in strict conformity with his instructions, had been taking vigorous steps to cope with the rebellion, a very different policy was being pursued elsewhere.

From the time of the outbreak strenuous efforts were made on behalf of the insurgents by the Cape Dutch; by the Orange Free State through its very able President, Mr. Brand; and by a section of the Liberal party at home, which was strongly represented in the Government and in the press. A deputation of the Cape Legislature urged the appointment of a Special Commissioner. Lord Kimberley replied with decision (Dec. 30): 'We do not think the present moment' (a moment, as he explained, of successful rebellion) 'would be opportune for sending Special Commissioner to Transvaal.' But this decision was altered almost as soon as it was formed. In January we find the Government snatching eagerly at the negotiations offered by President Brand through Mr. Blyth, the Free State Consul. By the 14th of January the Special Commissioner, refused in December as 'inopportune,' was practically conceded; on the 26th of January Sir H. Robinson, the newly appointed Governor of the Cape, was instructed by telegram to promise a 'scheme framed to satisfy all enlightened friends of Transvaal community'; these concessions being, however, dependent on the condition that 'armed opposition should at once cease.'

Now of all this Sir George Colley had been left in complete ignorance, until a telegram of the 3rd of February from his old friend President Brand gave him his first inkling of the London negotiations. He thereupon telegraphed to Sir H. Robinson (Feb. 3):

President Brand in telegram just received prays me to make known to Transvaal people contents of telegrams sent by Lord Kimberley through your Excellency. I have no knowledge of such telegrams, unless he refers to reply to Cape Deputation. Have you any others relating to Transvaal?

Sir Hercules replied by sending him copies of the two subjoined telegrams, both of the 26th of January:

Brand to Kimberley through Blyth (Jan. 26): 'Is it not possible to offer to the people of the Transvaal, through the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, who is now in Cape Town, certain terms and conditions, provided they cease from armed opposition, making it clear to them how this is to be understood?

⁷ The value of the General's measures was recognised by the Colonial Secretary. 'I greatly fear,' Lord Kimberley had written in December, 'the Boers will have overpowered our scattered forces in the Transvaal before you can render them assistance.' But he was able to write later (Feb. 24, 1881): 'It seems to be at all events clear that your movements have drawn away the Boers from our beleaguered garrisons, and that although your small force was unable to work its way into the Transvaal, you have been able indirectly to greatly prolong the time for which the garrisons can hold out.'

Kimberley to Brand through Robinson (January 26) : Inform President Brand that if armed opposition should at once cease, her Majesty's Government would thereupon endeavour to frame such a scheme as, in their belief, would satisfy all enlightened friends of the Transvaal community.

This information seems to be all General Colley ever learnt officially of the January negotiations between London and Bloemfontein. He wrote next day (Feb. 4) to his wife : 'I have heard nothing from home about any Special Commissioner.'

What, then, was the situation? The General and High Commissioner, Sir George Colley, under definite instructions though with means quite inadequate for his ends, was straining every nerve to relieve the garrisons, and to restore the Queen's authority, while during this time, and without his knowledge, the Government were carrying on separate negotiations for satisfying the Boer demands.⁸

After the telegrams of the 3rd of February, between Sir George Colley and Sir H. Robinson, the conduct of the negotiations devolved upon Sir George. Mr. Brand now begged for details of the promised scheme, and for guarantees that the leaders should not be treated as rebels. Sir George, replying in the first instance 'I fear I can give no such assurance as your Honour proposes and can add nothing to Lord Kimberley's words,' telegraphed the whole proceedings to the Colonial Office the same day (the 5th of February).

Mr. Morley sees fit to sneer at what he calls the 'barrack-room rigidity' of this answer—though it is difficult to see how Sir George could have taken any other course. All his orders up to this point had directed him to re-establish the Queen's authority in the Transvaal. On the 5th of February, the very day on which he despatched the telegram objected to by Mr. Morley, Sir George received fresh instructions in exact agreement with those already sent, and these instructions were to take effect 'whenever you may succeed in re-establishing the Queen's authority.' Up to the 5th of February, therefore, every order which he had received from home bound him to make it his first duty to re-establish the Queen's authority. He had no right to negotiate until he had effected this.

It is true that Mr. Gladstone, writing to Lord Kimberley on the day on which these fresh instructions were sent to Sir George, said (and Mr. Morley adds that he said so 'truly enough'), 'Colley with a vengeance counts his chickens before they are hatched, and his curious letter throws some light backward on the proceedings in India.'⁹ His line is singularly wide of ours.' But this letter of

⁸ Thus General Colley's letter to Joubert of the 23rd of January was treated as nugatory, the Boer leaders knowing that at that very time their cause was being successfully urged in London.

⁹ Sir George's work in India had been most warmly acknowledged, and this reference to it, occurring casually in a private letter from the Prime Minister ought hardly to have been published without explanation or support. Its natural effect

Mr. Gladstone's is almost inexplicable; Sir George's line was in exact accord with the orders which Lord Kimberley was giving him on the very day on which Mr. Gladstone was writing. And the wide divergence was not between Sir George Colley and Lord Kimberley, but between Mr. Gladstone's criticism and Lord Kimberley's instructions to Sir George.

If on the 5th of February Mr. Gladstone's language to Lord Kimberley widely diverged from Lord Kimberley's language to Sir George Colley, in the next few days the Government altered the policy which it had hitherto laid down in its communications. Telegraphing to him on the 8th of February, Lord Kimberley said:

Inform President Brand that if Boers cease from armed opposition her Majesty's Government will be ready to give all reasonable guarantees as to their treatment after submission, and that scheme will be formed with a view to permanent friendly settlement of difficulties. Add that her Majesty's Government will be glad if President will communicate this and former messages to him to leaders of Boers.

This message constituted a distinct overture from Her Majesty's Government. Sir George, as ordered, telegraphed it to Mr. Brand forthwith. On the 12th of February Mr. Kruger wrote to Sir George. The first paragraph of his letter refused the British proposal that the Boers should cease from armed opposition, and the last phrase is one of false assertion and fierce defiance:

We are prepared, whenever your Excellency commands that her Majesty's troops be immediately withdrawn from our country, to allow them to retire with all honours, and we ourselves will leave the positions as taken up by us. Should, however, the annexation be persevered in, and the spilling of blood proceeded with by you, we, subject to will of God, will bow to our fate and, to the last man, combat against the injustice and violence done to us, and throw entirely on your shoulders the responsibility of all the miseries which will befall this country.

This language of fierce defiance Mr. Morley, oddly enough, represents as an overture from the Boers, though it was apparently a reply to Sir George Colley's overture to Mr. Kruger through President Brand. 'An important move,' says Mr. Morley, 'took place from the other quarter. The Boers made their first overture. It came in a letter from Kruger to Colley (Feb. 12).' Mr. Morley considers the 'pith of it' to be an expression of confidence on the part of the 'Triumvirate' in an inquiry by a Royal Commission. But the letter of the 12th of February states with perfect clearness that unless the annexation were cancelled and our garrisons withdrawn, the Boers would go on fighting to the end. And a later message from Mr. Kruger proves that this refusal to treat on any terms short of the restoration of the Republic was in is to prejudice the reader's judgment. And it is apparently inserted to prepare the mind for the conclusion towards which Mr. Morley is working, namely, that from the time of the outbreak whatever went wrong was Sir George Colley's fault.

his view 'the pith' of his letter. Whether, therefore, this letter be taken as a reply to the Government overture, or as an overture to the Government, its nature—a peremptory demand that England should cease hostilities and yield to armed revolt—was inconsistent with the re-establishment of the Queen's authority, on which Sir George was instructed to insist.

At this time Sir George Colley, acting on these instructions, wrote officially to Lord Kimberley (Feb. 10) upon the position of the Boer leaders :

It appears to me that his Honour the President of the Free State in his earnest and humane desire to contribute to a peaceful solution of the present unfortunate difficulties, and to prevent further bloodshed, has overlooked the fact that the Boer leaders, for whom he asks the status of belligerents, have utilised to the utmost the advantages which rebellion gave them of surprising and attacking in detail our troops while spread in peace garrisons; and that but for the persistent agitation kept up by a few of these leaders the country would in all probability have long ago settled down to quiet and prosperity, and the evils which he so deeply deplores would never have arisen.

While I have been careful, in my capacity of General, to maintain relations of official courtesy with the leaders and to avoid all language or acts which would tend to embitter the relations between her Majesty's Government and the Boers; and while I trust that her Majesty's Government will authorise me to deal leniently with the mass of those now in arms against us, I yet feel it my duty to state that I do not think any settlement hereafter come to can be permanent, unless the declared leaders of this insurrection are punished sufficiently to deter future malcontents from following their example of resorting to arms, and bringing on the country all the calamities of civil war, as a means to obtain redress of alleged grievances.

But the Government at home was, unhappily, arriving at a quite different opinion on quite different grounds. Mr. Morley says that the Cabinet, upon receiving Mr. Kruger's reply (which Mr. Morley regards as an overture from the Boers), was 'strongly inclined towards coming to terms'; and he adds the deplorable admission that 'any other decision would have broken up the Government.' I must leave my readers to determine which was in the right: the officer in South Africa, who assumed that Ministers intended to make good their public declarations and uphold the Queen's authority—or the Government at home, swaying to and fro between the alternatives of either patching up a peace or destroying the cohesion of their own Cabinet. The ambiguous wording of the instructions from this time forward reflects the irresolution of divided counsels.

On the 16th of February Sir George Colley was instructed by telegram as follows :

Inform Kruger that, if Boers will desist from armed opposition, we shall be quite ready to appoint Commissioners with extensive powers, and who may develop the scheme referred to in my telegram to you of the 8th instant. Add that, if this proposal is accepted, you are authorised to agree to suspension of hostilities.

On receiving this telegram, says Mr. Morley, 'Colley was puzzled.' If so, there was reason, for the first phrase 'if Boers will desist from armed opposition' is in absolute contradiction to the last clause offering suspension of hostilities on our part. Sir George cabled to the Colonial Secretary (Feb. 19) pointing out the discrepancy:

Latter part of your telegram of 16th not understood; there can be no hostilities if no resistance is made, but am I to leave Laing's Nek in Natal territory in Boer occupation, and our garrisons isolated and short of provisions, or occupy former and relieve latter?

The Secretary of State replied on the 19th of February:

It will be essential that garrisons should be free to provision themselves and peaceful intercourse with them allowed, but we do not mean that you should march to the relief of garrisons or occupy Laing's Nek if arrangement proceeds. Fix reasonable time within which answer must be sent by Boers.

These instructions the General embodies in a letter despatched on the 21st of February to Mr. Kruger at Laing's Nek:

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst. In reply, I am to inform you that on the Boers now in arms against her Majesty's authority ceasing armed opposition, her Majesty's Government will be ready to appoint a Commission with large powers, who may develop the scheme referred to in Lord Kimberley's telegram of the 8th inst., communicated to you through his Honour President Brand.

I am to add that upon this proposal being accepted within forty-eight hours I have authority to agree to a suspension of hostilities on our part.

No answer to this letter was received until after Sir George's death, when an acknowledgment from the secretary to the Triumvirate, dated Heidelberg, February 25, and stating that Mr. Kruger was away, reached the English camp. The Government, meantime, had again been making separate communications to the enemy. A copy of the instructions to Sir George Colley of the 16th of February was sent by the Government on the same day to Mr. Brand. If, as I believe, this copy was already in the hands of the Triumvirate when Sir George was writing to them on the 21st of February, it is not surprising that they treated with contemptuous delay the time limit set by his letter.

On the 16th of February, the date of Lord Kimberley's telegram authorising an armistice, the Secretary of State for War had also instructed the General:

With reference to Lord Kimberley's telegram as respects the interval before reply from Boers is received, we do not bind your discretion; but we are anxious for your making arrangements to avoid the effusion of blood.

Mr. Morley implies that Sir George's hands were tied by this telegram, and that in occupying Majuba he traversed the spirit of the instructions conveyed in it. But Mr. Childers, in this very

telegram, had carefully preserved the General's military freedom, and Sir George Colley evidently understood his instructions in this sense. The Boers, he wrote on the 23rd of February,

are now very busy fortifying themselves at the Nek, and they have apparently some fresh advice, for they are doing so on more of a system than formerly, and are also pushing forward and occupying more advanced ground. *I may have to seize some ground which has hitherto been practically unoccupied by either party, lying between the Nek and our camp, without waiting for Kruger's reply*, for they have become more aggressive towards this camp, and are trying to press in our vedettes, of whom they lately shot one. But I will not, without strong reason, undertake any operation likely to bring on another engagement until Kruger's reply is received.¹⁰

Mr. Morley quotes the last sentence of this letter, and adds that 'if he [Sir George] had only stood firm to this a tragedy would have been averted.' If Mr. Morley, however, had quoted, as he was bound in fairness to quote, the whole of the passage which I have cited, it would be plain that Sir George Colley did stand firm to the intention which he had communicated to Mr. Childers.

The view Mr. Morley wishes to present of the occupation of Majuba becomes still more evident in the following passage :

Colley could not be technically accused of want of good faith in moving forward on the 26th, as the time that he had appointed had expired. But though Majuba is just inside Natal—some four miles over the border—his advance was, under the circumstances of the moment, essentially an aggressive movement.

The use of the word 'technically' suggests that the interval allowed for the Boer reply ought to have been treated as a kind of truce. But even on the assumption that an offer to suspend hostilities should be regarded as implying a suspension of hostilities—an absurd assumption, and opposed to the teaching of military history—it is clear that troops on one side cannot remain inactive if troops on the other side continue their activity. As Sir George himself said to President Brand (Feb. 10) :

I cannot allow any communications with Boers to affect my military operations. *Your Honour must remember that the Boers meanwhile do not cease to besiege and to endeavour to starve out our garrisons.*

Not only was this the case, but during the forty-eight hours after General Colley's letter had been despatched on the 21st of February to Mr. Kruger (and up to the date of Majuba), the enemy were every day extending their entrenchments at the Nek, and firing at our troops. Besides entrenching towards Majuba Hill on the left front of our camp at Mount Prospect, they also 'set to work to occupy a position to the right rear of our camp.' Mr. Morley can hardly

¹⁰ *Life of Childers*, ii. p. 24. (Italics are mine.)

mean that in these circumstances the English general was bound to sit still and do nothing.¹¹

Sir George could not assume that the negotiations (by no means satisfactory as yet) would bring about peace, and 'after the engagement at Laing's Nek it had become clear that even with the larger force at his disposal a frontal attack on the Boer entrenchments would be a serious affair. A flank march to the east by Wakkerstroom had been talked of. But Sir George Colley knew well the difficulties and delays, with their possible consequences to the besieged garrisons, such a march involved. The defensive occupation of a point like Majuba immediately flanking the Boer position offered the prospect of turning the Boers out of the Nek practically without fighting, and of facilitating the whole course of the campaign when the main force came up. Such a step could only succeed if carried out as a surprise. And it had to be carried out at once, for it was evident that the Boers were busily extending their fortifications and would probably include Majuba, which they had already picketed, within a very few days.

Upon the military merits of the operation Mr. Morley repeats some of the comments sure to be made on an unsuccessful action, and 'military experts' could easily be quoted in a different sense. The question of the loss of the Hill is not however within the limits I have set to this article; though on the motives and plan of the occupation I may be permitted to make some remarks.

General Colley's reasons for the occupation of Majuba Hill are contained in the unpublished report of that movement by Colonel Herbert Stewart, the chief officer on General Colley's staff. He was the only officer in the General's counsels immediately before Majuba, but he was unfortunately taken prisoner there, and was thus debarred for some weeks from sending in his report. The delay, no doubt, accounts for its not having been published, but it remains the only official account which states Sir George Colley's motives and plan.

It is perhaps worth while to preface an extract from the report itself by the following sentences taken from notes made immediately after a conversation with Sir H. Stewart which took place on the 17th of May 1881.

¹¹ In fact the exact interval during which, if their terms were accepted, the Government would be bound to grant an armistice, is of no particular consequence. But as Mr. Morley lays stress upon this interval it is worth pointing out that his quotation from Sir G. Colley's letter (February 21) to Mr. Kruger is not accurate. General Colley added, says Mr. Morley, 'that upon this proposal being accepted *within forty-eight hours from the receipt of this letter*' he was authorised to agree to a suspension of hostilities. The italics are Mr. Morley's, but the last six words in italics (*from the receipt of this letter*) are not to be found in the letter itself. Yet they are significant from Mr. Morley's point of view, for their effect, if the letter had contained them, must have been to enable the Boers to fix their own date as to its arrival.

General Colley did not consider occupation of Majuba to be an attack. The Boers were daily entrenching further and further, and on the Majuba side. If abstaining from attack pending Boer answer to the last peace proposals compelled absolute quiescence of English while Boers could extend their entrenchments, there was apparently nothing to prevent their entrenching all round him. In occupying Majuba pending reply he was only doing what the Boers had never ceased doing. He had no intention of attacking the hill had it been in Boer occupation; and the daily increasing probability of their occupying it doubtless influenced him in doing so on the 27th.

The first part of Colonel Stewart's report relating to the plan of the enterprise is subjoined.

Newcastle, Natal,

4th April, 1881.

Sir,—In accordance with your orders I have the honour to forward to you the accompanying report concerning the action of the 27th of February at Majuba Hill.

Some days previous to the above mentioned date, Sir George Colley informed me that he proposed to endeavour to seize and occupy Majuba Hill upon which the right of the Boer position rested. It was not, I believe, in the first instance, the General's intention to have endeavoured to obtain possession of the hill until considerable reinforcements had reached him, but upon his return to Mount Prospect from Newcastle the rapid strides that had been made by the Boers in throwing up entrenchments on the right flank of their position and the continuance of these works in the same direction upon the lower slopes of the Majuba Hill during the days subsequent to his return, induced him to believe that if the hill was to be seized before it was occupied and probably fortified by the Boers it must be done at once.

I would here mention that the most careful study of the hill, so far as it could be observed from neighbouring heights, had been made by the General on several occasions. The distance of the hill from the road and the extent of its table-topped crest had been estimated, whilst a cavalry reconnaissance was carried out upon the 24th of February to a height on the left bank of the Buffalo River with the object both of distracting the attention of the Boers from their right flank and also more especially with a view to observe the eastern face of the hill. From his previous knowledge of the country, the General was aware that the character of the hill was somewhat similar on all sides, and full inquiries had been made by him as to the northern slopes.

The hill was always held by a Boer picquet during the day and the movements of this picquet had been carefully watched and their departure from their post and disappearance from the southern slopes towards the evening had been noted for some days. Upon the evening of the 26th this picquet was seen to leave in the direction that the General had been informed led to the path by which the easiest ascent or descent of the hill could be made.

I would now endeavour to give a brief account of the plan of the operations as I understood it to be proposed by the General. The occupation by two companies of the Imqwelo Hill—these companies to be entrenched and to guard more especially the ground on the northern and eastern slopes. One company entrenched on the saddle between the Imqwelo and Majuba Hills, the above three companies maintaining the communications between Mount Prospect and Majuba. Upon the latter hill four companies of infantry entrenched together with a detachment of fifty men of the Naval Brigade. There were various contingencies which the General had, I am aware, considered. After occupying the hill, should he succeed in doing so, it was his intention to build such redoubts as might be necessary to secure the position and to return him-

self to the camp to call up the various reinforcements then at and approaching Newcastle. Until the attempt to secure the hill, when undefended, by a night march had proved successful, the General did not deem it necessary to call up any reinforcements from Newcastle, as he felt that by so doing he might be marching the men needlessly to and fro and the seizure of the hill was doubtful.

To provide time for the arrival of reinforcements three days' rations were to be carried by the men, which were, if absolutely necessary, to be so divided as to subsist the men for six days at least. The men were to carry seventy rounds of ammunition, whilst an additional supply was to be forwarded to the post on the saddle below the Majuba to be brought up according to circumstances.

In every particular the utmost secrecy had been maintained by Sir George Colley.

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I have, &c. (Signed) HERBERT STEWART, Lt.-Col., A.A.G.

The General Officer Commanding Troops in Natal and Transvaal.

This official report proves that Mr. Morley's allusion to the movement as 'a rash and trivial attack' is a serious misrepresentation of facts and circumstances. There can be no question that the occupation of Majuba was not only a daring but a reasonable enterprise, the military motives strong, the main scheme carefully worked out and offering a fair chance of success.

Upon reaching the summit this chance of success seemed to exceed the hopes entertained beforehand. Though Sir George and Colonel Stewart had studied the hill from every possible point of view, there was one aspect—the aspect from Laing's Nek—at which they could only guess. When dawn arose on Majuba, it must have been something of a surprise to see the Boer laagers so close below. The scene has been described to me by an officer now high on the upward grade of fame. He cannot to this day, after the lapse of three-and-twenty years, speak without emotion of that morning in his youth, when from the edge of Majuba he caught the first sight of the Boer laagers down below, in unexpected proximity. If our troops could hold the hill—and who in that first moment doubted that they could—the Nek was ours. What then must have been the feelings of the Commander? For ten weeks the anxieties of all sorts, political and military, had been very heavy; his concern for the safety and honour of the garrisons pressed upon him continually. The tendency of the Government to yield to successful rebellion had become apparent, though it was still uncertain and vague, and it filled him with foreboding for the future of South Africa. And now as he stood on the height above Laing's Nek these troubles may have fallen from him, and for a brief moment the old feeling of success—absent so long—may have revisited him. His move had, so it seemed, succeeded beyond all forecast, and might bring a happy solution to political entanglements, a bloodless ending to the war he had hated from the first. Had the sequel been propitious it is probable that the trend of history in South Africa for a whole generation would

have taken a different turn. Mr. Morley may say again and again that Sir George Colley's defeat and death—the death of a British General and High Commissioner fighting against insurgents on British territory—was no reason for interrupting negotiations that had been begun. But who will believe that the course of those negotiations would have been the same if Majuba had been a victory and the Boers had dispersed?

Before concluding there is a word to be said about the relations between the Home Government and Sir George Colley. The correspondence with his immediate chiefs, Lord Kimberley and Mr. Childers, shows undeniably their confidence and esteem; and they were delighted with his arrangements and administration. The reflections on Sir George Colley's measures, which Mr. Morley's chapter renews, were not thrown out by any minister in the debates immediately after the Majuba defeat. On the contrary, when suggested from outside, they were gainsaid by the Colonial Secretary in the House of Lords on the 11th of March, 1881. His statement puts out of court the suggestion that Sir George traversed either the letter or the spirit of his instructions. The concluding words of Lord Kimberley's admission of Sir George Colley's right of action leave nothing to be desired:

I believe (said Lord Kimberley) that Sir George Colley acted with perfect straightforwardness in the matter. Now, with regard to the armistice, Sir George Colley's instructions were that if he received a favourable answer to the communication sent to Mr. Kruger, he might agree to a suspension of hostilities. That was the instruction given to Sir George Colley.

After the peace, however, the Government were severely attacked, the debate in the Commons having been deferred by them till the 25th of July. Upon this occasion Mr. Gladstone took a line unusual in English political life. He put forward as a reason for the 'loitering unwisdom' (to use Mr. Morley's expression) of the Government with regard to Transvaal affairs, that ministers 'could not venture to proceed in South Africa, where we had no confidential agents of our own, upon a matter so delicate and difficult as that of granting free institutions to the Boers until we knew who were the men who were to conduct this difficult task.'

But this was a distinct contradiction of the conditions of Sir George Colley's appointment. He was selected on the very ground that he was singularly qualified to conduct the difficult matters to which Mr. Gladstone refers. It was well known that his appointment was particularly acceptable to the Boers themselves, and he held a dormant commission as Governor of the Transvaal, to be used when Ministers had made up their minds what they intended to do. And in fact they did ultimately, in January 1881, instruct him to use this commission upon entering the Transvaal. He had not taken

up his post when the Liberal Government came into office, and if they ratified his appointment and sent him out, it was because they were as much alive to his qualifications as were their predecessors. Upon Sir Hercules Robinson's appointment to the Cape, Lord Kimberley, in October 1880, informed Sir George that there was no intention of making any change in the existing arrangements. Yet after Sir George's death Mr. Gladstone declared in the House that Sir Hercules Robinson had been sent to South Africa 'for the purpose of taking this important business in hand'!¹²

Damaging facts were brought out in the course of the July debate. It was shown that the Government had treated for peace after receiving Joubert's declaration that he would 'negotiate, but not submit nor cease from armed opposition.' Notwithstanding Mr. Kruger's promise 'to make it easy for the honour of England to be indulgent (or, in plainer words, to save her face), it became known that the Boers had refused to treat except upon an understanding that the Republic would be restored. To crown all, we had submitted to the humiliating condition that our troops were not to occupy the position of Laing's Nek in our own colony of Natal. The country began to see that it was the English who had agreed to cease hostilities—the rebels maintaining their invasion and their siege till we had promised them all they hoped for. As Lord Cairns said in the House, 'Opposition, my Lords, triumphed—it was *we* who ceased.'

The Prime Minister, thrown upon his defence, found it convenient to transfer the blame to Sir George Colley.¹ He ignored the whole circumstances of the Boer revolt. He passed in silence over the opening scene of carnage at Bronkerspruit. Referring to General Colley's engagements, the first of which occurred six weeks later, Mr. Gladstone actually stated that 'the Boers had no share whatever, except a defensive share, in those military operations.' It would never be guessed from this speech that the field of those 'unhappy movements,' as he calls them, Laing's Nek, Schoen's Hoogte, and Majuba, all lay within our colony of Natal, and that our attempt to dislodge the Boers was only an attack in the sense in which, if a foreign army occupied Dover, we should probably 'attack' that army.

Finally, Mr. Gladstone took credit for attaining without bloodshed the end the Government had in view, namely, to confer liberty

¹² Sir George had already, before the outbreak, made the proposal recorded in a letter from Mr. Escombe, afterwards Premier of Natal, whom he asked to be one of a committee of three to go to the Transvaal with a view to giving the Boers 'as free a constitution as might be consistent with continued connection with the English Crown.' But on receipt of the news of Bronkerspruit, says Mr. Escombe, 'Sir George told me that there was an end to his proposal, as he must go up to punish the Boers who have fired on the troops.' Who would have guessed that the outbreak which stopped Sir George's proposals would result in untimely concessions on the part of the Government?

upon the Boers! 'For,' said he, 'the blood-shedding that occurred—as is well known—was due to local counsels.' And the Prime Minister listened in silence, while Sir Stafford Northcote condemned the ungenerous assertion, and called it an argument to make a man 'ashamed of himself.' Apparently, Mr. Gladstone had forgotten the Speech from the Throne, the whole body of instructions upon which Sir George Colley acted, and his own assurance to the country of the Government's intention, 'resolutely, and let me add also, as promptly as possible, to re-establish the authority of the Crown.' He forgot that if our forces were 'put in motion by Sir George Colley,' it was in obedience to the orders from the Government to repel the invasion and to suppress the revolt. He represented the military operations as acts of unprovoked aggression for which the English General was responsible. He referred to them as unfortunate miscarriages for which a Cabinet endowed with 'the moral courage,' 'high prudence,' and 'sound policy of state,' extolled by Mr. Morley, must disclaim responsibility.

This was the line taken by the leader of the Government in whose service Sir George Colley lost his life. This is the suggestion which Mr. Morley defines and amplifies, and makes the first attempt to establish in the manner which this article points out.

Nevertheless, Englishmen have always resented the weakness and inconstancy displayed by the Government of Mr. Gladstone in 1881. It is, indeed, a bitter recollection that the lives lost in the earlier Boer war were sacrificed for a cause which the Government at the first check were ready to desert. They began by proclaiming a resolute determination to vindicate the Queen's authority; they ended by conceding everything to those who were in arms against that authority. And the Nemesis—which is the essence of all tragedies—is to be found in the ultimate consequences. For the English nation was doomed to a second war, with all its bloodshed and sorrow, because the Government of 1881 exhibited none of that 'Roman pride'—the unflinching temper in misfortune, which Mr. Morley characteristically despises as 'moral cowardice'—but preferred party convenience to national honour: the cohesion of a Cabinet to the maintenance of British dominion in South Africa.

EDITH BEAUMONT.
(*Lady Pomeroy-Colley.*)

THE FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN ART

It was by a happy coincidence that the young Art of Italy, when just ready to break away from the restraints of Byzantine tradition, found ready to hand a new inspiration, a new subject on which to expend her nascent powers. The familiar scenes of Old and New Testament history could offer but little scope for the exercise of the painter's imagination; their conventional mode of representation had been long since determined, and any deviation therefrom, any attempt at original treatment, would have met with but scant encouragement from the Church, or from devout patrons among the laity. Until the middle of the thirteenth century, Italian artists had been content to reproduce the typical Byzantine crucifix, Madonna, or saints—angular, staring-eyed, ferocious, with all the stiffness of figures in mosaic—such as are still to be seen in the *eikons* of the Greek Church. Of this degraded Art tradition, Margaritone d'Arezzo is one of the last exponents; from its smouldering fire rose, phoenix-like, the new Art that was to enchant the world, and be the sole rival of the bygone glories of Greece.

A great awakening had swept over Italy, and left her a people willing in the day of her power. The early years of the thirteenth century had seen the first beginnings of the Franciscan movement—so soon to overspread the world—in the little Umbrian town of Assisi. Wherefore, says Dante,

non dica Ascesi
ma Oriente ;

and from this Orient came the illumination of the new Art. In a less measure, the story of Dominic also furnished a new inspiration, and several painters were actually members of his Order; such were Fra Angelico, and, in the fifteenth century, Fra Bartolommeo, whose contemporaries, Lorenzo di Credi and Botticelli, were, like himself, earnest followers of the great Dominican prophet, Savonarola. Thus Dr. Heinrich scarcely exaggerates when he says: ¹ 'No princely

¹ 'Franz von Assisi und seine kulturhistorische Bedeutung' (*Frankfurter Zeitungs- gemässe Broschüren*, vol. iv. p. 111).

Mæcenas ever advanced knowledge and art so powerfully as Francis and Dominic and their Orders.'

But it was pre-eminently in St. Francis that the painters found a personality of magnetic charm, a story full of dramatic possibilities, with the added stimulus of popular enthusiasm and the encouragement of the Church. The Franciscan legends had been vividly narrated by the early biographers, but there was as yet no prescribed treatment for them, there were no conventional forms to hamper the imagination. The new life that Duccio di Buoninsegna, and, according to what tradition reports of his shadowy figure, Cimabue, had begun to infuse even into scriptural scenes, where such hampering limits did exist, might here stream in full tide unhindered.

The position of Assisi was favourable for this development, situated as it is within easy distance of both Siena and Florence, the two leading centres of painting at that day, while Perugia, destined in its turn to become the headquarters of the Umbrian school, lies within sight, on its lofty hilltop across the valley, the Tiber flowing between.

Immediately on the death of Francis in 1226, the Minister-General of the Order, Elias, took advantage of the widespread devotion to the saint to inaugurate, under papal encouragement, the building of a vast basilica in his honour. Nothing, of course, could have been more opposed to the wishes of Francis, who would not permit even a cell of rushes to be called his own. Opposition from his immediate circle of friends naturally followed, and one, his most intimate friend of all, Leo, went so far as to break the marble vase which Elias had put to receive offerings towards his building fund, and was thereupon summarily punished. Even when Elias had been deposed from office, he practically disregarded his deposition, and continued to preside over the architects and masons. Thanks to his feverish activity, and to the contributions which poured in from all parts of Europe, ten years saw the practical completion of 'the rose-hued, many-columned, marvellous invention' of San Francesco. Pope Gregory the Ninth himself came to lay the foundation-stone in 1228, and Elias was determined that its interior should be as beautiful as the exterior. One could scarcely imagine a finer scope for pictorial decoration than that afforded by the Upper Church, airy and luminous, with splendid wall-spaces; but, dark though the Lower Church is, every inch of its walls and vaulting is no less covered with frescoes.

The great church at Assisi was but the first of many built for the Franciscans. As their numbers and popularity rapidly increased, churches were erected for them in nearly every Italian town.² They were built for preaching, and were therefore gaunt, barnlike

² Cf. Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, pp. 288 sqq., 'Die Franciscanerkirchen.'

buildings, such as San Francesco at Siena, at Bologna, and at Perugia, or as Sta. Croce in Florence, and Sta. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari at Venice. Incidentally, this form of structure adapted them for fresco-painting.

Of the author of this great movement, the hero of the drama, what has Art to tell us? What was St. Francis like to look upon? The early representations—making due allowances for the lingering effects of Byzantine tradition—agree in the main with the word-portrait of one of his earliest biographers, Thomas of Celano :³

He was rather below the middle stature, with a small round head and a long pinched face, a full but narrow forehead, and candid black eyes of medium size; his hair likewise was black,⁴ the brows were straight, the nose well-proportioned, thin and straight, the ears erect but small, and the temples flat; his speech was kindly, yet ardent and incisive; his voice powerful, sweet, clear and sonorous; his teeth were regular, white, and set close; his lips thin and mobile; his beard was black and scant, his neck thin, his shoulders square; the arms were short, the hands small, with long fingers and almond-shaped nails; his legs were thin, his feet small, his skin delicate, and he was very thin.

The idea of a somewhat mean stature is corroborated by the story in the *Fioretti*,⁵ which relates how, when Francis went to ask alms, 'because he was mean to look upon and small of stature, and was deemed thereby a vile beggar by whoso knew him not, he got by his begging naught save a few mouthfuls and scraps of dry bread; but to Brother Massco, in that he was tall and fair of form, were given good pieces, large and in plenty, and of fresh bread.' A description of Francis by one 'Thomas, citizen of Spalato, and arch-deacon of the cathedral church of the same city,' who heard him preach at Bologna in 1220, contrasts his insignificant appearance with the 'unheard-of power' of his words.⁶

Francis's allusion to himself as 'black' (*niger*), in a parable related by the 'Three Companions,'⁷ would point to his having been black-haired, unless it were merely a description of his spiritual state as his humility might conceive it. Giotto, followed by Angelico, Gozzoli, Perugino, and the great majority of Italian painters, represents him as chestnut-haired, though sometimes with a darker beard. It is interesting, however, to note that the two most ancient pictures of Francis in the Accademia at Perugia, by Margaritone and Giunta Pisano (Room A), do give the black hair. Otherwise we rarely meet with it until the purely fancy portraits of the Spanish school, where Francis becomes a sallow unkempt fanatic, swarthy and hollow-eyed.

³ Celano, *Vita Prima*, lib. i. cap. 10 (published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 1 p. 706). Translated in *The Story of Assisi*, p. 212 (Dent).

⁴ This (*fuscus*) should rather be rendered 'dark.'

⁵ Ch. xiii. (translation from the Temple Classics edition).

⁶ Cf. Canon Knox-Little, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 179.

⁷ Ch. xvi. 63 (Temple Classics edition).

An interesting discussion of some of the earliest portraits is given by Westlake in his book on *The Authentic Portraiture of St. Francis of Assisi*, and Manzoni in his recent edition of the *Fioretti*⁸ also reproduces and discusses some of them. These two authors agree in the belief that the portrait in the Sacro Speco, Subiaco, is authentic and contemporaneous, painted probably in 1216, when Francis visited Subiaco, and this supposition is confirmed by the fact that it has no nimbus, no 'sanctus,' or stigmata, being simply inscribed 'Frater Franciscus.' Some critics, however, like the Bollandists, deny that 'the Seraphic Father was ever painted during his lifetime.'⁹

But we have at any rate two, and probably three, portraits painted within ten years of the death of Francis—that by Giunta Pisano, painted about 1230 and now in the inner sacristy of San Francesco, Assisi; the famous portrait by Berlinghieri at Pescia, dated 1235; and that at the Portiuncula, near Assisi, painted on the saint's wooden bed. Bonghi¹⁰ tells how Morelli himself assured him that the first of these was genuinely the work of Giunta; the other two resemble Giunta's, they are all bearded, and show the stigmata. Westlake considered that the first and third, on minute examination, revealed traces of an 'ocular defect,' such as we know did exist in the later years of Francis's life. Another portrait at the Portiuncula is unfortunately 'restored and repainted beyond recognition.'

In addition to the above, Manzoni reproduces the two portraits ascribed by tradition to Cimabue at Assisi, one from a tondo on the ceiling of the upper church, the other from the 'Madonna and Saints' in the right transept of the lower. The apparently awkward grouping of the figures here, which makes that of St. Francis appear an afterthought, is probably accounted for by the fact that a later artist entrenched on it for his own frescoes, obliterating the figure of St. Clare that we may suppose to have originally balanced it.¹¹ The portrait of St. Francis in the Bardi Chapel of Sta. Croce, Florence, attributed to Cimabue, is more probably by Margaritone, who is known to have painted one in a convent at Sargiano, near Arezzo. This last has been considered a contemporary likeness, because Vasari described it as *ritratto di naturale*, which more probably meant that it was life-size.¹² There are several other so-called portraits of Francis dating from the thirteenth century, but they are mere adaptations or copies of that by Giunta. It is to be noticed that it is only in the *ideal* pictures of the saint, such as

⁸ I *Fioretti di Sancto Franciescho*, secondo la Lezione del Codice Fiorentino. (Rome, 1900.)

⁹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xvii. p. 483.

¹⁰ *San Francesco d'Assisi*. Appendix II. p. 100.

¹¹ Cf. 'A Critical Study at Assisi,' Basil de Sélincourt (*Monthly Review*, October 1903).

¹² Cf. Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Monastic Orders as represented in the Fine Arts*, p. 248. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 188.

occur in Giotto's Allegories over the high altar of the Lower Church, that that painter gives a beardless type; elsewhere he follows the usual tradition.

In pictures of Francis and the Franciscan saints, we find sometimes the grey robe, sometimes the brown, grey having been the original colour of the rough habits of the Brothers, but early changed to brown. The cord round the waist is always a distinctive feature, marking them out from the Dominicans, with their leather girdle, and from all other Orders. Hence their name of Cordeliers. The rope or cord reminds us of the story¹³ which tells how Dominic humbly begged Francis to bestow his own on him, by reason of the devotion he bore him, and ever wore it thereafter; it reminds us, too, how Dante describes himself as 'girt with a cord'¹⁴ against the Leopard (luxury), probably in allusion to the fact, not yet disproved, of his having been a member of the Third Order of St. Francis.

Francis often carries a cross or crucifix, the emblem of the preacher, sometimes the Gospel open at the words, 'Si vis esse perfectus,' &c., occasionally a skull, in reference to contemplation and self-mortification. Sometimes he is accompanied by a lamb, or birds perch near him, as the greenfinches do in the picture by Gozzoli in our National Gallery. The saint is frequently represented as pointing to the wound in his side, a most inappropriate gesture for one whose humility strove ever during his life to preserve 'the holy secret of the Lord' (*sacramentum Domini*). The stigmata are sometimes represented as crimson scars, sometimes as rays of light. Alone, or with companions, Francis is often seen kneeling at the foot of the Cross, as in Angelico's great fresco in the Chapter-house of San Marco, Florence, or in the Niccolà d'Alunno possessed by our National Gallery, an indifferent example of that master's work. In a picture by Perugino in the Accademia, Perugia, we see St. Francis kneeling in prayer for that city, whose towers and citizens appear in the background; he is here coupled with San Bernardino of Siena, one of his most saintly and eloquent followers in the fourteenth century, and at Siena itself this is frequently the case. San Bernardino's story is commemorated by Pintoricchio in Ara Celi at Rome, which was given over to the Minorites in 1252. Another famous follower of St. Francis, St. Antony of Padua, is usually represented clasping the Holy Child, carrying a lily, or preaching his sermon to the fishes. The story of St. Clare was depicted by Giotto in the church named after her at Assisi.

With the painters of his native Umbria Francis is naturally a first favourite, and one very congenial to their spirit. In the pictures of Alunno, Perugino, Tiberio d'Assisi, and Lo Spagna, for example, we find his figure with its true Umbrian background of

¹³ *Mirror of Perfection*, ch. xliii. (Nutt.)

¹⁴ *Inferno*, xvi. 106.

blue hills, wide horizons, and peaceful light. Tiberio, in the Chapel of the Roses at the Portiuncula (where he may have been assisted by Eusebio di San Giorgio), and Lo Spagna, in the infirmary cell there in which St. Francis breathed his last, have depicted some of the early 'Companions' with much sympathetic insight. Melanzio, an indifferent painter of Montefalco, and follower of Perugino, frequently introduces St. Francis in groups of saints painted in churches in or near his native place. But perhaps the painter who more than all others could reproduce the Franciscan atmosphere was no Umbrian, but Angelico da Fiesole—a painter, as Thode has pointed out, after Francis's own heart. Perhaps Angelico had learnt to love him during his early residence at Cortona, on the very borders of Umbria, but anyhow we realise the community of feeling between them, as we cannot between the painter and his own sterner patron saint, Dominic. How Francis would have delighted in his flowery fields of Paradise, where friars and angels embrace, and a glorified Dominican and Franciscan, hand in hand, float upward on a stream of golden light to the heavenly gates!

In Venetian art, as one would expect, Francis takes a less prominent place, though we do find him represented, as, for instance, in one of the Vivarinis in the National Gallery, and in the Castelfranco Giorgione. Later art, such as that of Guido Reni, sentimentalised him, and made him a mere effeminate ecstatic, while art alien alike to his time and his spirit, like that of Spain, rendered him, as we have seen, unrecognisable.

The historic representation of the Franciscan legends was determined by Giotto in his magnificent series of frescoes illustrating the life of St. Francis, in the nave of the Upper Church, Assisi. Giotto relied on the 'Legend' compiled by Bonaventura in 1263, and he in his turn had relied mainly on earlier writings, such as those of Celano and the 'Three Companions.' 'If,' says the author of *The Story of Assisi*, 'St. Francis was fortunate in having his life related by so admirable a story-teller, Giotto also owed something to the early chroniclers who, seeing, perhaps unconsciously, the extraordinary poetry and the dramatic incidents in the saint's career, had faithfully recorded them in simple and beautiful language.' In most series of the legends in Art, the scenes are practically identical with those chosen by Giotto, and there is more or less resemblance in their treatment. Giotto himself repainted some of the Assisi scenes in the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, but one feels that this more ornate rendering is less impressive than the earlier one, where figures and accessories were as few and simple as possible. The *Sermon to the Birds* is repeated on the predella of a picture ascribed to Giotto in the Louvre. After his representation of it, the most delightful is that by Benozzo Gozzoli at Montefalco, the little mountain village that looks down on Bevagna in the Umbrian plain, where this most

poetical of sermons was actually preached. Benozzo's series of frescoes includes the only representation known to Thode¹⁵ of the late legend of the saint's birth in a stable, invented from a desire to complete the 'Conformities' with the life of our Lord. Benozzo also included in his scheme of decoration some very characteristic likenesses of Brother Giles, John of Parma, and others. At San Fortunato, just outside Montefalco, Tiberio d'Assisi painted five scenes from the life of Francis, in distinctly Peruginesque style.

A comparatively little known Sienese painter, Sassetta, is claimed by Berenson¹⁶ to be a better interpreter of the Franciscan spirit than Giotto, largely owing to the ethereal and poetical effect of his space-composition; his large altarpiece for the Church of San Francesco at Borgo San Sepolcro, begun in 1437, comprised eight panels, some of which are now in Mr. Berenson's own possession, others in private collections in France. The quaint story of the Wolf tamed by St. Francis is one of the scenes depicted.

Perhaps the favourite incidents, and those most often repeated, are Pope Innocent's dream of Francis supporting the tottering Church of St. John Lateran; the interview of Francis and the Pope; the proposed ordeal by fire in the presence of the Soldan; the reception of the stigmata; and the saint's death. These last four are sculptured on the beautiful pulpit of Sta. Croce by Benedetto da Maiano, together with the martyrdom of five Franciscan missionaries in Morocco. Ghirlandaio painted them in the Sassetti Chapel of Sta. Trinità, Florence, with his usual technical skill, and, unfortunately, his usual want of feeling and poetry. The scene in which a child of the Spini family is miraculously restored to life by the intercession of St. Francis, after his own death, is the best of the series; its chief interest lies in the picture of the Ponte and Piazza Sta. Trinità as they were in Ghirlandaio's day.

Some Giottesque frescoes of the Franciscan legends have been recently discovered in the Church of San Francesco al Prato at Pistoia; they had been overlaid with a coat of light green paint, from which fragments of them now peer forth pathetically. A like fate overtook the frescoes representing the Franciscan missionaries among the Moors, painted by the Lorenzetti in San Francesco, Siena. They are described by Ghiberti, but only two fragments have been recovered.¹⁷

In sculpture, the Della Robbia are unrivalled delineators of the Umbrian saint. Perhaps the most beautiful *motif* of all is that of the 'Assumption' altarpiece in the Church of the Osservanza, near Siena; here, standing side by side with the first Sister of his own

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 184.

¹⁶ 'A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend' (*Burlington Magazine*, September to November 1903).

¹⁷ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii. p. 135.

Order, St. Clare, St. Francis lays his hand tenderly on the head of the kneeling Dominican Tertiary, St. Catherine of Siena. In the Museum at Perugia is an exquisite statuette of St. Francis, which might be a study for the larger figure in the infirmary cell of the Portiuncula. Here we see the Francis of the later years, worn and sad, but with a marvellous sweetness and refinement. The Portiuncula and another great Franciscan sanctuary, La Verna, contain some of the very best examples of the Della Robbia. The famous lunette of the meeting of St. Dominic and St. Francis, over a door in the Piazza Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, where a meeting is said to have actually taken place,¹⁸ gives a wonderful idea of two contrasted natures thus drawn into close sympathy. The features and attitude of Francis, as he bends to receive the embrace of Dominic, are full of a tender humility, while Dominic's clear-cut, ascetic face expresses in its turn love and admiration for the comrade so different from himself.

The devout affection which Francis of Assisi kindled in the hearts of his countrymen, and which so soon found expression alike in literature and art, still hallows his name, and many a humble cottage in Italy to-day is adorned with some roughly daubed fresco of his brown-froked figure. Nor is that devotion confined to his own country. The Franciscan legends are now so widely known and loved that it is hoped this attempt, imperfect as it is, to bring together some few of the many representations of them in Italian art may interest English lovers of the Umbrian saint, and students of the '*mirabil vita del poverel di Dio*.'

EMMA GURNEY SALTER.

¹⁸ A better authenticated meeting between the two is that in Rome at the time of the Lateran Council of 1215.

THE SNAKE-DANCERS OF MISHONGNOVI

THE pitiless August sun poured down upon us as our wagon crawled interminably across the Painted Desert. The desert deserves its name by the brightness of its colouring ; the tawny yellow of the sand stretches as far as the eye can reach, and the blue-green of the sage brush plays over its surface like the shimmer of shot silk. In front the many-faceted chain of the Echo Cliffs was flung like a string of opals across the desert. Behind us a dark green ribbon of cotton-woods marked where the channel of the Little Colorado drew a wet streak through the thirsty sand. Away to the south-west the dark cones of the San Francisco mountains rose sharp against the sky ; while on the furthest horizon, midway between the mountains and cliffs, three long promontories showed steplike one behind another. The great gulf below, into which they projected, was hidden from us by the earth's rim ; but I could see it in imagination, for only a week before I had lain there all night on the warm sand, looking up at the narrow belt of starlit sky above, while all night long resounded in my ears the deep voice of the river that has carved out the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. That yawning chasm is to my mind the most wonderful thing in Nature, with its blazing colours, its vast rock-faces, its spires and pinnacles, and its mysterious terrors. Small wonder if the Red Men who dwelt upon its rim held it to be a place where evil spirits had power, and shrank from exploring its depths. It is a river that does not give up its dead, but rolls them along under its turbid yellow waves to meet the foam-crested eagle that rushes up from the sea 500 miles below. Even as I had reached it two more victims were added to its list—two miners, who had gone down into the chasm, to cross it, and never returned ; their empty skiff was found cast up at a bend of its course, their bodies were never seen again. Twice, and twice only, has that terrific chasm been traversed from end to end by white men, aided by the best boats and the best skill that could be found, and in each case the river exacted its toll of human life. But difficulties only superable by extraordinary skill and favouring fortune are just those over which the mind of man delights to triumph by its myth-making faculty. Once upon a time, so the Red Men say, a young brave footed it alone across the immense desert, and peered over the rim, and far below he saw the roaring yellow flood that ran

and ran into the chasm without ceasing. And he said to himself, this water has run for ages like this, and yet the pit is not full ; there must be a way out at the other end. So with his father's aid he built a little ark, and he made holes in it for windows, and in this he put forth upon the unknown river. And he drifted many days, till at last the ark stopped drifting, and, lo ! he had been carried to an island that lay in the middle of the sea. And there he met the Spider Woman, and she was a being of magical powers, and gave him gifts of might. By her aid he travelled on the rainbow as on a bridge, and together he and she crossed that wan water of the sea and came to a strange land. Here they found a Kiva, an underground chamber where the sacred ceremonies of the Red Men are held. She introduced him into this Kiva, which was the Kiva of the Snake people ; snakeskins were hung all round its walls. The young man was bidden to look aside, and when he looked again the people had put on the snakeskins and become snakes. Then, by the magical aid of the Spider Woman, he won a Snake maiden for his bride, and after many and strange adventures he brought her again to his own home. And from that pair are descended the people of the Snake clan of the Hopi Indians, who have lived on down to the present day in the Navajo country, and by virtue of their descent can deal on familiar terms with the snakes, their brothers. This singular myth belongs to the dim ages ere history begins ; already before the intruding Paleface most of the Red Men have vanished, and their religions along with them, but by a rare chance this myth and the strange ceremonies based upon it have survived.

How much longer can they last ? For our devouring civilisation presses hard upon their heels. Looking back from the Painted Desert beyond the green ribbon of the Little Colorado, far on the horizon I saw a dark streak that lay across the sky, and I knew it for the smoke of a passing train upon the line of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railway. The iron monster has got as far as the edge of the Painted Desert and the Grand Cañon, though he has not yet invaded their recesses ; but he brings you to the very borders of the Navajo country, and as you look out from the windows of your Pullman car you see parti-coloured flocks of spotted sheep grazing, and beside them, standing in the sage brush, the picturesque figures of their nomad shepherds. These are the Navajo Indians, a great and powerful nation, 20,000 strong, and they live in a country of their own, near 200 miles across, which the United States has allowed them to retain. Once upon a time the Navajos themselves were intruders here, an invading warrior tribe from away north, so their traditions tell ; but that was a long while back, and when the Spanish conquistadores came they found them where they are to-day. But there had been an earlier folk there before them, whom these warriors from the north almost exterminated—all but a remnant, who fortified

themselves on high hilltops, round which the encroaching waves of the Navajo sea raged in vain. These were the Hopi, and there they still survive in their seven villages, perched on three wall-sided mesas which bear the general name of Tusayan. It is there that the famous snake dance is performed year by year by the descendants of the legendary youth who won the favour of the Spider Woman and brought back a Snake bride to his Hopi home. 'Hopi,' 'the good people,' that is what they call themselves, but that is not the name by which they are most generally known; for the Navajo shepherd warriors who surround them mock at them for an unwarlike folk, and call them 'Moqui,' or 'dead.' But the Navajos found them very much alive whenever they tried to raid them in their cities of refuge on the hill. The Hopi have held their own in the midst of their enemies, and the very isolation in which they have thus lived—*islands as it were in the Navajo sea*—has enabled them to keep their ancient rites unchanged from prehistoric times.

To see this wonderful prehistoric snake dance of theirs was the object of my journey. Towards noon of the next day our Navajo driver, Natanie, pointed to a yellow sandstone mesa shimmering through the haze ahead, and made signs to us that that was where we were bound. He did it by signs, for he spoke no English, and neither I nor my companion, whom I may call the Churchman, knew a word of Navajo. And as we drew nearer to it we found the bed of the wash, or dry valley bed, up which we were driving, was planted with corn unlike any corn I had ever seen before. In the States the maize is grown in thick rows close together, and stands as tall as the head of a man on horseback. This Hopi corn was scarce as high as my waist, and each plant stood by itself, many feet from its neighbour, with the loose sand lying all around it. The Hopi have no living streams to irrigate their fields, and depend solely on the rains, so capricious and so slight, of their arid home. I think no other human beings would have dreamed of cultivating such a soil under so arid a sky; but the Hopi have found that there is a moist stratum beneath the sand all down the broad centre of the wash. They dibble in the precious, sacred seed—corn is a sacred plant to them—and pray that the heavens may drop water on the tender shoots; and thus they gain a hard-won sustenance from the most unhopeful soil in America.

Their labours are doubled by the fact that daily they must descend many hundreds of feet from their strongholds to till their corn-fields down in the wash below, and then climb back up the steep trails that wind and zigzag through the frowning rocks to their pink and white villages on the mesa top.

There, ahead of us, the clustering houses stood out against the intense blue of the Arizona sky like those of some Italian village above the Arno or the Tiber. Heaven-kissing is the only word for them.

One thinks of eagles and their lofty eyries, or of sea-birds that make their nests on the summits of wave-worn precipices. Up a steep road, over sandy slopes, round great fallen rocks, the straining mules pulled our wagon, till in a little cove right under the mesa we saw the Toreeba spring. Here was a rock-walled pool of clear green water, which welled out from under an overhanging crag, and in the crannies of the rock by the spring-head strange offerings were deposited. These were Bahos, or prayer-sticks—two little sticks the size of a man's finger, bound together with a feather tuft. These are the Hopi emblems of prayer, and when an Indian makes his orisons to the spirits which he believes to exist everywhere, above him, around him, and beneath, he offers at the same time the Baho as a visible symbol of his devotion. The Indian is as religious as any person upon earth; to him the supernatural world is as close and ever-present as the natural, and every action of his life is considered in relation both to the spirits that may help and to the spirits that may hurt him; to propitiate them his dances are designed, and this snake dance which we had come to see is the most important of all his ceremonies.

To the Hopi in his arid home water is the very first necessity of life; for his water he trusts solely to the rains of heaven, and it rests with the spirits whether his trust is to be in vain. Now the forked lightning is the maker of the rain, for in that dry atmosphere the rain clouds most commonly burst to the accompaniment of zigzag flashes and the long roll of the thunder. Lightning is capricious, and can strike you dead, but it is the author and giver of all that which makes the staff of life. And the snake, vivid, quick-darting, apt, too, when he strikes to deal sudden and mysterious death, is near akin to the lightning, and the best of all messengers to carry word to the spirits that lightning and fruitful rain are urgently desired. To this end did the favour of the Spider Woman provide the faithful Hopi with their invaluable snake clan, human instruments whose right and duty it is to work magic with the snakes, their brothers, and to make them the effectual bearers of their prayers.

The Churchman had been among the Hopi before, and had seen the dance in previous years at the pueblo, or village, of Oraybe. We were arriving now in time to see only the grand finale of the Mishongnovi dance, the preliminaries to which had already been transacted. For nine days the Snakes and the Antelopes—a second clan closely linked with the Snakes—had assembled in their respective Kivas and eaten sacred food, or else fasted, according as their ritual demanded; they had drunk the sacred medicine, which they believed preserves them from the venom of the snake, and had duly rehearsed the ancient drama of the bold youth and the Spider Woman. For several days the Snake priests had sallied forth, two and two, north and south and east and west, to gather snakes for the ceremony of the last day. Each pair carried a hoe and a snake whip—the heavy

hoe which is not only the all-important instrument of corn-planting, but is also used to dig up an escaping snake from any hole where he may hide. The snake whip consists of two long eagle feathers, bound together, with a little round stick as a handle, and it is used to subdue the snake when he is overtaken in the open. Just why the feathers of an eagle's wing should have so much power over a snake is not certain, but it is believed that when an eagle swoops upon a snake in his coil he warily avoids attempting to strike him directly with his talons, and brushes him, instead, with his wing from one side. The angry reptile strikes at the wing, his venom spends itself idly on the feathers, and the next moment the terrible talons have him by the neck. When a pair of Snake priests find a snake in the open, the one with a whip advances and sprinkles him with sacred meal from his extended hand. In all their ceremonies meal made of corn ground fine and duly blessed plays a most important part. The surprised snake attempts to escape, and the priest, bending down, brushes his head rapidly with the snake whip; the effect of this is to subdue the snake instantly, and with a lightning-like dart of his hand the man seizes him by the neck, picks him up, puts him in a bag, and carries him back to the Kiva, where he is turned loose with his brethren.

Whether the priests are ever bitten during this venturous hunt is not certainly known, but if they ever are, most assuredly they do not die of it. Yet the snakes have their fangs intact. Neither when caught nor afterwards in the Kiva are they mutilated in any way, and they remain perfectly capable of inflicting a deadly bite. What seems possible, however, is that the Indians know how to render themselves immune; they collect a certain plant which grows abundantly on the slopes around their mesas, and they drink largely of a decoction of it; they themselves consider it sacred, and it remains for science to prove whether it be really an antidote or not.

Certainly the Snake priests give the snakes every chance of biting them, for during all these days they live with them in the Kiva. It is a room hewn out of the living rock, entered only down a long ladder from a trapdoor in the roof; and here in the semi-darkness a hundred snakes or more live along with the men, their brothers. Here sits the chief priest by the sacred altar, and here the others smoke and eat and recline, naked, upon the ground, and bull snakes and racers, and whip-snakes and rattlers, crawl in and out among them and over them; and snakes and men are alike fearless and unconcerned. The Mishongnovi men have the reputation of being the most fearless of all the pueblos in handling the snakes, and it may be that this perfect fearlessness is the secret of their immunity. They have faith in their Snake brethren, and their faith is justified by its results. Faith in his ancestral religion saves the Hopi to-day, as it did of old his prehistoric ancestors.

But it is not intended that the Hopi's faith should remain for ever in the prehistoric stage. Here beside the green pool of Toreeba, with its sacred prayer-sticks, stands a brand-new building with staring white-painted casements and red-painted iron roof, as new and as incongruous as anything can be. It is the Government schoolhouse, where the rulers of the United States Indian Department propose to bring prehistoric man more up to date. But their methods I must tell by and by.

We camped by the schoolhouse, now empty, and afterwards toiled on foot up the steep trail, that wound through the fissures of the sandstone cliffs, to the village on the hilltop. There we found another friend, a science man with his camera, and there were one or two other white visitors. The dance place, which was in the middle of the village, looked to be about the size of a tennis-court. All round it stood the terraced houses, tier above tier, and the picturesque figures of those who dwelt in them stood in groups on the flat roofs or climbed up and down the steep ladders that led to them. The dance place was empty just then, for those who were to take part in the performance were making their final preparations in their dark Kivas. Meantime little brown, naked children played around before the houses; and wolf-like dogs, and chickens and donkeys, wandered round. Through the open doors of the houses we had glimpses of interiors bright with painted pottery and gaily coloured blankets. The Indians who crowded the housetops were bareheaded, but the men all had their snaky black hair bound with a red fillet, while the women wore theirs braided at the side into long locks which hung nearly to their waists; most of them were dressed in their native costume, a handsome dark woollen robe, girded with a red and green sash; but a few of them wore flimsy gowns of cheap American cotton. All were picturesque, but the most fascinating thing was the way in which the Hopi maidens dressed their hair: their long black tresses were brushed out into a great whorl or bunch on each side of the face, and tied round with a braid, so as to stand out clear from the head. It was done with exquisite neatness, and the effect is considered by the Hopi to resemble a beautiful yellow flower, which among them is the emblem of maidenhood. It is only the marriageable girls who may wear their hair thus; the little ones let their locks hang loose, and the married women have their braids; the unwedded alone have the right to adopt this singularly pleasing mode.

As the time to begin drew near, the Churchman, notebook in hand, planted himself at one side of the dance place, while the man of science and I took up our positions upon a house roof as near as possible to the Kisi. The Kisi was a sort of booth of freshly cut, green poplar branches, large enough to contain a man, and in front of it was bound a white cotton sheet; at this moment it was the only sign or symbol visible of what was to take place.

Then, at one end of the dance place appeared a solitary figure, and all eyes were turned on him. It was a half-naked Red Man, carrying in his hand a great sack, and when one looked hard at it one could see that the contents were alive ; it was full of writhing snakes. With a steady step he walked across the place to the Kisi ; he lifted the white cloth which hung over the front of it, and he placed the bag of snakes inside. Then he withdrew, to all appearance absolutely unconscious of the watchers on the housetops.

And still we waited, and the man of science handled his dark slides for the camera, and looked anxiously at the sky, where the sun was fast sinking in the west. Would there be light enough for instantaneous work ? It would make all the difference to him ; while the Churchman, notebook in hand, waited composedly ; all he needed was light enough to see.

Would they never come ? Then, suddenly, all faces turned to the entrance to the place, and the Procession of the Antelopes came on. Naked to the waist, their skin painted in strange designs, gourd rattles in their hands and rattles of the hoofs of deer and of tortoise-shell bound to their knees, they advanced with prancing step in single file, and made the circuit of the place. In front of the Kisi a piece of board was let into the ground, and this board was the door to a hollow place beneath, which symbolised Shipapu, the mysterious abode of the spirits of their ancestors. Up to the door of Shipapu slowly pranced the Antelopes, men and boys ; for there were boys—yes, little boys—there, all as earnest and as reverent as their elders. And as each one in his turn came to the door of the spirit world he raised his right foot and stamped loud and hard upon the board. It was a call, a summons to the spirits to bid them attend. ‘ We are here,’ it said ; ‘ the great yearly performance of the Hopi is begun. Do not forget that we need you. Attend, attend ! ’ Round and round they circled, and that loud stamp, resounding again and again, struck strangely on the ear. There was no lack of insistence in the call ; every time they circled the stamp seemed louder and stronger ; if one of them could have broken the board, I think he would have been well pleased—he would have proved himself one to whom the spirits must listen.

And then the Antelope priests stopped their procession, and ranged themselves in a line on each side of the Kisi, facing the dancing place. And in due form entered the Procession of the Snake priests. They too were half-naked and strangely painted ; their faces were blackened, but there was a ghastly white stripe drawn across the mouth, and on their backs and arms and breasts were ghostly patterns, drawn in bluish white ochre. They wore kilts of symbolical design, and behind each a foxskin dangled from the waist, and at one side a great tassel of cords hung almost to the ground. In their hands they carried bahos and snake whips. Like the Antelopes, their procession circled

round and round the place, and each in turn with his right foot struck on the board the loud call to the spirits of the ancestors. Then they formed up in line before the Kisi, face to face with the line of Antelope men, and with ordered waving of the snake whips, and shaking of the knee-rattles, and stamping of the feet they chanted in unison a weird, unearthly song. Its words, of course, were unintelligible to us; and it may be that they were not entirely understood by themselves, for while the language of savages changes by degrees from century to century, and its archaic forms, passing out of common use, swiftly begin to be forgotten, a few still linger on in the songs devoted to the gods, and are piously chanted by priests, who can no longer interpret what they mean. Perhaps each one interprets its meaning for himself, as we may do the formless strains of the *Æolian* harp. And, indeed, that elemental sound had for me something of the mystery and the charm that the *Æolian* harp arouses, something akin to the sound of blowing wind, and flowing wave, and rain upon the mown grass.

And now the song was ended, and the long line of the Snake priests broke up and melted into groups, moving irregularly in front of the Kisi. Just what they did in that clustering movement was hard to see, but they seemed to bend down in pairs before the white cloth, and from inside the Kisi, behind the cloth, something was passed out to those outside; and, lo! a pair of priests stood up side by side, one with his arm round the other's neck; and in that other's mouth, firmly grasped in his strong jaws, was a great snake. Yes, he was carrying a great live rattlesnake in his mouth, holding it not far from the middle, and the flat, venomous head wandered inquisitively up and down his cheek, and in around his throat, and past his ear, as if seeking where to hide. His companion, the 'hugger,' who had his left arm round the carrier's shoulders, held the snake whip in his right hand, and with gentle touches of the tip played with the reptile's head; it seemed to me he guided the head away from the eyes of the carrier. And thus side by side, with slow, prancing steps, locked in this strange embrace, the pair slowly made the circuit of the dancing place. On the side opposite to the Kisi stood a little group of women bearing bowls of sacred meal, and this they sprinkled on the pair and on the writhing serpent as they passed. Behind the pair followed a third priest, snake whip in hand, attending on their steps. When the circuit had been completed, the carrier, bending forward, opened his jaws, and the writhing reptile dropped to the ground. Instantly the third priest, the gatherer, sprang to where the astonished creature was hastening to escape, and, brushing it rapidly with his snake whip to recall it to its obedience, with a lightning-like dart snatched it up in his left hand, and held it in the air. The snake accepted his fate unresistingly, and hung limply from the grasping hand, without making any visible effort to get away.

Meantime pair after pair had followed the first, each carrier with a writhing, squirming serpent in his mouth, each hugger with his snake whip guiding the restless, inquisitive head from the undefended face of the carrier. None of the snakes appeared to make any resistance, but there was a huge bull snake, four or five feet long and as thick as a man's wrist, who certainly was an enormous mouthful. Him the carrier supported with both hands, holding up either end, while his mouth grasped as much as it could hold of the middle. And there were small snakes too, slim whip snakes and young rattlers; and here came a carrier who had got two together in his mouth, and the twin snake heads wreathing themselves round his face made one think of the pictures of the head of Medusa.

As soon as a snake was dropped at the end of the circuit, he was left to the gatherer, and the pair of Snake priests took their turn in front of the Kisi to receive a fresh one. The gatherers went on picking up snake after snake till they literally had their hands full; bunches of snakes dangled from their fingers, and the little boys, who were the most eager and the boldest—so it seemed—of them all, actually scrambled with each other for who should get the biggest handful or have the honour of carrying the largest snakes. The big bull snake in particular was a special object of contention, and in spite of the religious solemnity of the ceremony there was a burst of laughter from the spectators when he escaped from the tiny hand of one very small boy, only to be promptly recaptured by a bigger one.

And almost the strangest part of the strange scene was that I do not believe anyone was bitten; nevertheless, among the multitude of snakes and the perpetual movement of the Snake priests carrying them round, and dropping them, and gathering them up, it was perfectly impossible to say whether any of the snakes struck at them or not. Certainly I saw none of the priests removed for treatment, but I have heard it said that there have been occasions when the thing has happened. One would think that the discomfort of being rudely pinched by the strong teeth of an Indian would rouse the anger of some at least among the scores of reptiles that were carried in this strange procession. But it is possible that the constant handling to which they had been subjected in the Kiva, and the familiarity with man which they had acquired during their stay there, may have tamed them to such an extent that they would submit to anything.

When the last snake had been carried round the circle, and duly dropped on the ground, and picked up by the gatherer, the final act in the ceremony began. A line of sacred corn meal was strewn upon the ground, enclosing a space a few feet across, and all the priests hurried to this and flung their handfuls of snakes into the middle of it, and flung over them bowlfuls of the sacred meal; and when all had been thus duly besprinkled, they gathered them up once more in their hands, and hurried away with them, north and south and

east and west, over the trails leading down from the mesa. Then at certain points, at a proper distance, the captured messengers of the spirits were set free, and prayer-sticks were deposited at the shrines where they were released, and they were bidden to go their way, and tell the spirits that Mishongnovi had done its duty, after the fashion enjoined by the gods, and hoped that a bountiful rain would be sent in answer to their prayers.

The man of science closed his camera, the shutter of which had clicked at intervals all through, the notetaker dotted down his last observation and pocketed his book, and we got down from our seats excited, half-dazed, and half-incredulous of what we had just seen. The great snake dance was over. Mishongnovi would not see another for two years. The snakes had returned, if one may say so, to their ordinary avocations; the Snake priests would do the same. But there was one final ceremony for these latter, in order to bring them down to the level of ordinary life. For the last fortnight they had been sacred, part of the time fasting, part of the time eating sacred food, and they were full of mysterious medicine. Before returning to ordinary life they must be purified, and there around the mouth of the Kiva they purified themselves. They washed the paint from their bodies with water, dexterously spirted from their mouths, and they drank a strong emetic which literally seemed to turn them inside out. I need not dwell upon this sight.

But as we looked away across the deserts from the lofty mesa's edge, seeing below us the green cornfields, for whose sake all this is done, we had a vision of long streamers of rain descending over the broad wash, and a distant rainbow. It looked as if the spirits in Shipapu were favourable.

And then from poetry and sentiment and prehistoric dreams we were brought back abruptly to modern America. During the dance I had noticed a solitary figure, a tall white man in dark blue uniform, with a pale narrow face and piercing eyes set close together, a face which it had struck me at the time would have done for a Spanish Inquisitor's. He came into the dance place during the dance, and walked about among the performers, apparently heeding the snakes as little as he did their bearers; neither did any of the Snake priests take any notice of him. He seemed alien and aloof, a strange contrast to the devotees around him. Now that it was all over, my companion spoke to him; for this was the Agent of the Indian Department, the absolute master of all these people and of the Southern Navajos; the civiliser, of whose methods report had already told us a great deal; and, for that matter, the ruler by whose permission we were there to criticise, for he has the right to forbid any white man to enter the Indian Reservation, and forcibly to put him off if found there. Yet with true American independence the Churchman boldly made his protest. The Agent has enlisted and armed a body of

Navajos as police. The Navajos, fighting-men by nature, are willing enough to accept an office which supplies them with a handsome uniform and bright brass buttons, and allows them to walk about with a heavy revolver slung to their belt and fifty cartridges peeping from its loops. Backed by his police he has made a determined effort to convert the Hopi; himself a man of strong religious convictions, he has no scruple about the means he adopts to bring over the Indians to what he regards as a better way of thinking. Prudence at present deters him from the attempt to put a stop to their most sacred ceremony, the snake dance, but how long it will deter him remains to be seen. He has not shrunk from incurring bitter unpopularity in the matter of haircutting. Long hair is the honour of an Indian. To cut it is shame and disgrace. Now, the Department has issued an order that agents should try to cut the Indians' hair, and naturally the Indians do not like it. When the Agent proposed to cut the hair of the Navajos those merry gentlemen laughed aloud.

'Oh, yes, certainly,' they cried, 'cut away. But you must cut our throats first'—with a sweep of brown hands from ear to ear.

And, as I said before, the Navajos are 20,000, and the last Navajo war ran into millions. The hair of the Navajos is not cut yet.

Even the peace-loving Hopi have refused to become Americans to the extent of haircutting. But the Department has established schools for their children, and once the children are there their hair can be cut. When the Hopi hid their children and refused to send them, they actually were hunted through the snow with revolvers to make them obey. An Agency *employé* with a forty-five Colt is a pretty effective attendance officer. One Hopi who persistently refused to send his child to school was seized by the Agent's men, his hands bound behind him with baling wire, and his hair cut with sheep-shears as a punishment.

So the Churchman caught the opportunity of lifting up his voice. 'But, sir,' he argued, 'in your schoolhouse below there you have got pictures of Bible scenes hanging on the wall, and all the figures in the pictures are dressed in flowing robes and wear their hair long. Your teachers, when they talk about Christianity, show the children these pictures, and say they represent persons whom we hold venerable, and even sacred. Is it fair to object to the Hopi people wearing robes remarkably like those of the Bible pictures, and to insist on their wearing American clothes?'

The Agent.—'That's all very well, my dear sir, but if the originals of those figures there represented were alive and walking about among us to-day, they would have their hair cut and be dressed as we are. The important thing with these ignorant, backward people is to get them to break with all their old tribal customs. We want to make Americans of them. So long as they retain their Indian habits that is impossible. Indian dress and Indian dances must go.'

The Churchman.—‘ But America is a free country. We Americans boast that we came over here for the sake of religious freedom. These dances symbolise to the Indians everything they hold sacred. Surely they have a right to practise their own religion ? Of course, I am anxious to see them become Christians, but it seems to me shocking to force them to it by violence. Would it not be better to start with the faith they have as a foundation, and build up a higher faith upon that ? ’

The Agent (severely).—‘ Well, sir, I have my orders from the Department, orders with which I thoroughly agree, and I allow no outside interference. The intention of the Department is to civilise and Christianise these savages, and I propose to do it to the best of my ability. They are, of course, obstinate as well as ignorant, but we know what is for their good. Like all heathen, they hate the light, but we intend that they shall learn better. When the parents objected to their children going to school I applied compulsion, and my action has been approved by my superiors. The children now go to schools taught by Christian teachers, and learn to speak a civilised language ; nothing but English is allowed to be spoken by our scholars.’

‘ And suppose they do slip into their mother tongue ? ’ asked the Churchman, with apparent innocence.

‘ They are punished for their disobedience,’ returned the Agent promptly.

‘ And how are they punished—with the rod ? ’ The Churchman’s eyes met mine.

‘ If necessary the rod can be used. I deprecate corporal punishment, but order must be maintained.’

Again I looked at the Churchman. I wanted to say, ‘ That’s surely illegal.’ But I knew the words of a wandering Englishman might do much harm and no good, and I held my peace.

The Agent went on : ‘ Ignorant people have complained about the people’s hair being cut. The Indians themselves admit that for the children sanitary reasons demand it. The Department, very properly, wishes the Indians to dress like clean and respectable citizens ; I do what I can to induce it. Of course, I have a certain discretion ; I have not, as you see, enforced universal haircutting.’ (No, I had seen the flower-like coils of the Hopi maidens’ tresses, thank goodness !) ‘ But every Indian in Government employment must obey my rules ; and the people are poor, they want work ; so my intentions are being gradually enforced.’

‘ But,’ cried the Churchman, ‘ my dear sir, you cannot believe that you give these men Christian hearts by cutting their hair ! Converting them from the outside is but going back to the methods of the dark ages. What value is there in outward conformity with inward rebellion ? You are taking away their ancestral rules of conduct and religion, and giving them in exchange American clothes ! Grant

that you stop the snake dance and the rest of their ceremonies. They love Christianity no better for that. And in teaching Christianity at the muzzle of the revolver, let me tell you, you corrupt the very essence of Christianity. You sin against Christianity itself when you sin against these poor creatures' liberty.'

It was very striking to me to listen to the Christian priest pleading for these poor people. It was typical of the broader-minded Christianity of our own day that he should urge so strongly on this iron-handed official that it was a crime against liberty to force upon any people a religion they did not want. Standing there on the edge of the mesa, the simple, kindly, industrious Indian folk coming and going around us, looking forth over the great tawny yellow plains, across which centuries ago the Spaniards had advanced to the attack, the sword in one hand the crucifix in the other, one felt the contrast. Now it was the priest who was pleading for liberty, while the heavy hand of the secular arm still believed in force. Nor was the Churchman alone in his protest; the man of science, too, came up and spoke his mind. It was a rare opportunity, for this Agent was conspicuous above all others as a masterful man, firm and unrelenting, who shrank from nothing in carrying out what he believed to be his duty.

It was interesting to see the ground the science man took up in making his protest. The Christian priest had pleaded for liberty; the man of science deplored the loss of a precious survival from pre-historic ages.

He urged: 'If you break up these dances of the Indians you destroy what never can be replaced. These ancient religions of the Americans have only recently been estimated at their right value. It is of immense importance to us to have them to compare with primitive religions in the rest of the world. It is only within the last quarter of a century that their value has been understood, and the scientific method applied to their study. But civilisation has destroyed them over the greater part of this continent, and our information about that which has been destroyed is sadly inadequate; the few that still survive are inestimable treasures. They should be preserved as long as possible.'

The Agent.—'Well, sir, these people have souls, and to my mind it matters a million times more to preserve their souls from hell fire than to stock your museums with some miserable relics of heathendom. These things that they do are straight-out devil-worship, and the men who do them are heathens living in sin. These dances, which you find so picturesque and interesting and all that, are the very ruin of their souls; while they endure the Indians never can be Christianised. And the older Indians utilise them to draw the young ones into their net. Once the children go into the dances we can do nothing with them. The only hope for them is that they shall be taught English at school while they are small, and then taken

away and brought up in boarding-schools, absolutely apart from the vicious influences of the pueblo. Then they can participate in the advantages of our American civilisation. Look at James, here.' Beside him stood a youth dressed in khaki, a broad hat on his head, his hair cut short, and clumsy Government boots on his feet. His skin was brown, and his bright eyes were shaded by spectacles. The wild Indian, like the eagle, can turn his naked eye on the sun in his might. The Indian of the desk wears spectacles.

'Look at James, here,' repeated the Agent, catching his *protégé* by the arm. 'James is an American in all but the colour.'

Poor James! To us he was an object of pity. If what the Agent said was true, he was indeed 'A man without a country.' No American would acknowledge him as an equal, no American girl would marry him; yet he was cut off from his own people. If he had an American heart, he was no longer a Hopi. What would be the end of him? And then I remembered how, scarcely a month before, in another pueblo, in another territory, I had seen another of the many Indian dances of the West, and in the very front of the line, naked and painted, plumes in his hair, rattles at his knees, a tawny foxskin dangling from his waist, a graduate of the great Indian school of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, pranced higher than them all. No, it is not easy to give an Indian an American heart.

And while I thought on this the argument went on.

The Science Man.—'There is so much for us to do yet, and so few subjects left to work upon. It was not till Mr. Cushing began his invaluable researches at Zuñi that we began to understand the complexity of the problems before us. And he died with his work half done.'

The Agent.—'He did too much. I know all about Mr. Cushing's work, and I know what sort of an influence he has left behind. I know how he was adopted into the Zuñi tribe and mixed himself up with their doings. He was an evil influence among them; he encouraged them to go on in their wickedness. There is no tribe of the pueblos to-day where witchcraft and killing for witchcraft, and all the rest of its attendant evils, are so rampant as in Zuñi. We find the Zuñi people harder to deal with than any other, and that is Mr. Cushing's work. I wish they had never seen him.'

The Science Man.—'Of course, I don't defend such practices as Indians killing each other for alleged witchcraft. That is a crime, and I agree that you are perfectly right in putting a stop to crime. But what crime is there in the snake dance we have just seen?'

The Agent.—'I don't say it's precisely a crime, but it is idolatry. The whole thing is part of a great scheme by which they worship their false gods, and the worship envelops their whole life. If their souls are to be saved, the whole system must be broken up, and each individual Indian, man or woman, taught to stand on his or her own

feet, and set free from the power of the tribe. We propose to make them American citizens.'

The Science Man (desperately).—' Well, I am glad to think that Dorsey, and Fewkes, and Voth, and a few others, have secured a pretty complete record of these things that you are trying to destroy, and before you succeed in wiping them all out I hope we may be able to secure the rest.'

It was impossible not to be struck by the strength and sincerity of the Agent. Whatever risks and whatever labour it cost him, he would do his best to save the souls of these people—as he understood saving souls. His idea is a very old one. To change a people's religion by force of law, backed by the police and soldiers, is not a novelty ; but the Churchman was right—it is an idea more fitting to the dark ages than to the twentieth century.

R. B. TOWNSHEND.

INDIA AND TARIFF REFORM

AMID the din and clang of an economic Babel, where facts and statistics are shaped to illustrate diametrically opposed deductions, and identical premisses appear to lead to disparate conclusions, and where from the letter of a single man—I allude to Mr. Reid, the Australian Opposition Leader—comforting indications and suggestions are triumphantly claimed by adepts of conflicting schools of thought, the case of India appears so far, to all intents and purposes, to have gone by the board. No sort of authorised exposition of her destiny under the foreshadowed dispensation has yet seen the light. Lord George Hamilton's pronouncement constituted a tirade against any measure of change or reform, and the only ray vouchsafed on this particular aspect may be summed up in his declaration, which no one ever doubted, that 'India was intensely Protectionist.' Even her gifted Viceroy, the courage of whose conviction is ever undaunted, speaks not even in 'bated breath and whispering humbleness'; and so along the whole gamut of her governing body. Whether this sphinx-like attitude is attributable to instructions from home to remain coy and await developments, or to the consciousness of serene confidence in the fairness of British treatment—whatever the explanation, it behoves those interested in and conversant with Indian affairs and needs to evoke discussion and force it on for the purpose of public enlightenment, so that the possible outrage (for no other term can be employed) of excluding India from the benefits and sacrifices resulting from an Imperial Commercial Union may be pilloried before it is even bruited about, in order effectually to avoid its being considered as within the purview of practical politics.

A preliminary word of caution. There is in this article no intention of passing judgment on either of the schemes for tariff reform now before the country. But for the sake of argument let us consider what should be the lines along which India should proceed in the event of (a) retaliatory proposals, (b) preferential tariffs receiving the assent of the constituencies. In the first contingency it may be argued that India should adhere to her present system, because our negotiations here would be directed to the endeavour to obtain concessions from foreign Powers on tariffs applicable to the Empire generally, unless, of course, failing satisfactory settlement, those Powers inaugurate a tariff war against India as well as the rest of our

possessions in reply to our retaliatory action. In the second contingency there are two courses open to India : one is to throw in her lot with us and the Colonies in a Customs Union of some sort ; the other is to remain out, but make an effort to secure the advantages of a preferential entry for her produce into Great Britain, free from the entanglement and complications inseparable from a remodelled system of tariffs. Were this latter plan feasible—i.e. in the sense of our consenting to confer upon her benefits without exacting any sacrifices, and assuming that our foreign competitors do not adopt measures of reprisals against India as one of the vulnerable points in our Imperial fabric—there would certainly be a good deal to be adduced in favour of this course. We may take it that in the actual working out of this plan many hindrances and impediments may be encountered, and therefore it is not irrelevant to consider the *pros* and *cons* of the second scheme—participation in a Zollverein. India would under this be expected gradually to reduce her import duties on some of the manufactured articles from Great Britain and the Colonies, and, on the other hand, to raise them on practically all the articles of a manufactured description received from the foreigner. With the exception of raw silk, but not kerosene, a partly manufactured article, every staple import is either a finished or a semi-finished article. As regards *British* goods, the articles upon which a reduction would be necessary are cotton goods, amounting roughly to twenty millions sterling, and machinery and hardware, to four millions sterling. The reductions on cotton goods would, as a matter of common justice, justify and necessitate a corresponding relief in the Excise on indigenous mill-woven or hand-made fabrics. The loss to the Indian Exchequer, on the assumption of the knocking off of half the present import duty, would be roughly 600,000*l*. The other categories of British imports—for instance, wearing apparel, boots, salt, liquors, metals—might conveniently wait for the time when the experience of the working of the scheme will dictate the manner in which, and the extent to which, action in the same direction may be taken in hand. Salt is practically the only article through which the poorest contribute their mite ; the local tax on it has recently been reduced. As regards liquors and wearing apparel, these are largely consumed by classes on a higher plane of life, so that, in the one case as in the other, no immediate necessity exists for including them in the relief of Customs taxation at present contemplated. In view of the facilities possessed by the foreigner for the out-turn of great quantities of manufactured articles, the raising of the import duties, say to 10 per cent. *average* on imports from Protectionist countries (amounting to about nine and a quarter millions), would just about recoup the revenue for the loss of the 600,000*l*. mentioned above, allowing for some falling-off in imports. If there were a deficiency, a slight screwing up of the income-tax, not very high in all conscience, or the assimilation of India's death and

succession duties to the system of graduation adopted here, would more than counterbalance it. As regards *exports*, with the single insignificant exception of gunny-bags, they consist of food and raw material, and perhaps it is not too hazardous an assumption that foreign nations would deprecate measures of retaliation on grain stuffs, raising the cost of their people's food, and on articles constituting indispensable elements for their industries, to any appreciable extent.

Now let us consider what a great advantage it would be to India to be able to share in the encouragement to increase the production of her cereals. Large tracts of the finest arable land in the equable climate of the Punjab and the United Provinces are merely waiting for more favourable conditions to be brought under the plough. This would enlarge the area of employment, and would generally increase her prosperity, by vivifying the various factors that environ the activity of such a great centre of industry as wheat-growing. An incidental, though from the humane point of view not the least beneficent, result would be the avoidance of the too frequent recurrence of the ravages of famine. So that, viewing the working of the preferential system in this broad outline, the benefits likely to accrue seem enormously to preponderate over the possible losses of revenue which may result from the hostile action of foreign Powers, in connection with their treatment of Indian trade in their respective spheres. It might conceivably be that some foreign nation would see the expediency and practicability of meeting us, and of so rearranging their tariffs as to avoid any sort of tariff war. The history of the Sugar Bounties furnishes an excellent object-lesson. So long as they maintained their bounties, India was obliged in self-defence to countervail them, and further added to them in order to neutralise the advantages accruing from manipulation of Cartels. No attempt has been made at retaliation, unless it be in the case of Russia. She has begun to tax Indian teas, but in view of the fact that India imports something like two millions of Russian kerosene oil, as against the 37,000*l.* worth of tea which Russia takes from her, the elements of reprisals appear to be out of all proportion in favour of India.

I am but too well aware that these ideas represent in very rough and crude outline views tending to favour the entry of India into a Customs Union. The objections of a practical nature that one hears formulated are that the poor ryot will be debarred from purchasing the cheap and nasty scissors and knives made in Germany. Why should we assume that our enterprising cutlers, both here and in India, given a fairly steady home market and a reasonable outlet abroad, would not be able to produce these articles, perhaps not quite so cheaply, but costing only a few annas more, and far more durable, and therefore cheaper in the end? The second objection may be summed up in the general inquiry as to the directions where the shoe pinches, and whether anything is 'dumped' on India. The answer to the first

is that, in relation to the gigantic population of India, her trade and industry are on too slender a basis; and that, through the medium of the interaction and the general prosperity of the constituent parts of the Imperial fabric, it will be perfectly possible to look for a great widening of that basis. Secondly, the 'dumping' is to be seen in the quantities of manufactured and semi-finished articles imported into India from foreign countries under conditions of output and protection, the absence of which renders it wholly impossible for her to rear and to foster her industries on any appreciable scale. The issue appears to be between those who merely regard the statics of the problem, and those who appreciate and gauge the dynamic forces which altered conditions of commercial and industrial activity are pushing to the front. The policy of *laissez faire*, of blind and unconscious drift in deference to an economic ideal, has done its time, and is dead—dead as mutton. Just as military affairs, which, from being matters of conflict between exiguous communities, are now, thanks to the grouping of powerful nations, left to the arbitrament of empires and continents, so the former conditions of rivalry between individual traders and manufacturers are now being fought out by organised trusts, and by the vigilance and solid power of great States. Does it, therefore, not seem right to aim at the commercial consolidation of the Empire, so that it might at least work as a counter-weight to the organised industrial and economic conspiracy of rival gigantic combinations? It is universally admitted that India's paramount want, the incubus that has been weighing her down, the hand-to-mouth character of the existence led by countless millions of her people—people as industrious as thrifty, and averse to engaging in either political or social disturbances—is the perennial need of active and fertilising capital, that source and sinew of industrial enterprise and of the diffusion of popular well-being! For practically the whole of the last century she has been used as a pawn in the game of British political partisan expediency, as a *corpus vile*, and as a hot-bed for all kinds of vague and fanciful experimenting with the doctrines of a lopsided free trade. Were British statesmanship sincere in its profuse protestations of the desire to govern India with a sole eye to her economic welfare, it would give some kind of earnest of the realisation of this aim at this grave political conjuncture, when the issues of a possible departure from the fiscal maxims adopted in other conditions and circumstances are weighing in the balance, by seriously considering how India is to be affected and what her lot is to be in the projected fiscal dispensation. That question can obviously not be settled on the *ipse dixit* of any man, however distinguished, or any body of men, however united in their views and conceptions. It can only be satisfactorily solved, as far as it is humanly possible to solve a matter of such grave import and of such tangled and complicated bearings, by a Royal Commission,

appointed on thoroughly broad lines, and composed of members of business capacity, free from any political leanings on one side or the other. A similar Commission, appointed not many years back under the presidency first of Lord Herschell, and then of Sir Henry Fowler, was the potent instrument of endowing India with a currency which has become stable as a rock, and by which the accumulation of financial disaster and constantly shifting fiscal equilibrium have been successfully averted. I would like to give a very short extract from the letter of a Hindoo gentleman, apparently eminently calculated to speak the views and define the position of the lay portion of the Indian community.

What is it that we want? Nothing more than freedom to shape our fiscal policy according to the requirements of the country; freedom to derive from the Customs duties the proportion of revenue which would fall on it on a due consideration of the incidence of Indian taxation, *and not of the convenience or self-interest of the importers from abroad*; freedom to adjust tariffs so as to attract capital and enterprise to industrial possibilities. . . . For this purpose the Government of India will be asked to institute an industrial survey, which would be constantly and continuously applying itself to study the needs of industrial life. Let there be, if necessary, an inquiry beforehand into the effects of the free-trade policy on the industrial and economic position in India. If England had suffered like India, would all the economists have availed to stop the demand for instant change? The poverty of India is a sound reason for an investigation, for which the prosperity of England was hard put to find an excuse. Even the fourteen Professors would hesitate to assert that free trade is the best policy for India, if they knew how in economic and industrial conditions this country is the direct antithesis of the governing country.

At any rate, the idea of leaving India's commercial and industrial interests to the tender mercies of competitors clad in the armour of out-and-out Protection, wielding the javelin of Government aid, appears, in the light of modern developments, to be one imperatively requiring reconsideration. These few observations lay claim neither to exhaustiveness nor infallibility. If they incite to discussion in that branch of a domain which has hitherto been singularly barren of any apparent political interest, they will perhaps not have been written in vain.

Purposely the political aspect of Federation, the drawing together of India and the Colonies, with the consequent raising of the status of India almost to the rank of a self-governing Power, has been left out of account. The fiscal issue being a matter of business, its consideration should be approached upon practical lines, and when, in the fulness of time, the question of an Imperial Federation advances to maturity, it may be hoped and expected that India will find salvation, and will work out her destiny along these broad lines; reaping the advantages and sharing in the sacrifices as one of the most important units of an united Empire.

EDWARD SASSOON.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE DRAMA BY THE STATE

It is always a critical and dangerous moment for any business when the stress of events frightens everybody into the easy exclamation that 'something must be done!' For so often it happens in the panic that the wrong thing is done, and done so thoroughly and effectually, that the whole business is henceforth maimed and disjointed, and falls to the ground.

We have reached such a critical and dangerous moment in the affairs of the English drama; or rather in the affairs of that curious hotchpotch which, being collectively exhibited in some twenty-five fashionable, expensive West-end theatres, is supposed to be our national English drama.

A fearless and admirable letter from Mr. John Hare in the *Times*, briefly sketching and bewailing our present sorry plight, has been endorsed by an imposing array of notable names—a bishop to head the list; a few august literary persons; our leading actor-managers, with three English playwrights piously and respectfully following in their train; two or three leading lights in science; two or three eminent artists; a sprinkling of social celebrities; and various other personages all of credit and renown in their different ways—altogether a very weighty and representative assembly, furnishing abundant evidence that amongst all classes of cultivated Englishmen a benevolent, if vague, conviction is spreading that 'something must be done!' But what?

I cannot help regretting that the alarm has been sounded to help and save the English *stage*, rather than to help and save the English *drama*. For this way of putting the matter implies that the English drama is in itself so inconsiderable and negligible a thing that for all practical purposes it may be said to be summed up and contained in the English stage, as the greater contains the less. If this absorption of the English drama in the English stage be affirmed as a present-day indisputable fact, it must be asked, 'Is not the virtual subserviency of our drama to our stage the great indirect cause of all our ills?' If it be affirmed as an eternal predestined necessity that the English drama shall always be absorbed in, and confused with, the English stage, then we must challenge the statement in the plainest and

strongest way; and we must point to France, where, the drama being recognised and honoured as a distinct literary art, its intellectual and artistic level is thereby immeasurably raised; while the intellectual and artistic level of the French theatre is necessarily raised in association with the drama. In England, having no national drama, what can be the real value of our theatre?

But it may be that in sounding this rallying cry, the mistake of considering the English drama as the mere creature and instrument of the English stage has been made unconsciously, through mere inattention. But is not that just the mistake that the great body of English playgoers make, and is not that just the way they make it? It is all lightly taken, and swallowed, and dismissed as a mere entertainment. And hence we have no English drama.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood or misrepresented in this matter. I am not decrying the great and noble art of acting. I have benefited too much, and suffered too much, not to be aware how great an artist a great actor is, and that without him the dramatist is a helpless, gibbering shade. Surely none can sufficiently value and praise the actor, except the author. And for myself, words cannot convey the deep gratitude I have for some of my interpreters.

But gratitude and courtesy cannot away with the fact that if we are to make any advance, either in the art of acting or the art of the drama, they must be generally recognised as distinct arts, and their relations to each other must be clearly perceived. At present the great majority of playgoers do not at all distinguish between the art of acting and the art of the drama; nor do they ever think of a play as a separate organism, as something quite distinct from any one of its many thousand possible varying interpretations. Now, though we cannot have a great national drama without a body of highly trained and intellectual actors, yet still less can we have any great or intellectually effective acting without the material to work upon. And granted that we have much to seek both in the matter of plays and of acting, yet as the play must be written, before actors, scene-painters, and carpenters can get to work at all, surely the English stage can only be helped and saved when, and after, and inasmuch as the English drama is first helped and saved. That is to say, the whole question of having a living English national drama depends upon first catching your dramatists, upon giving them the best and most highly trained acting talent, and then allowing them free scope. And any helping or saving the English stage upon the condition that it is a corporate entity containing that negligible and inconsiderable thing, the English drama, can only give us a few more exploits in acting, of no more permanent value or influence than the exploits of an acrobat.

I have touched this point at starting, and I have pressed it home with some vehemence, because it is really the key of the whole situation. And there is no issue out of our present difficulties except by

the way it opens to us. I am writing in no carping spirit, and surely with no desire except to further a most apt and timely movement, a movement most generously conceived and launched, a movement that if rightly pursued promises to be of the greatest advantage both to the English drama and the English stage. But if it is to be effective, it must be pursued on a clear understanding of the whole matter.

For a generation or so the impression has prevailed, and still prevails amongst the great body of playgoers, that the English drama is the instrument, and creature, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage. This assumption governs all matters relating mutually to the drama and the stage : it is apparent in the form and wording of the paper I am now discussing ; it is the darling axiom of many of our leading actors ; it is the sheet-anchor of our whole present system ; it is the fetish of a very considerable portion of the press ; it is ingrained in the public opinion of the country. Then why be so foolhardy as to combat it ? Because, until it is combated and overthrown, there can be no sure standing-ground for any English drama, let alone any advance for the English stage or the English drama.

Now I do not say that this impression, the impression, namely, that the English drama is the instrument, and creature, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage—I do not say that this impression has been altogether unreasonable or even untrue during the past generation. There have surely been sufficient reasons for it. And so far as it has been a witness to great aims, great ambitions, and in some cases to great impersonations, one can very cordially sympathise with it.

And, for love of sweet peace, one would be only too glad to subscribe to it, and to march at its festivals, dutifully cheering and shouting with the crowd, if only it led to our desired goal, the establishment of a great, living, English acted drama. But where has this root idea led us ? What has been the issue of it ? That it has failed to create or foster a satisfactory English stage, or a satisfactory English drama, is sufficiently evident from a single glance at the present state of things.

It has failed. There can be no doubt of that. But has it failed victoriously ? There is no quickener like the spilt blood of a lost cause. Has this lost cause sown mandrakes anywhere to spring up and shake and fertilise these clods, this dry, dead stubble of modern English life ? Has the idea of the domination of the English drama by the English stage left any sign, or monument, or result, except one or two deservedly great personal reputations ? What has it done even for the English stage as distinct from the English drama ? Has any school of acting been founded ? Have not the remains of the old school dwindled and vanished under its influence ? Have any great traditions been established, except the traditions of careful and beautiful mounting and *mise en scène* ? Is the acting in the London

revivals of our classic and poetic drama on a level with the average performances of municipal theatres on the Continent? Do we Londoners get a chance of seeing as much Shakespeare, and that as well acted, as many German towns? With the greatest number and the most expensive theatres in the world, has the public taste been really raised at all, or raised to anything except to universal musical comedy? Has it not become increasingly difficult for an English playwright to cast adequately any serious work? (I class modern comedy as serious work.) Have not our leading actors become more and more dissociated from our leading playwrights, to the great disadvantage of our employer, the public? Does not this dissociation tend to become more marked, as the idea that the English drama is part and parcel of the English stage becomes more deeply fixed in the public mind? Has it not become almost vain to hope that any play containing great emotions or wide views of life will be written at all; or if written, will be produced; or if produced, will be played in such a great and convincing manner as to be successful, or even to escape a perhaps derisive failure? And is not this state of things the direct and inevitable result of our present system, based as it is on the prevalent idea that the English drama is the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage—an idea that for the most part allows the great playgoing public to rest perfectly satisfied when its favourite actor has scored a personal success, irrespective of the permanent value and meaning and intellectual quality of the play?

It will be noticed that I have gone behind the course of events and the apparent facts, and that I have searched for the governing idea that has shaped the recent history of the English stage and the English drama. I think it will be difficult for anyone to dispute that the present situation has been largely shaped by this main idea in the public mind, the idea everywhere carefully fostered, that the English drama is the instrument of the English stage.

Is that idea to be perpetuated? Is it to be tacitly adopted and made the basis of our future action? Is it to underlie our proposed reforms? Is it to be the accepted principle that is to govern the future relations of the English drama and the English stage?

Because, if that be so, I take the liberty of telling my illustrious cosignatories that we may spare ourselves any further trouble either of signing or of doing, for the end of our reforms will find us pretty much where we are; the cart, stuck persistently in front of the horse, will only have pushed the horse a little further down the hill into a little deeper mire.

I think I see a little cherub sitting up aloft and mocking at my illustrious cosignatories, bishops, eminent literary personages, actor-managers and all.

Now, granted that the situation is as it has been sketched for us, and as it has been accepted by my illustrious cosignatories, we are

much like the lepers outside Samaria ; things can scarcely come to a worse pass with us whatever we do, or wherever we go.

Perhaps a suggestion may be welcome. Seeing that it is ideas that prompt action and shape history, perhaps it will be wise if we begin with an idea, and base our reforms on that. And seeing that the present governing idea in the English playgoing mind, namely, the idea that the English drama is the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage, has been found not to work, and is, indeed, largely responsible for the present *impasse*, suppose we try to foster the alternative idea, namely, that the English stage is, or should be, the instrument of the English drama. Suppose we put the horse in front of the cart. I know it is a violent, nay, a revolutionary proceeding, but I think it will be found to be fruitful. At any rate, let us try how it works.

Again I will beg not to be misunderstood. I am not trying to depreciate the actor's art. I am not trying to belittle the men who, in a time of great difficulty and transition, and of low artistic ideals, have done very hard and valuable work,* and have helped to save the English drama from utter extinction. And I have met with many instances of unselfish willingness to play a small part for the good of the play : let me amongst others gratefully acknowledge a recent one on the part of Mr. Cyril Maude, who offered to play a small comedy character, and took the leading part only upon my persuasion that the interests of the play would best be served in that way.

No, it is our system that is to blame, and not the men who work it in many cases with conspicuous devotion, and certainly with as much self-sacrifice as can be expected from average human nature.

But that the system is a bad one is proved by the situation it has created. It is a bad one because it places the responsibility for the English drama upon the actor. Why should a leading actor encourage the English drama ? It is surely not to his interest to produce English plays if ready-made French ones, that will provide him with a leading part, can be bought outright and adapted for a small sum. Nor is it to his interest to train and school a large body of capable actors, who would, indeed, be of immense value to the dramatist and to the drama, but who can only work with the idea and the ambition of competing with him, the leading actor, for one of the four or five leading positions on the English stage. Nor is it really in furtherance of the actor's legitimate ambition that great English plays should be produced at all, otherwise than as they may happen to provide a strong or suitable leading part for himself. Very often, perhaps most frequently, the greatest acting successes are made in plays that, outside their acting opportunities, are quite worthless. Can anything be more contemptible and absurd than the pieces in which some of our favourite actors have scored their greatest personal successes ? And the first question for a leading actor must always be, nay, rightly and naturally

should be, not 'Is this a great or a fine play?' but 'How far can I score here, and keep my leading position?' Therefore, if the English drama has been kept alive at all, it has not been because of our system, but in spite of it, and because one or two of our managers have sometimes risen superior to it.

And now at last we have come to the moment when it is plain to everybody that the system is not working, and cannot be got to work; and that if the English drama and the English stage are to be kept alive in our midst, if all the golden leisure and evening hours of the English people are not to be wasted in the emptiest, tawdriest tomfoolery, if this is to be avoided 'something must be done!' But what?

Again I submit that no progress can be made till the horse is put before the cart. Again I submit that all attempts at reform will be useless till we have changed the root idea that insensibly and unconsciously guides English playgoing—namely, that the English drama is the negligible and inconsiderable appurtenance of the English stage. Till that root idea is changed, till the English drama is recognised and judged as a distinct literary art, the little cherub who sits aloft, with his telescope searching the earth for solemn farces, merely mocks and grins at us, mocks and grins, mocks and grins, mocks and grins.

I have suggested what seems to me to be the root idea that should inform and direct any action that may be taken in the matter—namely, the idea that the English drama should be recognised and judged as a distinct literary art, as it is in France.

But is it not already so recognised and judged? Inevitably, if an educated man by chance goes to the theatre, he must taste the quality of the stuff that is put before him. And to this extent we are, of course, inevitably judged. But this judgment is not in any way operative. The mischief of our present system lies here—an English serious dramatist is scarcely judged at all by the quality of his work. If he writes down to any supposed low level in his audience or to any supposed incapacity in his interpreters, he is instantly judged by a high standard, and condemned. Rightly judged, rightly condemned, since there can be neither reason nor excuse for writing down to anything or anybody.

But what happens when he does his best? By the great general playgoing public the English dramatist is classed and judged simply as an amusement-monger, and he succeeds or fails solely on that level; and if he does not succeed on that level he is anathema maranatha all round, since literature will not stretch out a hand to save or comfort him. English literature disdains and disowns us, and is for the most part soured with a silly jealousy of us, and perked up with a silly pride in its own fine outer raiment of style; not knowing, and not caring to know, and, indeed, refusing to know, that English play-

writing is the most toilsome, the most anxious, the most subtle form of English literature. Let me go further, and, without trailing my coat or biting my thumb at anybody, make the strange assertion that good playwriting is the most fastidious form of literature. But it is really as an amusement-monger that the English playwright is judged ; on that level and by that measure does he stand or fall. And being thus judged, he is utterly routed and put to shame every day, since he cannot hope to compete as an amusement-monger with the attractive nonsense and clownery of musical comedy.

Therefore it is that, again and again, I point out to my illustrious cosignatories that no action we may take can be effectual to our end until we have passed everywhere into general currency amongst playgoers the idea I have suggested, namely, this—that the English drama is not, and ought not to be, the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English stage ; it is not, and ought not to be, the purveyor of cheap and tawdry entertainment ; it is the fine and literary art which portrays and interprets, or attempts to portray and interpret, English life. And the English stage will be a power in English life to the exact extent, and in the exact proportion, to which it is recognised to be the instrument of the English drama. That is the idea which must be the mainspring of any effective action.

I find I have repeated myself in what I have written. Let it stay. Indeed, it is all but a repetition of what I have been saying for many years past.

Surely nobody can have subscribed to Mr. Hare's welcome letter more cordially than myself. More than twenty years ago, in September 1883, I wrote in this Review :

Thus, on inquiring why we have no national drama at all worthy of the name, we are met first of all by the fact that the drama is not merely an art, but a popular amusement, in a different sense from that in which poetry, music, and painting are popular amusements. The drama is an art, but it is also a competitor of music-halls, circuses, Madame Tussaud's, the Westminster Aquarium, and the Argyll Rooms. It is a hybrid, an unwieldy Siamese twin with two bodies, two heads, two minds, two dispositions, all of them, for the present, vitally connected. And one of these two bodies, dramatic art, is lean and pinched and starving, and has to drag about with it wherever it goes its fat, puffy, unwholesome, dropsical brother, popular amusement. And neither of them goes its own proper way in the world to its own proper end ; but they twain waddle on in a path that leads nowhere in particular, the resultant of their several luggings and tuggings at each other.

Well, that is what I have been saying in another way in this present article. For saying it in different ways I have naturally met with constant abuse and depreciation from all whose game and interest it is to perpetuate the present sterile and unholy alliance between the English drama and popular entertainment. But now it seems that a great body of cultivated opinion in the country has turned over to the same way of thinking as myself. For what else is the

meaning of the present movement, backed up by all these powerful and illustrious signatures? If that movement means anything beyond signing a paper, if it is to be pursued to any effective end, it means the separation of the English drama from popular entertainment, and its recognition as a literary art. If that idea, which is virtually the idea I have been trying to enforce all through this paper, if that idea is not to be made the basis of our action, then the sardonic cherub still sits above and mocks us, mocks and grins, mocks and grins, mocks and grins. But with that idea firmly fixed in our minds, with that definite object in view, we may go on to inquire what course of action can be taken in accordance with it.

Two main proposals have been thrown out in a broad indefinite way. One is that a school of acting shall be forthwith established; the second and far more important proposal is that we shall have a subsidised theatre. The advocates of a subsidised theatre would doubtless agree that it should include a school of acting. The foundation of a school of acting is a very small and easy business compared with the endowment of a theatre. It may be convenient to consider the smaller proposal first.

What does a school of acting mean? Already we have several schools of acting, where pupils are trained in elocution, and after some months of lessons are allowed to play a part in an amateur sort of way at a minor theatre. Evidently in itself a school of acting is not a sure means of salvation for the English stage. Indeed, schools of acting, though valuable enough so far as they go, are part of our present very bad system of training actors. Let me explain, or rather illustrate, what that very bad system is.

A young man decided to become an actor. He was advised to go to one of these schools of acting. He went, and studied there for twelve months, doubtless getting some benefit therefrom, but having no opportunities of playing before the public. At the end of twelve months he was fortunate enough to obtain a speaking part of three lines in a provincial company. He played those three lines for two tours, that is, for about thirty-five weeks of the year. He was then fortunate enough to obtain a more important speaking part of some ten or twelve lines, and this he played for another year. That is, at the end of three years he had not had a quarter of the practice in his art that he would necessarily have had in a single week under the old stock system. Added to this, the mechanical repetition of an empty part, night after night, must have had a debilitating effect not only on his acting powers, but on all his mental activities. Then again, the absence of an absorbing occupation left him with all the day at leisure for loafing about in provincial towns.

Take another illustration. I had occasion to call at the theatre of a London manager. I found him in his private room, carefully going over and over the words and business of a part with a leading

performer ; correcting false accents, training the voice, giving instruction in the elements of elocution. That leading performer had already played that part for more than a hundred nights at a West End theatre, and had received eulogistic notices from the whole of the London press.

These are not very extreme cases ; they are not unfair examples of our present system for training recruits in the enormously difficult art and business of acting. Could the worst enemy of the English stage and the English drama conceive a system more ingeniously planned to make great acting, and therefore the successful production of great plays, an impossibility on our boards ? So that we have rightly come to perceive that our present system of training actors is not merely hopelessly bad and ineffective—it is frankly ridiculous and farcical.

It must, however, be stated that in the photographic and phonographic reproduction of the little mannerisms and the small actualities of the street, the club, or the drawing-room, we have many fine artists on our English stage. It is when we ask for some adequate portrayal of parts that demand emotion, sustained and accomplished elocution, breadth, power, fire, imagination, intellectual divination—it is then that we discover our abject poverty. And this increasing impoverishment of our stage is the necessary result of a system that does not afford to the actors who potentially possess these gifts any opportunity of learning how to exercise them.

And now it is proposed to start another school of acting. If it is to get us out of our present troubles, it is clear that it must be an entirely different school of acting from those we already have. The only schools of acting that have rendered any conspicuous service to our present stage have been those of the late Sarah Thorne, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Ben Greet. And the reason that these schools have trained some valuable actors and actresses is that, in addition to lessons in elocution, they have given their pupils the opportunity of constantly playing and constantly failing in big parts. This is the only school that in the end makes valuable actors and actresses. The school we need is one that gives all promising young actors and actresses the chance of constantly grinding and sharpening their teeth on great parts. Is that the kind of school that Mr. Tree proposes to establish ? If he succeeds he will render a far greater service to the English theatre and the English drama than any of the services he has yet rendered, great and indefatigable as they have been. His efforts will, I am sure, be watched with the greatest good will by his cosignatories. It is without the least irony or unkindness I suggest to him that he should capture for his first recruits one or two of our leading London performers. But if he merely sends out a *répertoire* company of two or three of his successful plays and gives no opportunities for this constant and varied practice, then his school will be

comparatively inoperative, and our crying need will be as unsatisfied as ever. I repeat that it is daily practice before the public in constantly varied parts that makes actors and actresses. This it is which gives the actor command over his latent forces ; gives character, flexibility, resource ; develops that power of holding and sustaining a play to the end which to-day is not possessed by six English actors. And to find some means of giving this constant and varied practice to all promising recruits must surely be our first step, if any step is to be taken at all. A few years ago in this Review I sketched a scheme which, at a comparatively moderate cost of money and trouble, would have afforded all promising recruits the opportunity of constant appearances before London audiences. It could easily be worked, needing only a moderate subscription list. Very briefly, my scheme was that one of our disused London theatres should be taken, as it could be, at a cheap rate ; that a vigorous stage-manager should be put in authority charged to give daily performances by the recruits without any charge for admission, except a small one for a few reserved places. I still think that scheme meets our present difficulties in the cheapest, easiest, and most effective way. But I am quite willing to give my support to any alternative scheme that promises to provide constant and varied practice in great parts to all promising recruits. Is that the school of acting that is proposed ? It is the only one that will be of any use. Again I see the little cherub making rude faces. He mocks us persistently until we bring ourselves to see plain facts, mocks and grins, mocks and grins, mocks and grins.

But it will be pointed out that the question of giving our actors varied practice is intimately connected with another question, namely, the long runs of plays. Nay, it may be said that the two questions merge into one. Well, there is no doubt that long runs are a great evil. They benefit nobody except the author and the manager. They are an evil to the actor for the reasons already given. They are a great grievance to playgoers, since long runs are responsible for the disgraceful fact that London playgoers only get the chance of seeing one, or perhaps two, of our Shakespearean and classic masterpieces in the course of a year. To the manager they are of course a godsend. In these days and under our present system long runs are a necessity to the manager if he is to keep his head above water at all. To the author long runs offer a welcome breathing time. The English playwright of to-day has to face so many chances and accidents of production ; so great are the interests at stake ; so uncertain are the factors ; so difficult it is even when the play is written to place it with the right manager, to get the right interpreters, to catch a happy mood in the public and the press, and to meet the hundred other contingencies—such a lottery it all seems, that when at last by great luck a play has got home and is drawing our great public, it would appear to be nothing less than madness to withdraw

it for no reason, and again to venture into the terribly perilous paths of production. And while plays are regarded as mere entertainments, and are neither studied, nor read, nor examined, nor thought of in any way except as mere pastime for a careless public ; while it remains almost certain that at the end of the run the play will go into dust and oblivion along with the faded scenery and the faded dresses, why should an author consent to the curtailment of the run ? He gains nothing ; he exposes himself to accusing sneers of failure ; he weakens his own resources and damages his reputation with playgoers. None the less it is certain that long runs are an evil. They cannot eventually benefit even the author, since as we have seen they are the one great means of defrauding him of capable interpreters. And speaking for myself I would gladly forego any commercial advantage to secure a general all-round healthiness and variety and effectiveness of representation at our theatres. At present long runs remain a part of our very bad system.

But surely it would be an immense advantage to our drama that a modern successful play should be interpreted by the various companies of our different theatres, and by our different leading actors and actresses. What new lights would be thrown on the play ! In many cases how curiously protean an organism would be revealed ! How it would help to destroy the notion so injurious to the dramatist that a play once given by certain performers is then and there stereotyped, that characters once played by actors are then and there 'created !' Above all, what vigorous emulation, what life, what natural healthy ambition and competition it would bring into our theatres ! To-day if by any accident or mistake of production a play happens to fail, it is a dead thing, out of mind for evermore. Almost as bad a fate awaits it if it prove a success, for then by the etiquette of our English stage it is supposed to be sealed and assured to the leading actor who has produced it. Why should not a healthy, friendly rivalry in the playing of modern parts be the rule of our stage ? In France a very large number of the leading modern rôles have been played by nearly all the leading actors and actresses. Why should not this excellent custom be introduced on our English stage ? By its means our baneful system of long runs would be broken up, and new life would be shot into every limb and artery of our drama. What do English actors say to my proposal—I mean the great body of English actors, who under our present system spend two-thirds of their time seeking engagements, and one-third playing the same rôle mechanically night after night ?

But if we cannot hope that all our theatres should play *répertoire*, we may surely hope that the end of all this cry will be the establishment of at least one *répertoire* theatre in London.

The second, and much more important, proposal that has been made is for the establishment of a subsidised theatre. Such a

proposal includes the first proposal, since such a theatre would naturally undertake the training and supervision of our recruits. A few years ago I deprecated the too hasty building of a national theatre out of the modest purses of some six or eight of 'us youth,' whose chief capital was our love for the English drama, and a growing conviction that 'something must be done!' I pointed out that Saint Paul did not begin by building Canterbury Cathedral, but by inflaming the people with a few simple ideas. That is still the only way of getting a movement to catch fire and spread.

But we have made great progress towards a national theatre during the last few years, or at least we have made very great progress towards the necessity for a national theatre. We have made such progress that we seem to be irresistibly and instinctively moving towards it, drawn by hands that we cannot see, and called by whisperings from a future not very far away. I am sure that the establishment of a national theatre should be the fervent hope, the object of every actor's, and every dramatist's, ambition. And if we can once get our root idea to catch fire and blaze, a national theatre must follow as the night the day. I believe it is coming. Our great care must be to see that no abortive or premature attempt is made to start it on wrong lines, or under wrong management, or without sufficient security. A false step made at this moment, an unworkable scheme started in a crude way, blundering along for a few months or years to certain disaster, would be the greatest misfortune that could just now befall the English drama. It would stand for a generation or two as a monument of warning against future attempts, and would give perennial food to scoffers and blasphemers. Therefore a thousand times better no attempt at all than one that is made without prevision, and without some reasonable assurance of success.

What are the conditions of success for a national theatre? No matter how largely a theatre may be endowed, it cannot be a permanently successful institution unless:

(1) It is supported by and becomes the natural home of our leading modern playwrights. A building in which our classical masterpieces were played to the exclusion of all modern work would soon become a mere dramatic mausoleum with funereal associations.

(2) Nor unless those playwrights are associated with a competent body of trained actors, containing a fair proportion of players whose personalities, as well as their technique, draw the public.

(3) Nor unless the right manager were found—a man of good social standing, and also possessing the necessary literary, theatrical, and business knowledge and qualifications. I do not think it would be difficult to put our hands on such a man.

(4) Nor unless it were made a national theatre in the true sense, unless all fads, schisms, cliques, and little notoriety-seekers were kept in due subordination.

(5) Unless and mainly, unless the great English playgoing public can be brought to take an interest and pride in their national drama as a fine humane art, and in the building and institution that enshrine it. Here we strike back into our root idea again, the idea that the drama must be known and taken for what it is, and the pleasure that it offers must be perceived to be an intellectual pleasure, quite distinct in kind from the pleasure offered by popular entertainment. I believe there is amongst us a playgoing public sufficiently large and interested to support an institution founded on the lines I have indicated. And there are good grounds for hoping that if it were wisely conducted it would eventually become self-supporting and render sufficient profit to secure its financial stability on its own merits.

There are different ways of providing the money-guarantee necessary to start such an undertaking. One may put the amount roughly at 200,000*l.*, or 10,000*l.* a year. I do not say that such a sum would be absorbed, but without some such substantial guarantee there could be no security that the scheme could be worked for a long enough time to give it a fair trial, and to see whether it would ultimately succeed on its merits.

How is so large a sum to be provided? Scarcely by private subscription, for I fear we have not a large enough number of rich English citizens sufficiently interested in the work to raise amongst them the required amount. Besides, a joint-stock way of raising the money would mean a joint-stock way of administering it; would mean the intrusion of all kinds of personal considerations, personal prejudices, and personal notions. The result would probably be endless argument and endless wrangling amongst a crowd of notoriety-seekers—a dramatic Adullam.

A good-natured millionaire might possibly be persuaded to provide the funds. Unfortunately millionaires as a class are not enthusiastic lovers of the drama for its own sake. They manifest strange foibles and whims; they have fitful notions about art and literature; they build themselves grotesque and futile monuments in the inane and in the void. But I am of opinion that if any millionaire wished to build himself a lasting monument in the affection and homage of the English people, he could not find a surer means of gratifying his ambition than by putting down 200,000*l.* to build and endow a national theatre. And I think that before many years we shall probably find that some American millionaire, with the cuteness of his race, will so establish and endow an American theatre; and will thereby earn the lasting gratitude of the American nation.

Again, a *répertoire* theatre might conceivably be subsidised by the London County Council. I should like to see municipal theatres in all our large towns. The present, however, does not seem to be a favourable moment for starting them.

The remaining way is that a national theatre should be built

and endowed by the Government of England, with the approval of the majority of English citizens. It seems to me that this last would be the best, the most secure, the most creditable way of founding a national theatre and of fostering a great and popular national drama. I believe that a sum of public money so expended would be one of the wisest and most economical investments that we could make. It would be the merest fleabite compared with the vast sums that are now spent—nay, that in many cases are now wasted—on public education. And yet what a potent educator a national theatre would inevitably become if it were wisely directed! I know that a great outcry will be raised against the endowment of the theatre in England. I see ominous shakings of the head amongst my Puritan friends; I hear their indignant mutterings; I begin to quake under their scowls.

What are the reasons for the State endowment and State recognition of the drama? They are precisely the same as those for the State endowment of the other arts, music, painting, sculpture. Indeed, seeing that the drama is the most popular of all the arts, and the most intimately connected with the daily life and conduct of the citizens, there is all the more need for its wise recognition and encouragement.

The reasons for the encouragement of art by the State could not be set forth in a clearer and plainer way than has been recently done by M. Massé in the *Chambre des Députés*. He said:

Mais si l'État ne fait pas l'art qui est la liberté, la spontanéité même, s'il ne peut prétendre au rôle de metteur en œuvre, s'il ne saurait nous donner un poète ou un statuaire comme il nous donne un sous-préfet, s'il n'a pas à fixer une esthétique comme il formule une loi civile, s'ensuit-il qu'il n'ait rien à voir avec l'art et que celui-ci n'ait rien à en attendre, hors de n'être ni maltraité ni pros crit ?

L'État peut, au contraire, concourir indirectement à la production de belles œuvres.

Je dirai même qu'en tant qu'administrateur des intérêts généraux, il le doit.

And again :

De quelle nature est donc en matière d'art la fonction de la puissance ?

A coup sûr elle n'est point créatrice. L'art n'est pas un service public que l'État ait mission d'assurer. Sa fonction n'est non plus ni tutélaire, ni réglementaire, ni de contrôle, ni de police. Parfois encore aujourd'hui elle a ce caractère, mais c'est là un des derniers restes de la conception qu'on se faisait jadis du rôle de la puissance en matière d'art et elle doit perdre ce caractère.

La fonction de l'État est essentiellement une fonction auxiliaire; il ne doit ni réglementer l'art ni le contrôler, mais l'aider et l'encourager. C'est une modeste mais utile collaboration, une coopération féconde entre toutes.

And further :

L'État doit, par l'éducation et par l'enseignement, s'efforcer de rendre le Beau accessible à la généralité des citoyens. Il doit aussi chercher à développer

tout spécialement les arts qui, grâce à des conditions économiques nouvelles, pourront être goûtés par ceux qui jusqu'à là avaient considéré l'art comme un luxe coûteux et hors de leur portée. Embellir et égayer la vie de tous les citoyens, même les plus humbles, en leur donnant des notions d'esthétique et en ornant d'œuvres simples et belles tous les endroits où se rencontrent les citoyens—écoles, mairies, hôpitaux, salles de réunion et de conférence—telle est la conception que doit avoir de son rôle, en ce qui concerne les arts, une démocratie.

And yet again :

Il faut encore que l'État universalise le goût pour pénétrer dans les masses, la notion et l'émotion de la beauté, aujourd'hui propriété d'une élite orgueilleuse. Dans ce sens, il convient d'insister sur la création d'un théâtre populaire, et de l'enseignement théorique des arts à l'école, ainsi que sur les œuvres de décentralisation artistiques.

These are the reasons that may be urged and re-urged for the establishment and endowment of an English national theatre with the public money. What are the hindrances? Who are the hinderers? It cannot surely be the amount of money that is asked. The little State of Denmark endows its national theatre with some 20,000*l.* a year. Again, see the sums that Puritan England spends on its other enjoyments, say on racing. Inquire what amount the English theatre-going public has spent on musical comedy during the last ten years. Judging from some reports that have appeared, at a rough estimate English theatre-goers must have spent in musical comedy in town and provinces something like five or six millions of pounds during the last ten years. That is to say, on this particular form of popular entertainment the English public has, in a few years, spent a sum sufficient to buy an entire fleet; a sum that, capitalised, would bring in about 150,000*l.* a year, or exactly fifteen times the sum that we need to start a sane intellectual drama. Now what has the English play-going public to show for these five or six million pounds? There remain some very charming and graceful pieces of music, and the memory of much pretty dancing and singing. But for the rest? Does anything remain at all? A single line to quote? A single vital character? A single scene that faithfully pictured life? A single idea one would care to recall? A single permanent touch with humanity? A single thing that manager or author can claim with pride, and say 'I did that'? And five or six million pounds have gone! And all those golden evenings of leisure!

Oh, witless debauch of grave, religious England! Oh, converse side of our Puritan buckler! Oh, undergarments of prudery! Oh, burden of bigotry too hard to be borne! Oh, systole! Oh, Exeter Hall! Oh, diastole! Oh, Leicester Square! Oh, land of blind and bitter fury against the drama! Oh, sanctimony! Oh, license! Oh, nauseous pie! Oh, botchery of all our holiday hours!

It has been rumoured, with some apparent foundation, that there

are secret reasons for the enormous success of these entertainments on the lowest intellectual level at our fashionable theatres. Facts have been vouched for which seem to lend some colourable support to these sinister rumours. In giving them some sort of currency, which I do with all reserve and caution, I must carefully guard myself from all suspicion of malice against a most respectable class—I mean the attendants at the various cloakrooms of our theatres. If they have been partners to the practice which it is alleged has lately become prevalent at some theatres, the practice of insisting that the brains of each member of the audience shall be left in the cloakroom with the other impedimenta—if the cloakroom attendants have lent themselves to this practice, and in conjunction with clever young surgeons are actually engaged in working it every night, they surely cannot have been responsible for its introduction. The custom is of course very profitable to the theatre, but the cloakroom attendants can reap very little benefit from it, since I believe that in no case is a higher fee charged than sixpence. Therefore if any accident should occur I trust the blame will not be laid on the cloakroom attendants. In talking over the matter with the eminent surgeon, Sir Harvey Hunter, I congratulated him on the triumphant march of surgery which made such hasty operations possible. I expressed, however, a fear that some very serious injury might result from the continuance of the practice. He assured me that no permanent ill-effects were likely to befall the average frequenters of these entertainments from any exchange or misplacement of their brains. Altogether the evidence as to the frequency of these practices is conflicting. There remain, however, certain well-vouched-for facts which are inexplicable except on the theory that the operation does take place; amongst them the appalling fact that one young gentleman, who seemed to be quite rational in other respects, bragged that he had been forty-six times to one of these entertainments. I leave the matter for further investigation.

Now, if things are followed to their consequences, it matters little to our final pecuniary position as a nation, or as individuals, whether we pay this three or four or five hundred thousand a year voluntarily, or at the quest of the tax-collector. The fact for us to ponder is that the English theatre-going public does pay this enormous tax for what is allowed to be the most childish and empty form of theatrical entertainment. It is absurd to say that the English nation could not afford to pay (say for a few years only, to see how it works) 10,000*l.* a year to foster the fine and humane art of the drama. It would be a mere nothing in the ocean of our national expenditure. Therefore it is not the amount of the money required that stops the establishment of our national theatre.

What is it then that stands in our way? Probably all classes of English life and society would at least acquiesce in a dole of 10,000*l.*

a year to the English drama—except our Puritan friends. I make a very strong appeal to them on all grounds, and more especially on the ground of the influence for good in national affairs of those Puritan principles in which I, in common with them, was nurtured. With a deep sense of the value to our nation of those Puritan principles I offer these considerations to our Puritan friends :

‘ The instinct for drama is one of the deepest and most ineradicable in human nature ; you can watch it any day in your children and judge how natural, how spontaneous, how universal it is. With all your hatred for the theatre, you have yet a great love and reverence for our great dramatic poet, and many of you class him next to the Bible as the greatest power in our literature, and the greatest moulder of our national character.

‘ You once denied to the English people the satisfaction of this natural instinct, this play-instinct ; you closed the theatres and banned the drama. What was the result ? By force of reaction you called into being one of the most shameless and heartless stages the world has ever seen. Are you not repeating your ancestral error to-day ? By your abstention from the theatre, by your opposition to the State endowment and recognition of the drama, are you not in some measure bringing about the same evil reaction and the same degradation in our national life and manners ? At any rate you are shutting yourselves out from a main current of our national life. We are bound to have a drama of some kind, and a popular stage of some kind, in England. Theatres are sure to multiply with our city populations. Would it not be better for the nation to invest 10,000*l.* a year for a few years in a national theatre that would everywhere set a standard of good taste and good manners, and would raise the character of theatrical performances all over the Empire, rather than to ignore and starve this fine humane art, with the result that gaudy palaces of rowdy nonsense and sniggering vice and folly will be everywhere established as the evening resorts of our populace ? You cannot hinder the English nation from having a popular drama. By opposing it you do your best to ensure that it shall remain as it is—for the most part an empty and feebly foolish entertainment, the most childish and despicable drama in Western Europe. Hadn’t you better have a finger in the dramatic pie ? Will you not be best serving your Puritan principles by making them felt in this great concern of the nation’s evening leisure ? ’

I make that appeal to my Puritan friends. I hope it may weigh with them when the moment comes for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make this tiny little dole for this important national purpose.

On all sides we seem to be moved and moving towards a national theatre. After much consideration, I am wholly in favour of it. And this national theatre should be built and established and endowed

with the national money ; with the intelligent consent of the citizens ; with their knowledge and faith that the drama is not only a symbol and index of civilisation, but is also a source and agent of civilisation and good manners ; a harmoniser ; a humaniser ; an enlightener ; in the best sense an educator.

If such a theatre were established, either by Government or by private munificence, I would do my best to ease its financial launch. I would gladly write a new comedy for it without any fees. I am aware that such a gift-horse might prove a very undesirable asset ; but, on the other hand, by good hap it might provide the whole of the necessary security for the first year. At least I should think it a great honour and pleasure to write for a national English theatre without any consideration of payment. Indeed, why should it not become a custom for English dramatists to leave a piece in the possession of the national theatre, as painters give a diploma work to the Royal Academy ? My only condition is that the theatre must mount and cast the piece to my approval. I need not say that I do not wish to meddle in the general management of the theatre.

But if no English national theatre can be established at present, if the building of our Canterbury Cathedral is as yet afar off, it still remains for us to spread our root idea among English playgoers. Ideas have the advantage of being quite inexpensive.

And our root idea is this : ' The separation of the English drama from popular amusement ; its recognition as a fine literary art, which is not and cannot be the creature, and instrument, and tributary, and appurtenance of the English theatre.' This idea, diligently planted among English playgoers, will take root and live and spread. And meantime we may be picking ourselves out of our present slough, and climbing to some little hillock of vantage, whence we may look backward to the distant Elizabethan range with its peaks amongst the stars, and forward to the shadowy loom of giant heights that shall be scaled by other feet than ours in days to come.

HENRY ARTHUR JONES.

WHAT IS A UNIVERSITY?

OXFORD and Cambridge stand alone ; their beauty and their fame are at once the snare and the despair of the founders of younger universities. ' To be like Oxford '—hopeless ambition for a plain or even an ornate building in the street of a manufacturing city ! Nevertheless, great business towns have founded universities, in spite of this haunting sense of inferiority, and in spite, moreover, of a spirit of angry contempt for their efforts, which is pure Sir Christopher Mowbray. That baronet, we may remember, declined to believe that the University of London was anything but a hoax ; and ' could as easily fancy a county member not being a freeholder as a university not being at Oxford or Cambridge.' The spirit of this gallant Tory survives to-day, and flashed out, in my presence, not so long since, when an important county personage thus pronounced : ' I call Oxford and Cambridge universities, and all the other places colleges.' '*E pur si muove.*'

Nothing is gained by running away from obstacles ; they must be surmounted. Let us, then, measure the dimensions of the obstacle presented by this temper, and consider what is to be done with it. The dimensions are undeniably formidable. A ' university,' to the mind of opulent youth, consists of blazers, games, and a number of tedious people called tutors and dons, with indefinite functions, and concerning themselves pestilently with the occupations of youth. There are libraries, which no self-respecting man would enter. Dress is an important pre-occupation. There are fellows, who—it is hard to believe—were once undergraduates, and who appear to have no reason for existing, excepting that rather fine sets of rooms would otherwise lack occupants. For the few who are not merely savage there is a rich display of architectural beauty ; and there is much glorious music for those who have ears to hear—not a numerous body. Here and there may be seen the indescribably shocking spectacle of aged phantoms—forty years old at least, perhaps fifty—called professors, who are blots on the landscape. Proctors are appropriate functionaries, and a certain amount of amusement is to be obtained by disobeying them. There are chapels.

Later on the scenery changes. For the few, the very few, whose

connections or talents commend them to the university, there looms, not impossibly distant, the high table. This connotes vintage clarets, silver plate, admission to stately chambers, the agreeable sense of being superior to other people ; perhaps the world of Art is revealed ; the Senate looks less like Olympus. One meets a professor, and is surprised to find that he is articulate, and possibly entertaining. Finally, one enters the world, and from that date onwards one looks back on this joyous medley of impressions as 'the university.' To have missed that joyous medley is to have suffered an irreparable loss in life. None the less, when we talk of 'university life' in connection with any place in England except Oxford and Cambridge we are face to face with the conclusion that it is impossible of attainment. Impossible, that is, if these things are of the essence. Are they ? Is there any common factor uniting these sumptuous and haughty foundations with humbler bodies in manufacturing towns ? Or must we remain content with the words of the brilliant personage who was invited to a provincial Convocation, and who decided that 'it was nice to see them playing at being a real university' ? Must we also rest in the conclusion that Oxford has little reason for existing, except the imperative one that, if it were not for Oxford, Cambridge would be without a worthy antagonist at Lord's ? These positions are not burlesque. It is true that they are extreme views ; but they are views towards which many minds incline, and in which a considerable number of people find the last word to be said on the subject.

If we could get at the core of the matter we must needs adopt a somewhat startling postulate. I do not use the words that I am about to employ in an offensive sense, although I am quite aware that the expression is unusual ; but we must realise that Oxford and Cambridge are educational establishments. I know that it sounds a shabby thing to say, but that is, in point of fact, the purpose for which they were founded, and that is where the newest and most struggling provincial university may fairly claim kinship with them. Socially and æsthetically the provincial universities will probably—almost certainly—remain for generations the inferiors of Oxford and Cambridge ; intellectually, there is no reason why they should not remain, as they are, foundations of considerable distinction and of incalculable service to the country. Slowly—but not very slowly for Englishmen—the great industrial centres of the country are realising what the Scots have realised for several centuries—viz., that the best educated nation wins. There is nothing magical about the success in life of Scotchmen ; their pre-eminence is not the consequence of their poverty, although, perhaps, to a certain extent, of their religion. It is the just reward of their having striven for centuries to develop in the youth of their country a strong and flexible intelligence. We never hear Scotchmen imbecilely dogmatising as to the utility of this or the futility of that branch of learning. They

know well enough that a strong and flexible intelligence, however acquired, is an invaluable asset in the battle of life. They cherish and respect the intellectual process; Englishmen despise it. An Englishman, pitched into the middle of strange conditions, begins by pooh-poohing or exaggerating his difficulties, according to his temperament, goes on by abusing them, and ends by 'taking his coat off and going for them.' A Scot watches them; his mind turns this way and that as the situation alters, until, at last, true as the needle to the Pole, it pierces to the core of the difficulty. An Englishman may succeed; a Scot is bound to succeed. This is not miraculous. Four centuries ago the Scots were insignificant people, economically. They were the Afghans of Europe, a nuisance to England, of no account to anyone else. What has transformed them into the first race of the world, not excepting the Hebrews, who take some beating and are undeniably the closest rivals of the Scotch? Reluctant though Englishmen are to admit that education is anything but a pedantic encumbrance, we are coming to the conclusion that we cannot do better than follow in the footsteps of our masters, and educate ourselves.

It is characteristic of the Englishman that he sees far less difficulty in founding a bishopric than in founding a university. A bishopric is part of the established order of things. If a sufficient number of influential people say 'We ought to have a bishop,' he sighs, accedes, and prepares for the necessary sacrifice. There are Acts of Parliament on the subject; he admits that there is no way out of it. But his mind is in revolt at once against the idea of a university. He 'does not see how it can be done'; 'we shall never be like Oxford or Cambridge'; and so on. These reasonings, once cogent, are losing force now that we face the conclusion, equally irrationally reached, but none the less cogent—viz., that we *must* have a university.

What, then, is the framework of the university?—a framework which we may decorate as sumptuously as we will, but which remains the indispensable groundwork when all is said and done. Three technical terms (we may as well face them), all loosely used, all more or less misunderstood—the chair, the faculty, and the senate. This sums up the academic side of the university. The man who holds the chair is called professor, the faculty (say of science) is composed of all the professors in that faculty (geology, botany, etc.), the senate is the council of the faculties. There is your university; and one faculty is enough to begin with if funds are lacking for a larger enterprise.

Every Englishman affects a contempt for titles, which lasts, as a rule, until he sees one within his grasp. But for no title has he the unspeakable contempt that he cherishes for that of professor. One very famous professor entreated his friends not to address him as such, for he felt sure that Professor Pepper (the ghost-man) adorned

the title much more than himself. We never hear Scotchmen talk in this ridiculous way. A professor is neither more nor less serious than a major or a paymaster. His title implies definite attainments and definite privileges. He is called professor because he is master of his subject. Naturally, in this imperfect world, there are many masters of their subjects who are not professors, and *vice versa*; but we are speaking of the ideal university, and in such a university the professor will be master of his subject.

As professor he is one of those who legislate for his faculty. All other people—assistants, demonstrators, teachers, readers, by whatever titles they may be called—have no voice whatever in the decisions which affect the policy of the faculty. A wise faculty will take counsel with them, and a foolish faculty will neglect them; but no faculty, either wise or foolish, can admit them to a seat with a vote in the faculty without destroying the difference between professors and people who are not professors. Is the difference worth preserving? The answer is: Just as long as it is worth preserving the difference between industry and indolence, or between hack-work and original work, that is just so long as it is worth while to have a university.

Only professors sit in the senate. That body is purely academical, and is sometimes called *Senatus Academicus*, in order to emphasise the fact. Here is where the greatest confusion of mind is to be found when a new university compares itself with the older foundations. For reasons sumptuary, disciplinary, and domestic, all sorts of important functionaries are found in Oxford and Cambridge who are not found in provincial universities. For the ideal university, of which we are contemplating the foundation, we cannot alter the groundwork of our constitution without confusing our minds, distorting our aims, and laming our policy.

The chair, the faculty, the senate. There is the whole academic side of the university in six words. Keep that framework, and everything falls into shape; alter it, and everything falls into confusion.

We now approach the business side; and if the academic side presents here and there considerable confusion of ideas, the business side presents little else but confusion of ideas. The business side of the university is managed by a body called in some places 'the council,' elected by a larger body called 'the court.' In other places these terms are transposed; it is the court that looks after business, and the council which elects them. The members of the larger body, whether called court or council, receive the resounding but really ridiculous title (considering the circumstances) of 'governors,' while there is not always a definite qualification for either position.

We need not waste time and fatigue ourselves by examining these things. Let us, as in the academic half of the university, go straight to the core of the matter and work up from the broad basis of the

constitution. The basis is electoral; eliminate, therefore, the words governor, court, and council, which are all misleading, and call the thing what it is—viz., the electorate. For the electorate there must be a qualification. What qualification shall we decide upon for the university franchise? Here we get help from every side. Whatever ‘fancy franchises’ have been adopted in consequence of varying social conditions, one class of people has always been admitted to have a claim to the university franchise—viz., graduates of the standing of master. This qualification is unexceptionable from every point of view. We may safely take it as our unit. I say ‘master’ deliberately, because that degree is often decried as implying merely the payment of extra fees and the lapse of time—as if these things were nothing. Lapse of time implies increased sobriety of judgment, and the payment of extra fees implies an interest in the university maintained for some years. The abuse of the master’s degree, therefore, seems unjustified, and we may take that degree as a qualification for the university franchise.

We must now proceed to translate that into money, because for the first five years of our ideal university’s existence there will be no graduates of master’s standing, and consequently no electoral roll. What does a master’s degree cost first and last at Oxford or Cambridge? Say 1000*l.* What will it cost in the ideal, non-residential, provincial university? Say 100*l.* There, again, is our unit. Anybody contributing 100*l.* to the funds of the university will be entitled to be put on the electoral roll.

It will be objected that this makes but a narrow franchise. The rejoinder is that the narrower the franchise the better, so far as may be consistent with stability. A thing is valuable in proportion to its rarity. The practice of putting dozens and dozens of people on the electoral roll who have not evinced the faintest interest in university work does not, as is alleged, ‘extend the interest of the public in the university’; it only creates the impression that the whole thing is a farce. It is, however, politic and sensible that a few—but not too many—prominent people in county or municipal work should be given the university franchise as an incident of their dignified offices. But, I repeat, the university franchise is, and must be kept, a privilege, for which academical people have to qualify by payment and hard work, and which non-academical people should be gratified by securing by payment without any work at all.

Local conditions indicate some variations, and there are the cases of testators entitled to nominate life-members of the electoral roll, of groups of contributors claiming to nominate a member, and of business firms claiming the same privilege. These are examples of detail, and the electoral roll remains the basis of the university constitution.

Assuming, then, that our ideal university has completed its electoral roll, which is one grand permanent tie with the public, we come to

the next point—the object for which the electorate is called into existence—viz., to elect a body to manage the business interests of the university. That body may well be called the council. The title is dignified, and it is accurate; and the question remains, How is it to be constituted?

Too often we hear such a conversation as this: 'I see that X. has been put on Council.' 'Yes.' 'I suppose he's a University man?' 'Oh, yes; Eton and King's.' 'Does he work very hard at it?' 'Bless you, no! I don't suppose he knows where Council Chamber is. They only put him on for the sake of his title.' And no body inquires who 'they' are who 'put him on'; in fact, a badly constructed electorate has little authority.

Nobody seems to think that this is a degrading confession.

In the ideal university, however, there will be no *fainéants*. How are we to secure that desirable end? By the application of the same principle that guided us in choosing the electorate. A similar qualification should be adopted for council. A hundred pounds qualifies for the electoral roll; the gift of 1,000*l.* should be the minimum qualifying for council. It need not be given in a lump sum. The sum is considerable from some points of view, but it should be remembered that we are considering, *ex hypothesi*, a city where there are numerous people to whom 1,000*l.* is no more than a five-pound note is to scores of men who walk up the steps of my club any afternoon in the year.

What should be the size of council? The answer is, 'as small as possible'—say about the size of a large Cabinet—twenty. Of these twenty people perhaps seven will be great officers—viz., the chancellor, four pro-chancellors, the vice-chancellor, and the lord rector (supposing that we preserve that graceful and interesting, if somewhat meaningless, office). Then each faculty should elect one member to represent it on council. If we start our ideal university with three faculties, that leaves us ten more to be chosen by the electorate. In some places senators are allowed to attend council, but they are not allowed to vote. This is a practice which appears to combine every disadvantage. There is hardly more reason for allowing senators to 'attend' council than there is for allowing councillors to 'attend' senate. For facilitating the despatch of business one senator elected from each faculty can do no harm, and may be useful as a member possessed of technical information of use to council. Even that is open to question.

Sometimes the lord rector is allowed to nominate a representative on council, called the lord rector's assessor, who is supposed to convey his chief's wishes to council when he cannot attend in person. The lord rector is elected by the students annually, and is supposed to represent their interests on council—presumably in case they should be down-trodden by council. He is an interesting and picturesque

survival, and his existence is justified by the opportunity it affords to students for corporate action. He is usually an eminent literary or political personage, and his office is worth preservation; but there is no apparent reason why he should be treated differently from other members of council.

The chancellor is the head of the university. He is usually elected for life; and cases have been known where he has only been to the university of which he is head once or twice in his lifetime. In the ideal university figure-heads should be avoided.

An even worse chancellor than the *roi fainéant* would be the chancellor who should strive to 'make himself felt.' Thirty years is too long for the influence of one man to be dominant. The Lord Mayor of London is elected annually, and what is good enough for the Lord Mayor of London is good enough for the chancellor of a university. The pro-chancellors are there to remind the vice-chancellor that he is a mortal—a very necessary precaution, as we shall see. The qualification for the office of chancellor or pro-chancellor may be a gift of 5,000*l.* One grand functionary—the lord-lieutenant—might be declared by statute eligible for either office. These five important people would be elected by the electorate, as in the case of council. It is important to bring the highest offices of the university within reach of all who care to aspire to them.

There, then, we have the whole constitution in brief, avoiding detail and technicalities; and what should be the idea of the relation of each part of the constitution to the other? One mistaken idea may be indicated at once. A university is emphatically *not* a business concern with directors, manager, and clerks—corresponding to council, vice-chancellor, and senate. This wholly lamentable position is one towards which provincial universities have a tendency. The leading case expressing this confusion of mind is the well-known one of the councillor who objected to sit down with a senator, on the ground that his servants always stood in his presence. That will never do.

A better parallel would be that of Sovereign, Lords, and Commons. The parallel is not exact, because the 'lords,' nominating, as they do, the lower chamber (the senate), and holding the power of the purse, are enormously more powerful than the real Upper Chamber; but one sound idea is common to both—viz., that in each case we have *three powers working together for the common good*. This we must never lose sight of. Cases have been known where the council ignored the senate altogether, and would listen to nothing except through the vice-chancellor. That is the road to ruin. The completest possible confidence between council and senate, and between the public and both these bodies, is the only healthy atmosphere for the ideal university. 'A healthy atmosphere' sounds a vague and rather a priggish expression. None the less, it has a just significance. The unhealthy

atmosphere is one in which people are afraid to speak their minds, or, worse still, have no minds to speak. Or it may be one in which each man scrambles viciously for the interests of his own subject. In any case, we may be sure that it is the result of a disturbance of the balance of power in the university.

Keeping that ideal (balance of power) steadily before us, what principles of external activity ought to be recognised by the patriotic men who propose to found the ideal university?

There are four :

1. Brains before bricks.

2. Those who pay the piper call the tune.

Corollary—nobody calls the tune except those who pay the piper.

3. No politics.

4. No religion.

Before looking these in the face, let us consider very briefly some points of internal policy.

Functions of the chancellor.—The chancellor signs the appointment of all professors. (Lesser functionaries receive their appointment from the secretary of council, who is the only 'servant' that the council actually have. The 'secretary' may be called the 'registrar'; it does not matter much; but 'registrary' is rather a mouthful.) He confers degrees, presides in council when he is present, and decides all appeals from the vice-chancellor, where appeals are provided for.

Functions of the pro-chancellors.—The pro-chancellors preside in council, and confer degrees, in order of precedence, and in the absence of the chancellor. They have various privileges, but are indispensable chiefly as reminders to the vice-chancellor that he is not the head.

Functions of the vice-chancellor.—No single mistake is so damaging as any lack of precision here. The vice-chancellor is sometimes called the principal, a correct enough title for the head of a college, but not for the chancellor's deputy. 'Principal' expresses too much as regards internal affairs, and far too little as regards the general public. The very word implies that he is the head, which he is not. 'Vice-chancellor' exactly defines his position. He is the highest paid officer of the university. His is a post of vast influence and but little authority. He belongs to all faculties, but is not necessarily the dean of any one faculty. He presides in senate always, and in council in the absence of the chancellor and pro-chancellors. He is a convenient channel of communication between all the faculties, and between the public and the university, *but not the only channel*. It is sometimes contended that he ought to hold no chair himself; but if he is professor of any subject he should do the work of the chair, and not depute it to an assistant. In the beginnings of a new university he may be called upon to lend a hand in any direction. He should, therefore, be a man of taste, and of large sympathies, and of reading wide rather than profound. A man of many clubs is preferable to a man of many

books. If he is distinguished academically, that is to the good ; but it is his human qualities that should come first rather than his academical attainments. He is not a schoolmaster. In the present condition of affairs it is important that he should be a layman. He must not be a recluse. In his relations with the senate he is *primus inter pares* ; he may suggest, but should issue as few orders as possible. In so far as he endeavours to turn his 'influence' into 'authority' he will be a failure. He is responsible for the interpretation of regulations when disputed, and for the discipline of the students—in both cases under appeal to the chancellor. It is not at all necessary that he should be a man of business, as the business element is amply represented on council. Council holds the purse-strings, and should look to the vice-chancellor for ideas rather than for advice in money matters, which they understand perfectly without his help. Instances have been known of vice-chancellors endeavouring to show their energy by overloading the senate with work till it is stale. Only a feeble senate and an indifferent council would allow this. But feeble senates and indifferent councils have been known to exist, and, if they co-exist, danger impends.¹

The worst disaster that can befall a university is loss of mental vigour, whether from securing the wrong men or from overdriving the right men. Fine buildings and large endowments are good ; but there have not been wanting universities which enjoyed both these advantages, and yet produced no impression whatever on the mind of the country. The soul of the university is the senate. Unlike the vice-chancellor, in whose case academic qualities are a secondary consideration, senators ought to be chosen strictly for their academic qualities. We cannot expect much for 500*l.* a year, but we can expect what we actually find—an adequate supply of people who are capable of the faithful discharge of routine duty. That suffices. In England, with a certain license—they are slightly stricter in Scotland—the degree course consists of about 150 lectures delivered between October and June. One hundred and fifty lectures, if they are good lectures, are enough to exhaust most men ; and beyond this, whatever extra work is done, if any, should be left to the initiative of the individual teacher. It should never be forgotten that we are speaking of a university, *not* of a glorified Board school, or of a technical institute, or of a night school. Too often, from neglect of this obvious fact, the 'university' dwindles and sinks into a gruesome compound of these three things, and the university ideal disappears.

If, by chance, the university should secure a man who is capable of exertion outside the degree course, council should cherish him as the apple of its eye. Such men make the fame and charm of the university. The extra energy thus displayed implies a force of

¹ Accepting the comparison of the university with a Constitutional State, the position of the vice-chancellor is precisely that of the Permanent Under-Secretary.

character and intelligence that is simply invaluable to council. It may be transmuted into social activity and lead to the foundation of a university club ; or perhaps there may be on the senate one man who has pierced through the technicalities of the classics, or another who is capable of research (although the Record Office is open to all the world it is not every reader who knows how to use it) and may achieve work of distinction. Or it may be merely that animal spirits, unsubdued even by 150 lectures, leave him time to deliver fifty more.

It is really necessary to record that council should further the interests of the senate. Cases have been known where they have done precisely the opposite. Instances could be given of councillors who profess to 'take an interest' in a subject, and are contented with honouring science² by lending it their names. Such people are 150 years out of date. They recall the eighteenth-century 'patron,' and do not shine even in that sorry company. A vigilant electorate will be careful to protect the university from their ruinous 'patronage.'

All these disastrous mistakes arise from neglect of the principles which ought to guide the 'pious founders of the ideal university. Council and senate are not bodies with opposite interests. But whereas council is composed of men of business accustomed to act together, senate is composed of bookish people, for the most part content to dwell in their books and their class-rooms. It is the function, and should be the pride, of the vice-chancellor to be the sympathetic intermediary and interpreter between the two bodies. He should bind together, not seek to divide ; help and not hinder mutual understanding, and will do his duty or fail in it according to the course he elects to pursue.

So far of internal politics. With a short note on the principles of external policy our picture of the ideal university is complete.

1. *Brains before bricks.*—Buildings there must be ; and in particular the vice-chancellor should 'live over the shop,' and not play the fine gentleman, or live on 10*l.* a week at the club and pocket the balance of his income. 'Vice-chancellor's lodge' should be a feature from the outset of the new university. But at any crisis of the university, when it is a question whether a given sum shall be devoted to the foundation of a chair or to the erection of fine buildings, the university should not hesitate. Better a good man working in shabby rooms than fine rooms with nobody, or only a drudge, to work in them.

Some councils do not encourage the endowment of chairs. I never heard a formal defence of this policy ; but, presumably, the grounds for it would be that in early stages of the university it is easy and convenient to pay a man by ear-marking a sum out of income. If his subject should prove to be a failure, the university can then turn

² Let us recall the fine saying of Faraday: 'I am not one of those who think that science can be honoured.'

its funds in a more profitable direction. This system gives flexibility. The extreme cogeny of the rule calling for an endowment fund of ten or, in some places, twenty thousand pounds gives stability and dignity. The *via media* is probably the safest—viz., to ear-mark a certain proportion of the necessary income, and then to give the incumbent the right to raise the endowment fund, or, at least, to stamp the project with the approval of council, and let the professor be an apostle for his subject. Success—that desirable end—has thus two chances—viz., the popularity of the subject and the popularity of the man. Two chances are better than one. As regards seniority of the faculties, medicine generally comes first, for obvious reasons. Science makes a good second, arts (or letters) comes last; and latest in the last come history and literature, which, as a rule, run a race for being the Cinderella of the university.

It is usual for professors in provincial universities to be engaged upon three months' notice. The alternative is to appoint for life. While council holds the purse-strings it does not matter much except on sentimental grounds. It practically amounts to a tenure of office *quam diu se bene gesserint*.

2. *Those who pay the piper call the tune (with corollary).*—This appears axiomatic. Nevertheless, there are cases where the policy of a university has been affected, and even directed, by people who have not made the faintest sacrifices for it.

3. *No politics.*—This also appears axiomatic. Nevertheless, examples could be cited of political bias recalling the immortal Squirradical: 'Thank God the days of Tory jobbery are at an end. It's a good honest Liberal Government that's in, and they would certainly move at my request.'

4. *No religion.*—This seems a hard saying; and perhaps Lothair was right when he said that universities were universal and had something to do with everything. There would be a good deal in that if we could all agree to regard one another's religious views with the dispassionate curiosity that we bestow upon varieties of shells. Unfortunately—or fortunately, according to the point of view—we are far, very far, from such an attitude of mind. Those who believe, believe with a passion of devotion. As for those who believe not, they regard all religious views alike with contempt as icy as the devotion of the believer is fervid. What is our common meeting-ground? Only this—that we are all in this world together, and may help our country by working together. That we can do, and we shall do it best if we are content to work for our temporal benefit even in concert with those from whom, if religious teachers say truly, we must be separated for ever in the future life.

A university is a little State; full well the Scots know it. They approach the mass and the details of government with equal gravity and method. To them everything matters. It is matter for concern.

that there should be a visitor who does not visit, a chancellor whom nobody sees, or a feeble electorate. It is matter for concern when council despises senate, when the faculties are for ever squabbling, or when the vice-chancellor is a bungler ; and it is a matter for supreme concern when the public comes to look on the university with contempt and disgust, for this means failure.

If a university is nothing but a hobby, it is of little consequence to the country whether it fails or not. We have assumed, however, that university education is a matter of national concern ; and, as a rule, pious founders are of that mind. In the career of all universities there comes, moreover, a time when the question of management or mismanagement becomes a matter of public concern. From the moment when a university accepts the Treasury subsidy the taxpayer is interested in seeing that the Treasury gets value for his money. Treasury Commissioners report periodically on the state of these subsidised institutions, and anybody who takes fifteen pennyworth of interest in the universities of England may, for the sum of one-and-three pence, learn which were at the last inspection punished and which were rewarded ; which were prospering and which were going downhill. The point of contact between the Treasury and the university is the source of many complicated and contentious questions. It may suffice here to indicate that the subsidy is granted with the admirable object of breaking the vicious circle in which education tends more and more every day to travel. To inquire whether that object is attained would lead us too far on the present occasion.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

*THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS:
AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF HISTORY.*

THERE is no history which has been represented in such different lights as that of Ireland, or which contains so large a proportion of controversial matter. And in all that history there is no episode more hopelessly involved in obscurity than the conspiracy in which the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell are said to have engaged in the fourth year of the reign of James the First. I propose in the following pages to examine briefly the evidence for an accusation which, as it afforded a pretext for the great plantation of Ulster, must be held to have profoundly modified the whole subsequent course of Irish history.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the authority of the English Government, which had first been introduced into Ireland in the twelfth, may be said to have definitely established itself throughout the island. The same year which witnessed the death of the great Queen, witnessed also the final overthrow of the great chieftains who had so long defied her power: and, within a few weeks from the day when the first Stuart ascended the throne of England, he received the homage of the O'Neil and the O'Donnel at Whitehall. It is impossible, in the space at my disposal, to describe in detail the means by which the subjugation of the island was effected. But the story of the subsequent conspiracy would be unintelligible without some account, however brief and imperfect, of the policy and methods of the conquerors.

The war, although occasionally interrupted, had been virtually co-extensive with the long reign of Elizabeth, and had been conducted with an atrocity rare even in that age. It is not necessary for my present purpose to relate at length the innumerable acts of perfidy and cruelty perpetrated by the conquerors, the repeated attempts to assassinate Shane O'Neil, Desmond, Hugh O'Donnel, and Tyrone, the massacres of Mullaghmast, of Rathlin, and of Smerwick, the torturing of Archbishop Hurley and other prisoners who fell into the hands of the Government. But I shall endeavour by a few quotations from the most trustworthy contemporary writers

to illustrate the desolation of the country during the last years of the sixteenth century.

Spenser, in a well-known passage, advocated the reduction of Ireland by famine, and described with unconcealed admiration the success with which that policy had been pursued 'in these late wars of Munster.'

For, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and one half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death: they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves: they did eat the dead carrions, happy when they could find them: yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves: and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they thronged as to a feast for the time: yet not able long to continue there withal: that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast: yet sure in all that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine.¹

Poets, it has been said, colour all that they regard: but the tale, as told by the prosaic pen of Holinshed, is little, if at all, less horrible.

After this followed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroy the same did consume and eat out: very few or none remaining alive, saving such as dwelt in cities and towns: and yet the store in the towns was very far spent, and they in distress, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who lived at large, for they were not only driven to eat horses, dogs, and dead carrions, but also did devour the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundry examples. In the bay of Smerwick there happened a ship to be lost through foul weather, and all the men, being drowned, were there cast on land. The common people, who had a long time lived on limpets, oreads, and such shellfish as they could find, and which were now spent, as soon as they saw these dead bodies, took them up and most greedily did eat and devour them; and, not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land itself, which before these wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well stored with fish and sundry other good commodities, is now become waste and barren. Finally, every way the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from the one end of Munster to the other, even from Waterford to the head of Smerwick, which is about six score miles, he should not meet any man, woman, or child, nor yet see any beasts; but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them lay dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.²

A few years after the South of Ireland had been subdued by these methods a scene of even greater barbarity was enacted in the North. Two letters of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and a passage from the *Itinerary* of his secretary Fynes Moryson will enable us to

¹ Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*.

² Holinshed, vol. vi. pp. 459, 460.

realise the condition of Ulster during the last months of Tyrone's rebellion. In July 1602, Mountjoy assured the English Privy Council 'that from O'Kane's country, where now he (Tyrone) liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition; nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places as we passed.'³

In another letter, dated six weeks later, he says that in Tyrone, which had been reduced to a desert, and in the neighbouring counties also, he had found everywhere men dead of famine; insomuch that O'Hagan, a chieftain of Tyrone, protested unto us that between Tullahogue and Toome, a distance of about twenty miles, there lay a thousand dead, and that, since our first drawing this year to Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone.⁴

Moryson's account is fuller and more graphic:

Now, because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels' corn and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples show the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester saw a most horrid spectacle of three children, whereof the eldest was not above ten years old, all eating their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past. Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputy's letters of carcasses scattered in many places, all dead of famine. The common sort were brought to unspeakable extremities, beyond the record of most histories that ever I did read in that kind, the ample relating whereof were an infinite task: yet will I not pass it over without adding some few instances. Captain Trevor and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness that some old women in those parts were used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children, driving out the cattle in the cold mornings and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed, and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by the strength of her body. The captains of Carrickfergus and the adjacent garrisons can witness that, upon the making of peace and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and, they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throats for a share of them. And no spectacle was more common in the ditches of towns, and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks and all things they could rend up above ground.⁵

I have thought it advisable to describe in some detail the severities which accompanied the final conquest of the island; for it is only when we reflect upon the sufferings of the Irish people during that contest that we can understand how improbable it is that they should have attempted, only a few years later, to renew the struggle. The improbability will appear even greater when we remember that Tyrone had only taken arms in order to save his estates from confiscation, and that, by the terms of his submission,

³ July 29, 1602 (*Carew MSS.*).

⁴ September 12, 1602. Quoted in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*.

⁵ Moryson, part ii. p. 271.

that object had been fully attained. For four years after the accession of James there was peace in Ireland, interrupted only by some insignificant disturbances, which the religious policy of the Government provoked in Munster during the first months of the new reign. In the summer of 1603, Mountjoy, to whose energy and ability the successful termination of the recent struggle must in a great measure be attributed, resigned his office. He was succeeded by Sir George Carey, who, after a brief administration, of which the restoration of the currency was the most important feature, gave place in February 1605 to Sir Arthur Chichester. From the hour of his appointment, the new deputy appears to have set his heart upon effecting a thorough settlement of Ulster, and to have determined, for this purpose, to destroy the power and to confiscate the property of the Northern chieftains. But for this a pretext was necessary, and Chichester, who was by no means overburdened with scruples, set to work with unprincipled ingenuity to entangle his intended victims in a charge of treason. His first attempt was of a peculiarly revolting description. He instructed Sir Tobias Caulfield, an adventurer who subsequently obtained large grants of confiscated land in Ulster, 'to sound the Countess of Tyrone, who may reveal her husband's secrets.' The trick was, as the lord deputy himself admitted, 'uncivil, but his zeal for the king's service will be an excuse.' The countess indignantly replied that 'she knew of nothing, but she would not for all the world be known to accuse him of anything that would endanger his life.' Having failed to elicit any direct information, Caulfield then proceeded to cross-examine the unfortunate lady as to her 'ideas and suspicions of the earl's intentions,' but, so far as we can learn, without any satisfactory result. Convinced that there was nothing to be learnt from this quarter, Sir Toby next turned his attention to 'one Owen, a priest,' but was again unsuccessful.⁶

A little later, Neil Garve O'Donnel, a disappointed claimant to the estates and dignity of Tyrconnell, came forward with an elaborate charge against his successful rival. He declared that Tyrone, Tyrconnell, Maguire of Enniskillen, and other Irish gentlemen had conspired to seize the principal fortresses of Ulster: that they had sympathisers in the three southern provinces: that Florence Conroy, a Jesuit, was intriguing at the Spanish Court in their interest: that Robert McArthur, another Jesuit, was in England under a false name, 'and doth from thence continually advertise the earls of all occurrences:' and that 'it is a common opinion among them all in the North that Sir Randal McDonnell is a party with them in all plots and devices.' The tale was based throughout upon the loosest hearsay evidence: none of the persons from whom Neil Garve

⁶ Chichester to Cecil, February 18, 1606 (*Meehan's Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 63).

professed to have derived his information could be induced to corroborate it: and the character and pretensions of the accuser made the Government unwilling to appear to give much credence to his statements.⁷

Nor was the deposition made shortly afterwards by Teig O'Corcoran, an apostate priest, who declared that he had gone through the form of reconciliation with his Church and had wormed himself by these means into the confidence of the Catholic party, much more convincing. The deponent professed to have heard from Cuconnaught Maguire that it was his intention to leave Ireland and to seek a refuge in Spain or the Low Countries, and that Tyrconnell was aware of his design; but even if the story was true—and there was nothing but his bare word to support it—he could furnish no proof of any ulterior motive on the part of the intending fugitive.⁸ Maguire was nevertheless arrested and kept for some time in confinement, but was eventually released, as no evidence could be produced against him.

But, if Chichester's attempts to incriminate the earls were not at once crowned with success, the efforts of his confederate Cecil were more fortunate. In the spring of 1607, an individual who thought it prudent to conceal his identity under the initials A. B. approached that statesman with a story of an intended insurrection in Ulster which Cecil lost no time in communicating to the lord deputy. In May the storm burst. On the 18th of that month an anonymous letter, addressed to Sir William Usher, 'clerk of the council, was 'found at the door of the council chamber.' The writer, who affected to be an Irish Catholic, professed to disclose a conspiracy of the most formidable kind. 'Some Catholic gentlemen'—for the informer was wise enough to confine himself to generalities—had told him under 'the strictest conditions of secrecy' that it was their intention to assassinate the lord deputy at Drogheda and to surprise Dublin Castle, which was 'neither manned nor victualled.' 'The towns are for them: the country with them: the great ones abroad and in the North are prepared to answer the first alarm.' Spain and the Pope had promised 'means and men to second the first stirrs:' and the conspirators believed that a bold stroke would enable them to dictate their own terms to the Government.⁹

On the 27th Chichester wrote to Salisbury enclosing this singular document. He did not disguise his distrust of the writer's statements, but was 'advised to transmit them, by reason they concur in many parts with the discovery made unto your lordship by A. B.; otherwise I should have thought of it as heretofore I have done of

⁷ Informations of Niall Garve O'Donnell (*Meehan's Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 67–69).

⁸ Informations of Teig O'Corcoran (*Ibid.* pp. 69–72).

⁹ Anonymous letter to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council (*Ibid.* pp. 96–98).

the like presented unto me, and have taken them rather for impostures to deceive me than discoveries to forewarn me.' 'If A. B.,' he added, 'were an advised or judicial man, it might be supposed he had plotted this to strengthen the discovery he hath made'; and 'howsoever his lightness may clear that suspieion,' it was plain that the lord deputy could not entirely rid himself of the idea.¹⁰

The individual who figures so largely in the correspondence of the Government under the pseudonym A. B. was Christopher St. Lawrence, an adventurer of no very high character, who had served in Ulster under the Earl of Essex, had accompanied him in his flight to England, and had offered, when it became known that his patron's life was in danger, to assassinate Lord Grey de Wilton and others of that nobleman's accusers.¹¹ But, even in that supreme hour of peril, the noble nature of Essex recoiled in horror from the vile proposal: and from this time we hear no more of St. Lawrence until 1602, when he fought under Mountjoy at Carlingford. After the submission of Tyrone, St. Lawrence, like many other officers, found himself out of employment, and appears to have become intensely discontented. He now left Ireland and engaged in some intrigues in the Low Countries; but, having failed to secure the confidence of the disaffected Irish, speedily exchanged the rôle of a conspirator for the safer and more lucrative occupation of a Government spy.

In the letter which I have just quoted Chichester informed his correspondent that 'one Howth, alias St. Lawrence, and one Art M'Rorie M'Mahon were arraigned in the King's Bench for plotting the betraying of this castle. The matter,' he says, 'was first discovered unto me by Howth himself: and Art M'Rorie, being apprehended and examined, after many denials, confessed at last that Howth had broken that matter with him,' a fact which throws a curious light upon the value of that gentleman's disclosures.

Seven weeks later the deputy again wrote to Salisbury, describing an interview which he had just had with St. Lawrence, and intimating more plainly than ever his conviction that the tale, as it then stood, would not bear sifting.¹² He seems, however, to have thought that, with a little careful editing, it might be made to wear an appearance

¹⁰ Chichester to Salisbury, May 27, 1607 (Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 92-95).

¹¹ Camden's *Annales*, p. 741.

¹² 'I find him so wavering and uncertain that I am enforced to hold him to particulars, as well for the persons acquainted with the plot and the time when it shall be put in execution, as the manner how the same shall be discovered, his honour preserved, and the kingdom and state kept from danger. I perceive my strict questioning with him in these points makes him to think of some things of which he never dreamed before. . . . I like not his look and gesture when he talks with me of this business.'—Chichester to Salisbury, July 19, 1607 (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 226). This letter is omitted from the valuable collection published by Father Meehan.

of plausibility, for, on the 25th of August, we find him sending to the same nobleman a 'Brief collection drawn from sundry discourses had with A. B.,' extending in all over nearly two months. Briefly stated, A. B's discoveries were as follows:

(1) 'That there is a general revolt intended by many of the nobility and principal persons of this land.'

(2) 'That they have made known their said intentions and purposes to the King of Spain, who hath entertained the same with good applause.'

(3) 'The principal contrivers and plotters of this innovation did advise and resolve to seize upon the Castle of Dublin, when the lord deputy and council were within, whom they would kill or otherwise dispose of at their pleasures.'

(4) 'They concluded to attempt the surprise of the Castle in Easter Term, anno 1606, and had proceeded therein but for two causes: first, A. B. thought it a matter full of danger,' and suggested that it should be deferred until the arrival of the Spaniards: secondly, 'C. D. (Lord Delvin) would not assent that the deputy should be slain, for that he was his friend.'

(5) A. B. had gone to England in August, 1606, 'expecting to obtain some employment or pension from the king's majesty. If he failed therein he then resolved to put himself into the service of the arch-duke,' but in any case 'to reveal so dangerous a plot of conspiracy, before it should bring forth the monster of his country's ruin and king's disturbance.'

(6) 'He revealed it not at his first coming to the court, by reason he thought the venom had not spread itself further than to discourse. But when he perceived that the poison of this traitorous conspiracy had infected many of the king's subjects, he then thought it high time to discover what he knew or had heard.'

(7) He had seen Florence Conroy, the provincial of the Irish Franciscans in the Low Countries, 'by whom he was assured that all things were concluded.'

(8) 'This Florence hath been employed in this business from the beginning by E. F. (Tyrconnell), and is well favoured by the King of Spain.'

(9) 'The Spaniard hath fed E. F. with hope of great advancement and reward.'

(10) 'He saith that this is all true, and that he had the first knowledge thereof from C. D., and soon after he conferred with E. F., who are the men he dealt withal on this side, and none other.'

(11) 'He cannot of himself charge G. H. (Tyrone) with any particular matter, but is well assured by the speech he had with the former two, and others in the Low Countries, that he is as deep in the treason as any.'

(12) 'He saith that he hath talked with E. F. sundry times since

his first coming over, and found him constant and firm in his first resolution.' ¹³

It was impossible to put much faith in a tale so rambling and incoherent, and Chichester was still seeking desperately for some more respectable witness when an event took place which gave an apparent plausibility to the narrative of the informer.

Almost from the hour of his submission Tyrone had been harassed by litigants who acted, it can scarcely be doubted, at the instigation of the Castle. Of these litigants Donal O'Cahan and Montgomery, Protestant Bishop of Derry, were the most pertinacious and vindictive. The latter laid claim to a great part of Tyrone's estates, alleging that they were the property of his See ¹⁴: and about this time the case was still further complicated by the discovery on the part of the Castle lawyers that these lands belonged in law to the Crown. The earl was advised to proceed to London to lay his case before the king. If he went, he might be arrested and perhaps assassinated. If he refused, his refusal might be construed as an act of treason. Convinced that the Government was bent on his destruction, he fled from Ireland. He was accompanied by Tyrconnell.

The motives for this singular escapade could only be conjectured; but Chichester, who seems to have formed a very just estimate of his informant's character, expressed a strong belief that St. Lawrence had 'put buzzes in the head of the Earl of Tyrone,' insinuating that his life was in danger, and had thus induced him to take a step which would give colour to his own slanders. ¹⁵ It is probable that the suspicion was well grounded: but Tyrone had also received a warning from a more trustworthy quarter.

I have already mentioned the arrest of Cuconnaught Maguire on the information of Teig O'Corcoran in August 1606. After a short imprisonment he was released, as no formal charge had been preferred against him: but he appears to have been subjected to a ceaseless espionage and to various forms of petty annoyance. Finding his position intolerable he contrived, in May 1607, to elude the vigilance of the Government and escape to the Low Countries. There he learnt from Florence Conroy that it was the intention of the English Ministers to induce Tyrone to proceed to London and there cause him to be arrested. Convinced of his friend's danger, he immediately purchased a ship and sailed under French colours to Rathmullen, at the same time sending information to Tyrone, who, as we have seen, had already good reason to distrust the fidelity of the Government. Apprised of his peril, the earl hurriedly collected as much of his rents as he could lay his hands on,

¹³ Brief collections drawn from sundry discourses had with A. B. betwixt June 29 and August 25, 1607 (Meehan, pp. 100-106).

¹⁴ Carleton's *Thankful Remembrance*, p. 231.

¹⁵ Chichester to Salisbury, September 18, 1607 (Meehan, p. 142).

pretending that he needed funds for his journey to England, and hastened to join Maguire at Lough Swilly. Thence with his countess and his three sons, Tyrconnell and his infant son, Tyrconnell's brother Cathbar, and a number of other gentlemen, he sailed for Flanders, whence the fugitives proceeded by easy stages to Rome.¹⁶

The flight of the alleged conspirators removed the most serious obstacle from the path of the Government, but, even now, to obtain evidence which would bear publication was no easy task. Lord Howth, although perfectly ready to supply the deputy with secret information, 'could not bring a second person to justify the accusation, nor would appear himself to be the discoverer.' He hoped, however, to 'bring C. D. to discover the whole.'¹⁷ But Delvin was as reluctant as his friend to appear in the rôle of an informer; and it was only after he had been arrested and subjected to a good deal of irregular pressure that he was induced to sign a confession corroborating the most important statements of Howth's narrative.

He deposed 'that the Earl of Tyrconnell brake first with him about Christmas twelvemonth, in the garden of Maynooth, of his traitorous purposes,' warning him that, whatever services he might render to the Government, he would be neglected, as his father and St. Lawrence had been. 'Soon after this, for they had sundry conferences, the earl brake plainly with him that his purpose was to take the castle of Dublin, when the deputy and council were together.' Delvin replied 'that he liked not of the plot of taking the castle, deputy and council, for he thought the attempt hard and dangerous,' but that, if aid could be obtained from Spain, he would attempt that 'or anything else, the killing of the lord deputy excepted, whose blood I will not see spilt, for he hath ever been my good friend. The Earl of Tyrconnell told him that the Earl of Tyrone, Maguire, and sundry others would join with him, for the whole kingdom was discontented, and would declare themselves when they saw the deputy and council in their hands and the kingdom without other government than their own.' They had resolved to surprise the city and castle of Dublin and various other fortified towns, and Tyrconnell had sent a messenger to Father Florence 'to deal with the king of Spain to give them assistance, and propounded to have 10,000 men at least.' Delvin had subsequently gone to England, and had had no further communication with the conspirators until he heard from 'one Owen Groome, a friar,' that the plot had been betrayed to the Government. 'He thought sundry times he was in England to have discovered to Lord Salisbury, but

¹⁶ A list of the persons who accompanied Tyrone, taken from the *Carte MSS.* (lxi. 281), is given by Meehan, p. 553.

¹⁷ Chichester to Salisbury, September 18, 1607.

he doubted he should thereby dishonour himself and do harm to his kinswoman, the lady Tyrconnell, and make his friends his enemies.' ¹⁸

A few days later James issued a proclamation in which he declared the two earls guilty of treason, and promised to produce conclusive evidence of their crime—a promise which was never fulfilled. In a Parliament held six years afterwards an act of attainder was passed against them, and the territory over which they had once ruled was forfeited to the Crown.

Such, briefly stated, are the principal circumstances which preceded the great plantation of Ulster—the event which has contributed more than any other to shape the subsequent history of Ireland. On what evidence does the charge against the banished chieftains rest?

The case for the prosecution may be divided into two heads. First, there is the direct evidence, which, it must be acknowledged, is extraordinarily weak. It consists of the letter to Sir William Usher, of the verbal communications made by St. Lawrence to Chichester, of the confession of Delvin, and of the proclamation of James.

The evidence of the letter, on which writers who affect to believe in the reality of the conspiracy are generally disposed to rely, was such as would never be admitted in a modern court of justice. The charges contained in it were of the vaguest and least tangible kind; the author could not be induced by any promise of reward and pardon to avow himself; and it was thus impossible to subject the story to the searching test of cross-examination. There is little doubt, although the fact does not admit of positive proof, that it was inspired, if not actually written, by St. Lawrence, whose character was not such as to give credibility to his statements, and whose refusal to repeat his evidence in public must be considered as putting him completely out of court.

The so-called 'confession' of Delvin is at least equally untrustworthy; and the subsequent fortunes of that nobleman afford an additional ground for regarding his testimony with suspicion. On the 10th of November he was committed to the Castle prison, whence he escaped a few days later under circumstances which strongly suggest collusion on the part of his gaolers.¹⁹ In the following year he surrendered at discretion, and immediately received a pardon for life and estate. He was subsequently rewarded for his services with large grants of confiscated property, and in 1621 was created Earl of Westmeath.²⁰

¹⁸ Delvin's informations: enclosed by Chichester, November 6, 1607 (Meehan, pp. 228–231).

¹⁹ Chichester to the Lords of the Council, November 26, 1607 (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 333).

²⁰ Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. . p. 239.

The proclamation of the 15th of November asserts, it is true, that 'it is both known to us and our council here and to our deputy and state there, and so shall it appear to the world, as clear as the sun, by evident proofs, that the only ground and motive of this high contempt in these men's departure hath been the private knowledge and inward terror of their own guiltiness' ²¹: but neither then nor at any subsequent period were any such 'evident proofs' produced.

The language of the act of attainder is still more remarkable. The act declares that 'Hugh, late Earl of Tyrone, Rory, late Earl of Tyrconnell,' and twenty-six other persons 'most falsely and traitorously, as well by open rebellion in divers parts of this your Majesty's realm of Ireland, as well as by sundry treacherous confederacies and conspiracies, have committed, perpetrated, and done many detestable and abominable treasons against your Majesty,' and decrees that they should 'stand and be adjudged persons convicted of high treason.' ²²

In this document two points require especial notice. The first is that, with a single exception, none of the persons named in the act had been engaged in 'open rebellion' since the year 1603. Before that date most, or all, of the attainted persons had undoubtedly been in arms against the Government; but for the offences then committed they had received a full pardon, and those offences could not, without a distinct breach of faith on the part of the Government, be again urged against them. The second point which deserves attention is that, although 'sundry treacherous confederacies and conspiracies' are mentioned in the act, the charge is couched in the vaguest language, and is unsupported by even a pretence of evidence. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Irish Parliament, although willing, as was too frequently the case, to comply with the wishes of the deputy, were by no means convinced of the truth of Howth's revelations. Had it been otherwise they would scarcely have recurred for a vindication of the act of attainder to crimes committed many years earlier and long since covered by an indemnity, or have contented themselves with charging the earls in general with treasonable intentions, while studiously ignoring the very definite accusations of Howth and Delvin.

It is, however, upon the second or indirect portion of the evidence that the accusers of Tyrone and Tyrconnell have usually laid the greatest stress. There are two circumstances, and two only, which have lent a certain plausibility to the charge against them. First, they left Ireland rather than venture to stand their trial. Secondly,

²¹ Proclamation touching the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell (Meehan, pp. 169, 173).

²² 11 and 12 James I. cap. 4.

the elaborate memorials which they afterwards addressed to James contain no formal denial of the crime of which they were accused.²³

In our own day the flight of an accused person would undoubtedly be regarded as at least presumptive evidence of guilt. But it is only upon the hypothesis that the administration of justice is above suspicion that any weight can be allowed to an argument of this kind. In Ireland, in the seventeenth century, that certainly was not the case. The means which were employed a few years later to despoil the O'Byrnes of their inheritance sufficiently prove the partiality of the courts of justice, and vindicate the prudence of the Irish chieftains.²⁴

The silence of the fugitives may seem to some to afford a stronger ground for suspicion. But a moment's reflection will show that no other course was open to them. The countenance given by the deputy to their accusers must have made it plain to the most sanguine mind that they had nothing to hope from the justice or the clemency of James. Thenceforth they had to look for subsistence to a Government notoriously hostile to England. A memorial vindicating their loyalty could have been of no service to them at Dublin. But it would assuredly have entailed the loss of favour at Madrid.

The evidence on the other side will probably be regarded by impartial inquirers as conclusive. In the first place, the desolation of Ireland, and more especially of Ulster, was such that a rebellion at that moment was virtually impossible.²⁵ The ease with which the subsequent plantation was effected—for the insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty was confined to a single county and lasted only three months—is a sufficient proof how little heart there was in the country for resistance. In the second place, it is clear from the secret correspondence of the deputy that the confiscation of the northern province had been long in contemplation.²⁶ The conspiracy, therefore, if it took place at all, occurred at a moment curiously opportune for the Government—a coincidence which might well expose men more scrupulous than Chichester and Davies to suspicion. But the strongest evidence of their innocence is to be found in the subsequent conduct of the king. James, as we have seen, had pledged himself in the most solemn manner to produce proofs of the reality of the conspiracy which would convince the most prejudiced mind. Is it credible, is it conceivable, that if he had actually possessed such proofs he would have failed to produce them?

²³ Articles exhibited to the king's most excellent majesty by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell (Meehan, pp. 186-218).

²⁴ The principal documents relating to this scandalous case, extracted from the *Carte MSS.*, will be found in Gilbert's *History of the Confederation and War in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 167-216.

²⁵ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 3.

²⁶ Chichester to Salisbury, May 10, 1606 (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. i. p. 482).

Yet he never afterwards made the smallest attempt to establish the guilt of the conspirators, nor has any plausible explanation been suggested for a silence which, except upon one hypothesis, may fairly be considered as inexplicable.

The flight of the earls, whether we attribute it, with Chichester, to a guilty conscience, or, as is much more probable, to a very reasonable distrust of English justice, marks a turning point in the history of Ireland. Up to this time, although the ecclesiastical legislation of Elizabeth had produced considerable irritation even among the most loyal portion of the people, the connection of religion with Irish insurrection had been very slight. In the words of one of the most candid and judicious of our modern historians :

Of religious parties, properly so called, there were none during this (the Tudor) period. No Protestant party existed, for there were no Protestants except the agents of the Government and the official episcopacy. There were Catholic parties, for all parties were Catholic ; even that which throughout supported the acts of a Government which was politically Protestant ; but there was no Catholic party, no party whose special aim and distinguishing character were the maintenance of the Catholic Church. A religious party can only exist as the correlative of another religious party which advocates an opposing creed. The creation of the Protestant was necessary for the development of the Catholic party, and until the date of the plantation no Protestant party existed.²⁷

With the plantation of Ulster all this was changed. The confiscation of the northern province and the establishment of a large Protestant colony in the confiscated territory introduced into the country a new and permanent element of discord. Divided from the main body of their countrymen by the deep gulf of religion, the new planters never amalgamated with the aboriginal population as the earlier colonists had done ; and during a period of nearly three centuries the animosities to which the policy of Chichester gave birth continued to be the source of the most formidable difficulties which confronted the successive governors of Ireland.

PHILIP WILSON.

²⁷ Richey, *History of Ireland*, ad finem.

THE WAR OFFICE REVOLUTION AND ITS LIMITS

It must be long since any public document has been received with such an unbroken chorus of general approbation as the Report of the 'War Office (Reconstitution) Committee.' Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher, and Sir George Clarke find themselves in the fortunate position of being praised by all men ; and the Government, by promptly carrying their recommendations into effect, have apparently pleased everybody, except, perhaps, the officials who have had to be sacrificed to the exigencies of reconstruction. The military and the naval 'experts,' persons not easily contented, have little to say against the scheme ; and even the Opposition in Parliament seem content to limit their criticism to the defects disclosed by the inquiries of the War Commission. As for the public, its feelings are those of satisfaction tempered with amazement. It discovers, almost to its stupefaction, how easy War Office reform after all may be, when it is removed from the dilatory hands of Parliament and party politicians. How long would it have taken a Government to get this reorganisation through the House of Commons, if it had to be discussed through all the stages of a Bill, as was the case with the educational reforms of the past two years ? There would have been agitation, within and without, an angry development of partisan sentiment, a deluge of irrelevant oratory, unending discussion of details by more or less incompetent amateurs. All this is avoided by the application of the Royal prerogative, and the temporary institution of a kind of reforming dictatorship. Three capable men, already familiar with the question, are set to work to say what shall be done to amend the 'system.' They consult together ; go into the facts ; take evidence at the fountain-head, without any of the cumbrous paraphernalia of a Royal Commission ; and at the end of a few weeks they have their plan set forth in some pages of lucid print. There are no large generalisations or inconclusive disquisitions ; only certain distinct and specific proposals, which can be made operative at once. And the most marvellous thing is that, by a stroke of the pen, this great administrative and constitutional remodelling is accomplished. Hardly had the aston-

ished newspaper reader realised that the office of Commander-in-Chief was to be abolished, the Army Council to be established, and the War Office to be transformed on the Admiralty lines, than he discovered that these things were in fact done.

It is all so simple that one may well ask why we have had to wait for it so long. The Esher scheme merely puts into practice several of the most important points already suggested by the Hartington Commission, and the Dawkins Committee, and many other commissions and committees. Its great merit is that it reshapes the central administration of the Army, on a logical and coherent principle. It leaves the ultimate responsibility for military policy with the Cabinet, where after all it must remain, so long as our Parliamentary system is preserved. But it provides for the War Minister an authoritative board of chief officials, to advise him collectively, and individually to preside over the several great military departments. And it creates, in the revised Committee of Defence, what is practically a new Ministry of Imperial Defence, assisted by a competent staff, and charged with the special duty of co-ordinating the foreign policy of the Empire with our warlike arrangements by land and sea.

All this, as far as it goes, is excellent, and no doubt justifies the approval of the public, and the rapidity with which the Government have hastened to carry the suggestions of the three Commissioners into effect, regardless of party exigencies and personal susceptibilities. But there is some risk that our enthusiasm over a useful and necessary piece of work may blind us to the real issue. We are perhaps inclined, like Mr. Punch's guardsman, to 'look at our new caps' and say that military reform is practically completed. You do not change the whole nature of an army by altering its headgear or even its headquarters. The system which has prevailed in Pall Mall is admitted to be imperfect, and it is therefore highly desirable to improve it. If you want any concern or institution to run well, you must take care to have its machinery in good order. But let us always remember that, essential as this is, it is still not everything. Machinery alone will not make an army; still less the armed, trained, and disciplined nation, which alone can expect to cope with the exigencies of the modern struggle for predominance, whether in war or peace. The Esher Committee's Report may do much good; but only if it is remembered that it deals strictly with one part, and not the largest part, of the problem disclosed to us by the War Commission. It may work mischief, if it is imagined that we have only to act upon its recommendations, in order to have done with the whole subject, and be rid of all our onerous military obligations, without further trouble.

It is, indeed, to be hoped that we are not again going through what may be called the regular stages in this matter: which are—first, a bad breakdown of the Army, with many defects suddenly

brought to light ; secondly, an angry explosion of public feeling, with violent demands in Parliament and the Press for 'drastic' reforms ; thirdly, a Ministry rather timorously endeavouring to allay the hot fit, just as it is beginning to cool off ; and then a Commission, which, in due course, reports that extensive changes will be required at the War Office, with much shifting of places and rechristening of high functionaries. The fifth and last act is occupied with some more or less half-hearted attempts to set up the newest 'New War Office Scheme,' in the presence of an indifferent nation, which by this time has forgotten its ardour for a genuine, first-rate, modern army, cost what it may, and is quite content to hope that all will go well with the creation of another Board or two, and some further progress in 'decentralisation.' It saves a great deal of mental strain to conclude that all defects have really been due to the misdeeds of the 'War Office,' and that all will go well after repairs have been executed at that peccant establishment. This is a comparatively simple matter, and is, above all, cheap ; moreover, it has the special advantage of not in the smallest degree interfering with the comfort of the taxpaying public, and of not seriously disturbing anybody except, perhaps, some elderly officials and superannuated generals. So the tinkering and patching are done, or more probably begun and dropped in the middle ; and the nation 'looks at our new caps,' and goes to sleep again, relegating to the category of inconvenient faddists the people who will talk about conscription and compulsory service, and the failure of recruiting, and other unseasonable things, and keep dinning into its unwilling ears the fact that it is just as far as ever from the kind of army it requires.

The pending reconstruction of the War Office is much better than its predecessors—more searching, more symmetrical, more scientific—and there seems good warrant to expect that it will really be given a fair trial. But its authors would no doubt be quite ready to acknowledge that under the most favourable conditions its scope must be limited. It cannot put everything right as if by magic. It may give us a good Board of Control, a good General Staff, a good central administration, for all of which we should be cordially grateful. But we want a few other things as well : the picked brains of the country devoting themselves to the military art, a corps of hard-working, business-like, and thoroughly professional officers, a steady flow into the regimental ranks of stalwart young men not below the physical and intellectual standard of the artisan population, and a large reserve of trained civilians capable of rapid mobilisation and embodiment on emergency—a National Army, in fact, excellent in quality, and respectable in size, according to modern estimates of quantity. But to get that sort of military establishment we shall have to pay for it, in purse or person, or more probably in both. The reform of the 'system' is an essential preliminary, but that is all. It will not

relieve us of the obligations which we, alone among the great nations of the Old World, seem invincibly reluctant to acknowledge.

Many readers have derived comfort from the reflection that the War Office, under the Esher Report, is to be remoulded on the Admiralty model. The Navy commands, and no doubt deserves, the national confidence ; it is supposed to be well managed ; and we are justified in believing that it is efficient. There is evidently an idea abroad that, if the administrative method of the sea service is applied on land, it will give us an army equal to the Navy in character and quality. But here, again, are we not relying too much on 'system,' and confusing the shadow with the substance ? The virtues of our Navy are not mainly due to the fact that it is controlled by a sensibly arranged board of sailors and civil officials under the presidency of the First Lord. That may have something to do with the result, but not everything. We must look a good deal deeper for the causes of the generally admitted superiority of our maritime, compared with our military, arm. Let me attempt briefly to summarise some of these :

First, the *personnel* of the Navy is not recruited mainly from the wastrels and failures of the unskilled labour market—raw and ill-grown boys, for the most part of inferior physique and deficient intelligence, with no real interest in their military duties. Marines, blue-jackets, and artificers are carefully trained men, who make the service their business, and intend to pass the working years of their life on the 'flats' or in the engine-room. They are well paid and well treated, and as a class are fully equal to the skilled artisans of our manufacturing centres, or the picked men of the Metropolitan Police.

Secondly, the naval officer is a strictly professional man. He is caught young, submitted to an elaborate course of technical instruction, and entrusted, at an early age, with highly responsible duties, which he cannot neglect or scamp. The military officer may idle away most of his time, or devote it to sport and amusement, and yet contrive to shuffle through his regimental functions without much difficulty. But the work of the naval officer must be performed with constant zeal and intelligence, if disgrace, and even disaster, are to be avoided. There is no place for a loafer on the clattering steel deck of a fidgety over-engined destroyer, driving through a Channel gale at twenty knots an hour.

Thirdly, an army in peace-time, and particularly a British Army at home, is always 'playing at soldiers.' Men and officers are perpetually haunted by the deadening impression that they are doing things they would not be required to do in actual warfare, and rehearsing for a play which may never be presented. But with the Navy the Real Thing is always close at hand. Short of the actual fighting, the firing of shotted guns and charged torpedoes, everything during peace-time is carried on as it would be in war. The Navy

is doing its business all the time, and not merely preparing for some vaguely conceived future event, by a more or less elaborate series of pretences.

Fourthly, for the reasons just mentioned, the tone in the Navy is practical and severe. A man does not go into this service to amuse himself, or to pass the time in expensive recreation. If he has any such ideas, the stern realities of his life will speedily disillusion him. Mistakes are not condoned, and any real failure of courage, resource, or vigilance, is promptly and ruthlessly punished. We have never yet shot a general *pour encourager les autres*. We pass over gross exhibitions of incompetence on the part of a brigadier or the colonel of a battalion; while a lad of twenty, in the Navy, who had misread a chart or misunderstood a signal, would run the risk of a court-martial.

Finally, the men at the head of the Navy have got there by actual service in command. They have had to prove their capacity in the management of ships and fleets. A soldier may rise high, and never be really tested till 'the guns begin to shoot,' when the eminent paper strategist, the distinguished office administrator, may break down under the trial. But the sailor has to pass his examination, and may be 'plucked' at any time. Favouritism, and personal influence, and judicious advertising, are not quite unknown in the Navy; and second-rate officers are sometimes promoted beyond their deserts. But the flag-captain of a squadron, or the Admiral-Commanding-in-Chief, with a score of battleships and cruisers on his hands, would soon be 'found out' if he were not equal to his duties.

These things have had much more to do with creating and maintaining the excellence of our Navy than the organisation of the Central Office. It was not the Admiralty which secured our successes in the naval wars of the past, but the executive ability of the officers and the fighting quality of the sailors. The great admirals wore out their hearts complaining of the lack of proper provision for their fleets, of defective stores, insufficient supplies, corruption, and jobbery, and maladministration, and they gained their victories in spite of the folly and carelessness of 'My Lords' at home. It was under substantially the same organisation as that which exists to-day, that the Navy was allowed to fall into the dangerous condition of weakness of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, when, so far from there being a two-Power standard, it was by no means certain that we could have held the Channel against France alone. It was with the 'system' in full working order that we had our ironclads armed with muzzle-loaders, after every other important Navy had mounted breech-loading guns, and that we were building impracticable turret-ships, with low free-boards, which could not have fought, and could hardly have steered, in a sea-way. The Whitehall organisation did not save us from these and other errors and *laches*, quite as serious as any of those of which

the War Office has been recently guilty. It did not prevent us from carrying on the business of Empire for years on a quite inadequate margin of maritime strength. What did save us was the eventual realisation by the nation of its own danger, the manifestation of feeling which led to the Naval Defence Act, and the statesmanlike action of a Ministry, which moulded the public sentiment into a definite maritime policy, such as the country now understands, and is determined to maintain. We know what sort of a navy we want, what work it is intended to do, and what its relative power should be. If we had the same clear-sighted certainty about our military policy, and the same resolve to render it effective, the War Office—even the old, unreformed War Office—could have done a good deal.

It is worth while remembering that our South African failure was not solely, or even primarily, a War Office failure. We have read the evidence taken before Lord Elgin's Commission to little purpose, if we do not recognise that there were other, and deeper, underlying causes than the defectiveness of our administrative mechanism. It may be an unpopular thing to say; but I believe the impartial historian will be more inclined to wonder at the achievements of our War Office than to censure it for not doing better. After all we must not forget that the 'system,' the condemned system, taught as it was to believe that never on any occasion would it be necessary to send a hundred thousand men abroad, was suddenly faced with a demand for twice, and eventually more than three times, the number. And the demand was met. The War Office had to create a vast army out of nothing, and somehow it succeeded. Could any human being have deemed it possible, in the summer of 1899, that within twelve months the Imperial Government would have a force of nearly 300,000 men in the field? Yet the gigantic task was accomplished. That it had to be undertaken at all was really not the fault of the military bureaucracy. The blame lay with the politicians, who would not listen to the warnings of the soldiers, and plunged into war, as heedlessly as the Russians the other day; it lay with the nation itself, which had indolently acquiesced in an army indifferent in quality, and insufficient in numbers.

We now know that the Intelligence Department, starved and stinted as it was, had not neglected its duties, but on the contrary had performed them with quite remarkable ability. It knew all about the Boer armaments, it had got the Krupps, the pom-poms, and the Mausers properly tabulated, it had made a shrewd guess at the Republican plan of campaign, and it foresaw that when the Transvaal struck, the Orange Free State would strike too. From the days of the Jameson Raid onwards, its handful of alert and capable young officers in South Africa were sending home reports and memoranda, for the information of statesmen, who when the crisis came did not know that the Boers had heavy guns, did not know that they had

horses, did not think that they would fight, and staked everything on the hypothesis that they were mere boasters and cowards. With such a temper, which was not confined to the Cabinet, but was indeed that of the public at large, the best of Departments could have done little to help us. Even the Army Council, as now constituted, with the new Defence Committee, might have been powerless to avert mischances, which owed their origin to initial miscalculations, and a fatal inadequacy of available force. It could scarcely have removed, or even sensibly modified, the three elements which mainly contributed to render the Boer war needlessly protracted, ruinously expensive, and generally unsatisfactory and inglorious. These were (1) the carelessness of Ministers ; (2) the incompetence of some of the officers ; and (3) the deficiency in the number of trained troops.

Take the first point. The new Department of the Defence Committee is defined in the Esher Memorandum as ' a permanent Institution charged with the duties and responsibilities of calling the attention of the Prime Minister of the day to strategic problems of defence, to the actual condition of our armaments, and to the relation which the latter should bear to the former.' If it had been in existence in the summer of 1899, its Permanent Secretary would undoubtedly have made the Cabinet acquainted with the fact that, while our diplomacy was heading straight for war with the Dutch Republics, our military preparations were utterly inadequate. But, even without the assistance of a Department of Imperial Defence, the military chiefs did convey this information to the Cabinet. It is difficult to conceive that any warnings, received from a permanent official of somewhat subordinate status, could have been more impressive than the exhortations and admonitions of Lord Wolseley and Sir Redvers Buller. As early as the 8th of June 1899, four months before the outbreak of hostilities, Lord Wolseley strongly urged the immediate mobilisation of an Army Corps and a Cavalry Division at Salisbury or Aldershot, which could be kept ready for embarkation to South Africa at a moment's notice. The advice, again emphatically repeated on the 7th of July, was ignored by the Cabinet, for political reasons. What ground is there for assuming that the Permanent Secretary of the Defence Committee would have carried more weight than the Commander-in-Chief ? To be ready, in time, even with 40,000 men was, we are told, ' never seriously entertained by the Government,'¹ because that would have clashed with their theory that the Boers were not, after all, going to fight. Yet they had before them the Paper sent to the Intelligence Department by Major Altham—an admirable officer to whom less than justice has been done—dated nearly a year earlier, which contained the following passage :

The Transvaal has, during the last two years, made military preparations on a scale which can only be intended to meet the contingency of a contest with Great Britain. These preparations still continue, and the condition of affairs in

South Africa has practically now become that of an armed neutrality, which may last for years or may culminate in war at very short notice. At the outbreak of such a war we shall at first be in a decided numerical inferiority; moreover, we should have to face the problem of protecting a very long frontier, and should be handicapped by a certain amount of disloyalty within our own borders; at least a month or six weeks must elapse before any appreciable reinforcements could arrive from England or India. The problem of defence would therefore be a difficult one, and its difficulty will be enhanced by the fact that any mistake or lack of firmness at the outset would seriously affect subsequent operations.

True, these prophetic statements, again and again repeated, were filtered through the heads of the War Department instead of being made directly to the Premier. But by the 5th of September, 1899, the then Prime Minister was seised of the opinions, both of the titular Chief of the Army, and of the General nominated to command the forces in South Africa. On the date mentioned, Sir Redvers Buller addressed a strongly worded Memorandum to the late Lord Salisbury, in which he said that he 'was not happy' as to the way things were going, and added:

There must be some period at which the military and the diplomatic or political forces are brought into line, and in my view this ought to be before action is determined on—in other words, before the diplomat proceeds to an ultimatum, the military should be in a position to enforce it. . . . So far as I am aware the War Office has no idea of how matters are proceeding, and has not been consulted. I mean that they do not know how fast diplomacy is moving.

And on the same day Lord Wolseley, in a Minute addressed to Lord Lansdowne, wrote:

We have committed one of the very greatest blunders in war: namely, we have given the enemy the initiative. He is in a position to take the offensive, and by striking the first blow to ensure the great advantage of winning the first 'round.' . . . I submit that it is urgently necessary that our diplomacy and our military preparations should work hand in hand. We are now in danger of giving over the initiative to Mr. Kruger, because our negotiations with him have been conducted without a full knowledge of all the military conditions of the case.

The new Defence Department, which is to be a kind of substitute, so it is stated, for the German Great General Staff, is intended to secure us against the repetition of that kind of perilous error. But Ministers, who would press on, heedless of their Commander-in-Chief and their 'fighting General,' are not easily checked in their career. The Russians have a General Staff, modelled on the German lines, and supposed to be strong on the Intelligence side; but it did not prevent the Empire from being launched into war at an absolutely hopeless disadvantage. This is not a reason for doing without a General Staff; but it does suggest that the best departmental machinery in the world cannot take the place of foresight, firmness, self-control and common sense.

The second of our misfortunes was that our officers did not prove altogether satisfactory. Certain of the men in high command were particularly disappointing, and some generals, who went out with distinguished reputations, broke down rather badly. Here again we must not expect too much from mere 'War Office Reform.' When any army goes into its first serious campaign after a long peace, it must make use of such material as it has to hand. There may be a potential Napoleon among the sub-lieutenants, or a Bernadotte in the uniform of a corporal; but till their qualities reveal themselves we must be content with the generals and colonels who have been commanding districts and regiments. If the Army Council is strong enough to stand up against 'social influence' and Service snobbery, it will give the capable man, without birth or wealth, a better chance of coming to the front. But it must have a sufficient reservoir to draw upon; and that is a question rather for the nation and Parliament than one of departmental reorganisation. 'There appears to be too often,' said Lord Kitchener,² 'a want of serious study of their profession by officers, who are, I think, rather inclined to deal too lightly with military questions of moment.' In other words, we must get the officer to work as hard at his duties as any other professional man; which he cannot be expected to do until he obtains something more than a ridiculous pittance from the State by way of remuneration.

Nor will headquarters reconstruction of itself remedy the worst of all our military deficiencies. Our Army is to-day, precisely as it was in the summer of 1899, far too weak to meet the calls which may be made upon it, for all that we know, before these pages are in print. We stand substantially where we did before the War, with the regulars a few thousands stronger, and the auxiliaries a good many thousands weaker. The Volunteer battalions are melting away under the eyes of their bewildered colonels; the Militia is 34,000 below its establishment; the Reserve of the Militia is barely 10 per cent. of its nominal strength. It is still highly doubtful whether we could send abroad our nominal three Army Corps and a Cavalry Division, without a great and costly effort; it is certain that, if we wanted a much larger force, we should have to go back to the old disorganising process of enlisting untrained civilians at five shillings a day, and taking anything we could get from the Colonies. There is no reason to suppose that the quality of the Line regiments is more satisfactory than it was four years ago. The last Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting is as gloomy as ever. From this depressing document we learn that the percentage of rejections for physical unfitness was the highest for nine years, and that the percentage of boys under seventeen years of age is the highest on record. So that our Regular Army, if we except a few picked corps,

² *War Commission Report*, p. 53.

is still largely composed of derelicts and weeds, and even of these we do not obtain enough to make up our meagre establishment. Behind this force we have no real reserves worth mentioning, and indeed are probably worse off—owing to the demoralisation of the Militia and the dwindling of the Volunteers—than we were in the 'nineties. This is our real Military Problem, and it is not the New Scheme and the Army Council, or even the Cabinet Committee of Defence, that will solve it by an automatic process.

The danger is that in our affection for the War Office Scheme we may jump to the conclusion that there has ceased to be a problem to solve. It is the peril which attends every attempt to remodel our military administration. The public is only too anxious to believe that the reform of the 'Department' is the end of the whole business. This was precisely the deduction which was hastily drawn from the publication of the excellent Clinton Dawkins Report in 1901; and it was necessary then to insist that, even if all the suggestions of that useful State Paper were adopted, we should still be only at the commencement of the graver task before the country. That task is to provide an Army at once better and bigger than our present Home Service force—to give us more soldiers, and those of superior quality to most of the men in our Line battalions. If we are to trust entirely to voluntary recruiting, we shall be compelled to render it effective by offering something like the reward which a respectable labourer might expect in civil life, and we shall have to make soldiering a good trade for a steady man.

If this method is deemed too costly, we shall be obliged to fall back on the Militia ballot or on compulsory service in some other form. Lord Esher himself has stated, in a Note to the Report of the War Commission, that he cordially agrees with Sir George Taubman-Goldie's Scheme of National Military Education, which he regards as 'the only practical alternative to conscription.' With the lesson of Port Arthur staring us in the face, and the knowledge that a couple of dare-devil torpedo lieutenants, favoured by luck and dirty weather, may alter the balance of maritime power in a night, even the enthusiasts of the Naval School should admit that a great reserve force for home defence by land is not exactly a superfluous luxury. Nor is it possible to survey the political horizon and to feel confident that we may not again find ourselves involved in warlike operations in Europe or Asia, under conditions in which we could not rely upon sea-power alone. In one way or other we are driven back remorselessly to the unwelcome conclusion that we are not going to be relieved of our present perilous ineffectiveness, in regard to our land defences, without a sustained and serious effort. Writing of the Dawkins Committee in this Review, two years and a half ago, it was urged that we should not 'commit the fatal error of supposing that we can keep our hands and our money in our pockets,

dispense with the burdens and sacrifices which are laid upon most other peoples, and nevertheless provide ourselves with a perfectly efficient and satisfactory army by the cheap and simple process of remodelling the War Office.'³ One cannot help thinking that Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher and Sir George Clarke would themselves concur in this opinion; and it may be that the distinguished triumvirate will have some further communication to make, which may bring home the true facts of the situation to the public mind in an inconveniently emphatic fashion.

SIDNEY LOW.

³ 'The Danger of the War Office Report,' in the number of this Review for August 1901.

SOME DUTIES OF NEUTRALS

I HAVE been asked, and at very short notice, to answer briefly some questions of international law which have already arisen, or are likely to arise, in the present war. With the space and time at my disposal I cannot do more than say generally what I conceive to be the true doctrine; and what is stated is subject to a reservation. It may be a prejudice, but any one trained as are English lawyers answers abstract, or A and B, questions with hesitation. The casuist may determine them with confidence and ease; he has his complete theoretical system, the sharp *distinguos*, of his manual. The ordinary practising lawyer, applying living and growing principles, desires to be properly instructed, to know as to the case put to him the concrete circumstances which edify and illuminate, before speaking with confidence. If this is prudent as to municipal law, on the whole reduced as it is to order, such caution is pre-eminently expedient as to international law, still largely fluid and indefinite, and subject to discretionary considerations. Another general observation is not out of place. Many parts of the neutrality laws are still obscure. The Powers which met at The Hague, before they dispersed, passed a resolution expressing a hope that the question of the rights and duties of a neutral State should be considered by a future Conference; the Institut de Droit International, continuing its good work, has appointed a Committee to investigate the subject; and Mr. Holls has said with truth that 'the elaboration of a Code of Neutrality, as it was called at Delft by President Asser, of the Institute of International Law, should be the first addition to the Magna Charta of The Hague.' But without Conferences, and largely without legislation or treaties, much has been done to define that which about half a century ago—for example, during the American Civil War—was indefinite. The true nature of neutrality; the notion, now accepted, that it is not merely a continuance of peace, but a peculiar condition creating special duties on the part of neutral States towards belligerents; the abandonment of the notion of 'qualified' neutrality; the tacit assumption that, there being a community of nations, none of them can go its own way just as if war were not in progress; the restriction at many points of the

extreme pretensions of neutrals and belligerents—most of these things are of modern growth. There has been formed a rough code, obeyed on the whole as faithfully as is any municipal system. It is the creation in the main of lawyers who have reduced to shape and something like consistency, modified, and improved, practices which they found ready to their hand. Every war adds a fresh chapter to this code, or elucidates some obscure article in it. I cannot help thinking that when examined by future historians the creation of this code—the growing ascendancy of the industrial forces, the voice of law making itself more and more heard in war—will be regarded as one of the great civilising movements of the nineteenth century. The defects which exist are partly due to the haphazard way in which this law has been put together. They also largely come from the too potent presence of national prejudices and the prevalence of what may be called patriotic jurisprudence. In this matter opinions are apt to follow the flag. Writers whom I need not name are avowed belligerents, and are always in these discussions manœuvring for a good position for their country. There are, too, inconsistencies and defects ascribable to the backward state of public opinion as to one or two ethical problems. Perhaps there will come a time when a blockade-runner will be regarded much in the same light as is a pirate or a privateer. Perhaps the selling of guns and munitions of war to combatants will one day not appear to any one a clean and respectable business. For the present, opinion condones these things; and so does international law, with the result that it contains not a few inconsistent precepts and examples of arrested development.

Before answering the questions which have been put to me, a word as to the tendencies of the changes now going on as to the laws of neutrality. They are the outcome of a series of struggles between the conflicting interests of neutral and belligerent nations. For some centuries the advantages lay, on the whole, with the latter. The law of the sea followed the flag which happened to be dominant on it. Of late, neutrals have fared better than they did. Since 1812 there has been no very serious naval war between two States each with powerful navies able to enforce against neutrals their behests or policy. Since the American Civil War few matters of the first importance to belligerents have arisen, and the interests of neutrals have, on the whole, been favourably considered.

The first question which I have been asked is: 'Would it be a breach of neutrality to float a loan in England for either Russia or Japan?' Of course, if the loan were advanced or guaranteed, or in any way supported by our Government, it would be a flagrant breach of neutrality. According to well-known text-books, relying on certain decisions (not much in point) of our Courts, when a loan was

being raised in aid of the Greek insurrection about 1824, and to a legal opinion given by the King's Advocate and the Solicitor-General, it is illegal for private persons, subjects of a neutral State, to raise or advance money to a belligerent State. I cannot think that this is sound doctrine. In view of the fact that the subjects of neutral States may freely sell to belligerents commodities, including contraband of war, subject to the risk of capture, and that even contracts for the purpose of effecting a breach of blockades are not illegal, it is difficult to understand why it should be illegal to raise in England, or in any neutral State, a loan for the benefit of Japan or Russia. Such loans have been raised in neutral countries, and no one has ever been prosecuted for his share in the matter. It may be taken for granted that, in these days, helping a belligerent with a loan will be regarded in the same light as supplying him with money's worth.¹

'What supplies may a belligerent cruiser receive at a neutral port?' Even as late as the American Civil War doubts as to this point existed. Now, however, the answer is clear. All the proclamations or declarations of neutrality—and most States nowadays issue them²—follow much the same lines, though none of them are so full in detail as those of Great Britain. The enemy's ship may take on board coal sufficient to carry her to 'the nearest port of her own country or to some nearer named neutral destination.' Thus a Russian vessel of war arriving at Malta from Krónstadt might demand coal to take her home, but she would properly be refused coal sufficient to take her to Port Arthur. Of course, this restriction might be evaded by coaling repeatedly first at the port of one State and then at that of another. But a neutral State which winked at such evasions of a tolerably well-recognised rule would justly be held blamable by any international Court. Nor may the belligerent cruiser receive a fresh supply in a British port until after three months, unless in special circumstances.³ The recognised rule is eminently favourable to England, with her girdle round the earth of possessions and coaling

¹ It is right to note that in the legal opinion referred to there is the observation, 'With respect to loans, if entered into merely with commercial objects, we think, according to the opinions of writers on the law of nations and the practice which has prevailed, they would not be an infringement of neutrality.' See Mr. Gladstone's answer on the subject in the House of Commons on the 24th of April, 1873. It is needless to say that the sale of arms to a belligerent Government by a neutral Government would be regarded as an offence against international law. No one now defends the sale of rifles by the United States to France in 1870. Sir George Cornwall Lewis (*Letters*, p. 396) writes: 'The new American Minister for France, who lately passed through this country, sent us a message through Dallas that his Government wished to purchase arms of our Government. We shall decline on the ground of neutrality.'

² Germany did not issue a declaration of neutrality in the Russo-Turkish, the Chinese-Japanese, or Turkish-Greek wars.

³ Some proclamations say, 'Until a reasonable time has elapsed, such as may make it possible for the ship to have returned after accomplishing her voyage to a foreign port.'

stations. It works harshly against States possessing no colonies or few of them. It operates against no States more severely than against Japan and Russia. It is sometimes made the subject of bitter complaints by foreign jurists. The justification of it is that the only alternatives are to refuse to supply coal to belligerent vessels or to frame a rule avowedly aimed against England. Another rule which tells against countries without colonies—which prompts many foreign critics to say that maritime international law has been fashioned in the interests of England—is that a belligerent vessel may effect repairs to enable her to continue her voyage, but that she may not add to her armament or crew or military stores. The inconvenience of such a rule to Germany, for example, with few ports outside the *Reich* and still fewer docks capable of receiving and repairing battleships, is obvious. Whether these and some other rules will remain intact as the naval strength of other countries grows may well be doubted.

‘Would it have been permissible for the Japanese Admiral to enter Chemulpo Harbour and attack the Russian vessels *Variag* and *Koriets* had they refused to come out?’ Certainly not. Indeed, it would have been the duty of the port authorities to prevent this by all means in their power on pain of being fairly treated as enemies by the aggrieved belligerent. Some of the proclamations of neutrality are explicit on this point or others akin to it. Thus the proclamation issued by Brazil on the outbreak of the war between Spain and the United States recited the rule that an interval of twenty-four hours should elapse between the sailing from a Brazilian port of two vessels of the two belligerents, and added: ‘Brazilian forts and ships of war shall fire on an armed ship preparing to leave before the fixed period has elapsed after the departure of the ship belonging to the other belligerent.’

‘May a vessel of war, dreading capture, remain in neutral waters until the squadron which is on the outlook for her departs?’ Here, too, there is general agreement. The port authorities will not be doing their duty if they do not call upon the belligerent vessel to depart after twenty-four hours, unless she is in distress by reason of storm, or is suffering from sea damage or want of provisions. In the proclamation of neutrality by the Russian Government on the outbreak of the war between Spain and the United States, it was expressly stated: ‘Les bâtiments de guerre de deux Puissances belligérantes ne pourront entrer dans les ports russes que pour 24 heures’ except by special permission of the Imperial Government; a declaration which seems to have escaped the attention of the commander of the Russian gunboat *Mandjur*. ‘May wheat or rice in any circumstances be treated as contraband?’ Speaking generally, neither is contraband. The attempt on the part of the French Government in 1885 to treat the latter as contraband met with the

protest of our Government, and was abandoned. Nor would the possibility of these commodities finding their way circuitously into the possession of an army or of a besieged fortress suffice to stamp them as contraband. They must be actually destined for the enemy's military or naval forces to justify a prize court condemning them.

'May goods which are intended for a neutral port be in any circumstances seized? May a Japanese cruiser overhauling a vessel with military saddles for a port in China seize them on the ground that they are really destined for the Russian troops?' This is the vexed question of continuous voyages; a question as to which opinion has long been divided, but as to which it has at last, I take it, declared itself in favour of the belligerent's right to seize contraband goods, even when consigned to a neutral port, if there are clear proofs that the neutral port is only a stage in the conveyance of the goods to the enemy.⁴

'May Russian or Japanese officers be conveyed to the East in neutral vessels without these being in' peril of being treated as conveying quasi-contraband?' This is a question of more or less, to be answered safely only with full information as to the number conveyed, the knowledge of the carriers, and other circumstances. And the same may be said of the question also put, whether the doctrine of continuous voyages applies to officers or soldiers conveyed as passengers on a neutral vessel. Nor can I attempt to answer, without many reservations as to the meaning of such words as 'fitting out' and 'due diligence,' the question 'whether the three rules of the Washington Treaty have become part of international law.' But it may be noted that these rules, expressly mentioned in the declarations of our Government as to neutrality in 1898, are not referred to in the instructions issued the other day.

'May belligerents cut submarine cables belonging to or touching the territory of neutral States?' On this point jurisprudence is still quite uninformed. The attempts to clear up the matter by reference to supposed analogies drawn from the practice as to blockade have not been very happy. Probably the prevalent view is that stated in the code of naval warfare prepared by Captain Stockton, of the United States Navy, and published with the approval of the President.

(a) Submarine telegraphic cables between points in the territory of an enemy, or between the territory of the United States and an enemy, are subject to such treatment as the necessities of war may require.

⁴ The change in opinion is recorded in the successive attempts of the Institut de Droit International to solve the problem. A cogent argument for the old view is found in Mr. Baty's *International Law in South Africa*.

(b) Submarine telegraphic cables between the territory of an enemy and neutral territory may be interrupted within the territorial jurisdiction of the enemy.

(c) Submarine telegraphic cables between two neutral territories shall be held inviolable and free from interruption.⁵

‘May a belligerent cruiser overhaul a neutral mail steamer and open her mail-bags in search of despatches for the enemy?’—a question sure to present itself often in future wars. The view stated in the United States Naval Code is not one which would have recommended itself to Lord Stowell, with his strong bias for belligerent rights, but it probably expresses the accepted rule, so far as any can be said to exist. ‘Mail steamers under neutral flags carrying such despatches—hostile despatches—in the regular and customary manner, either as a part of their mail in their mail-bags or separately, as a matter of accommodation and without special arrangement or remuneration, are not liable to seizure and should not be detained, except upon clear grounds of suspicion of a violation of the laws of war with respect to contraband, blockade, or unneutral service, in which case the mail-bags must be forwarded with seals unbroken.’

These are imperfect answers to questions some of which are elementary, some obscure. Others much more difficult and probably wholly novel can scarcely fail to arise as the war proceeds, if only by reason of the fact that warlike operations may probably be conducted in territory which belongs to neither of the belligerents. Thus the old questions as to ‘the right of passage’ for troops through neutral territory may come up in a perplexing form. It is satisfactory to reflect that nowhere has international law been lately studied with more zeal than in Japan. Her lawyers have established an Institute of International Law, and publish a journal devoted to its development. In the war with China she justified her admission into the community of nations by acting with rare humanity, and with a marked desire to observe international law; and her proclamations of neutrality have been framed on English models. In Mr. Takahashi, Mr. Ariga, and others, the Japanese Government have, as they had in 1898, skilled advisers. Mr. Takahashi says with some justice: ‘A law-abiding spirit, especially in war, has been from ancient times a characteristic of Japan.’

JOHN MACDONELL.

⁵ The Institut de Droit International has adopted certain rules which are in some respects, I conceive, open to objections (*Annuaire*, 19, 331).

LAST MONTH

I

‘If you want a picture of humiliation,’ said Sidney Herbert on a famous occasion, ‘you have only to look there,’ and he pointed across the floor of the House of Commons to the Treasury Bench to explain his meaning. It was probably the hardest saying ever flung at that oft-besieged citadel of power, and it is not one to be lightly or unadvisedly repeated. But if ever since Mr. Herbert’s day there was a time when the taunt could be renewed without flagrant injustice, it was during the debate on the Address last month. Never in modern times has the Treasury Bench presented a spectacle so humiliating as that which was then seen. The Prime Minister was unhappily absent, struck down by a severe illness that justly evoked the sympathy of everybody without regard to political opinions. But Prime Ministers, even the greatest of them, have been kept away from their post before to-day without confusion and impotence falling upon their colleagues in consequence of their enforced absence. On this occasion, Mr. Balfour being prevented from performing his duty, everything seemed to go wrong with the members of the Government. All that they were asked to do by the amendment moved by Mr. Morley on behalf of the Opposition was to make their position with regard to Mr. Chamberlain’s ‘raging and tearing agitation’ clear to the House of Commons and the country. It was a demand which the Opposition were unquestionably entitled to make, and in the interest of all parties it was one which ought to have been satisfied. The frivolous pretext that Mr. Chamberlain is now a private member, and that consequently his views upon any question are not matters with which the Government have any need to concern themselves, is too ridiculous even to call for discussion. If there were any foundation for it a single sentence from a responsible Minister would have sufficed to set the whole matter at rest. But no such sentence was spoken during the six nights’ debate. On the contrary, the speakers on the Treasury Bench tumbled over each other in dire confusion as they tried by a too redundant oratory to confuse the issue, and to evade the plain and simple question that had been put to them. Nor was their

manifest shrinking from anything in the nature of an explicit answer their worst offence. Under the clouds of words which they emitted they spoke with different voices. Whilst all were vague, those who listened to them soon found that one section of the Government held one view of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, whilst another section held a different one. On one evening the chief spokesman of the Treasury Bench filled a large number of the Ministerial party with alarm and indignation by his apparent repudiation of the attempt to re-establish protection. On the next a Minister who spoke with equal authority struck dismay into the hearts of the Free Traders on the Government side by his arguments in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. Through it all there was no attempt to deal fairly with the House or the country. Tricky and confused to the last were all the declarations of policy which were uttered from the Treasury Bench, and no man was entitled to say when the division was taken, and the normal majority of the Government was reduced by more than one half, that he really understood what Ministers believed and where they were seeking to lead their followers. Humiliation, I cannot but think, is almost too mild a word to describe a spectacle so ignominious and so completely without precedent in our Parliamentary annals.

The claim of the House of Commons—I mean of the present House of Commons—to a frank and honest avowal of the mind of the Government may not be very high; but, after all, even Mr. Balfour and his colleagues might have remembered that there is such a thing as the nation to be considered. For months past business has been disturbed and public affairs embarrassed by the attempt of Mr. Chamberlain to create a new party and force a new economic policy upon the country. His opponents may have no fear of the results of a fair struggle between him and them. But though they have no fear of any real discussion of the question which he has raised so recklessly and unnecessarily, they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that he has done an immense amount of mischief to the national interests by the way in which he has brought it forward. Playing always to the gallery, he has got the gallery with him. Political propagandas when they are conducted, as I hinted a month ago, on the lines of a travelling show are certain to make a fleeting impression, at least upon the shallow and unthinking. Fortunately, the impression is seldom one that lasts. The debate on Mr. Morley's amendment to the Address was unique in other respects besides the incredible impotence displayed by the Treasury Bench. Its greatest claim to distinction lay in the fact that the overwhelming weight of argument was upon one side. The speeches delivered in defence of free trade reached a level far above the average in parliamentary debates, whilst those delivered in defence of Mr. Chamberlain's propositions were not only few in number, but with scarcely an exception contemptible in argument.

I have no wish to disparage the utterances of the leading members of the Opposition, but the most interesting feature of the debate lay in the earnest and almost impassioned attacks which were made upon Ministers from their own side of the House. Nobody, except the journalists who have attached themselves to the cause of 'fiscal reform,' can pretend to regard these declarations with indifference. They were made by men who have sacrificed office, and imperilled their whole future careers, in order to secure the right to speak their minds, and, as it happens, in parliamentary weight and authority these assailants of Mr. Chamberlain, and, indirectly, of the Government, stood on a far higher level than the men who ventured to stand forth as apologists for the reactionary policy of Birmingham. If reason and common sense, to say nothing of moral and intellectual authority, have any weight with the people of this country, it is difficult to see how the fallacies on which the new policy is founded can survive for a single day. Mr. Chamberlain himself was absent from the debate. For his own sake this was to be regretted; but even his audacity and his strange disregard of facts except, as he has told us, as 'illustrations' would have availed him little against the overwhelming weight of the attack to which his policy was subjected. When he comes back from Egypt, fully restored, it is to be hoped, to health, he must, if he wishes to retain a shred of credit as a serious politician, apply himself to the task of mastering the arguments of his opponents, and of doing what he can to meet them. For the present, the obsolete policy of protection which he has endeavoured to refloat on the tide of party passion lies stranded and helpless, as completely riddled by the shot and shell of his adversaries as was the old *Belleisle* after the Admiralty had finished their experiments upon it with modern weapons and explosives.

No Minister, either in the House of Commons or in the subsequent debate in the House of Lords, ventured upon anything that could be called a thoroughgoing defence of the Birmingham policy, but, in spite of urgent appeals from their own followers, the Government, as I have said, refused to give any straightforward explanation of their position. At the last moment, it is true, the Home Secretary, in reply to a direct question from a member of his own party, repudiated any proposal to tax food or raw materials. In other words, he knocked the bottom out of Mr. Chamberlain's ship. But, taking the debate as a whole, it was impossible to regard even this declaration as conclusive. In the division on a question which Ministers had insisted upon making one of confidence, their majority fell to fifty-one, less than half its normal strength. Twenty-seven members of the Unionist party voted for the amendment. There were many abstentions, and amongst those who gave the Government their support were not a few who avowedly did so on the strength of the Home Secretary's tardy repudiation of Mr. Chamberlain.

A month ago I had to comment upon the break-up of the Liberal-Unionist party. The debate and division on Mr. Morley's amendment clearly portend the disintegration of the once united Ministerialists. Such is the result, inevitable in the circumstances, of the Prime Minister's lack of courage and conviction. Strangely enough the Ministerial majority in the House of Lords against Lord Crewe's motion on the tariff question was precisely the same as in the House of Commons—fifty-one. The debate made it clear that there is a strong feeling of antagonism among the Peers to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, whilst the division—upon such a question—touched the low-water mark of Ministerial authority in the Hereditary Chamber. If one turns from Parliament to the country, it is only to find further proofs of the extent to which Mr. Chamberlain's disastrous enterprise has damaged his party. Two elections have taken place, since I last wrote, for the Ayr Burghs and Mid-Herts. Both were represented by supporters of the Ministry; both have now returned Liberals to the House of Commons. Following upon the results of the other elections which have taken place since last May, they establish beyond dispute the fact that the country refuses to accept the retrograde proposal to destroy free trade, and to re-establish in its place the barbarous methods of protectionism.

For the present Free Traders may very well rest satisfied with the state of the campaign. So far they have resisted with complete success the attacks of the enemy, and so long as they have the support of the great economic authorities of the City and of the bulk of the working classes all over the country, they can await the next movement of their impetuous adversary with confidence and equanimity. But Ministers are not in this happy position, and for a very excellent reason. Their want of courage in dealing with the Chamberlain propaganda has had a damaging effect upon their *prestige*, already sufficiently low. They have satisfied nobody except the trimmers on their own side, whose sole desire is to keep their seats as long as possible. To other people, who have at least been able to make up their minds on the question submitted to the country, they present that picture of humiliation of which I have spoken. That they are divided in opinion among themselves is evident from their utterances. Their one desire manifestly is to commit themselves to nothing definite and to stick to office. The Protectionists must despise their policy of shirk and funk as heartily as the Free Traders do. But Mr. Chamberlain and his friends have one advantage over their opponents. They believe, rightly or wrongly, that at the proper moment Ministers will descend from the fence on their side. They are convinced that when Mr. Balfour discards the grotesque mask of retaliatory duties it will be to show himself as the ally of Mr. Chamberlain. This is the reason why the friends of free trade are compelled to maintain the struggle and

not to allow themselves to be lulled into a feeling of security by their obvious successes in the field. In the meantime the Government are reaping as they have sown. It is not on the fiscal question only that their majority has been cut down by more than 50 per cent. The division on the amendment to the Address on the subject of the importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal showed them once more with a majority of exactly fifty-one. In itself it is of course a sufficient majority, one which could keep them in office for a couple of years to come. But it marks a fatal loss of reputation and moral influence on the part of the Government, and it opens the way for those 'accidents' which have so often put an end to administrations even when they still appeared to command considerable majorities in Parliament.

The common plea of those who seek to excuse themselves for continuing to support a Ministry in which they admit that they no longer have confidence, is that they do not see where an alternative Government is to be found. After Mr. Chamberlain's virtual acknowledgment of the fact that we were caught unprepared in the meshes of the South African war, owing to his having indulged in a not very clever game of bluff with President Kruger, and after the revelations made in the debate on Chinese labour as to the consequences of the war, so far as the economic condition of the Transvaal is concerned, it is difficult to understand the frame of mind of those who advance this plea. 'After all, it may fairly be urged, no possible alternative Government could conceivably make greater and more dangerous mistakes than those committed by the present Administration. But, as a matter of fact, the pretence that it would be impossible to find another Government equal to the task now being performed by that which has been not unjustly described as a Cabinet of caretakers, is an insult to the intelligence of the country. Everybody knows that when the inevitable comes and the King is called upon to entrust the formation of a new Ministry to the statesman whom he selects for that duty, there will be no lack of men conspicuous for both ability and public service who will be ready to join it. A glance at the recent division lists in both Houses of Parliament must set at rest any doubts on this point. For the present, however, the business of the Opposition is not to indulge in the construction of fancy Cabinets, but to compel the present Cabinet to come out of the zariba inside which it is sheltering, and to give the country a straightforward account of its honest opinions and its real policy. Unless it does this, though it may continue to command the votes of a subservient and rapidly dwindling majority in Parliament, it must remain in the eyes of the electors under the imputation of being the secret ally of Mr. Chamberlain in his attempt to found a new party and policy on the taxation of the food of the people.

The strange optimism which prevailed so long in Europe as to the outcome of the prolonged diplomatic dispute between Russia and Japan was rudely shattered on the 8th of February by the announcement that Japan had broken off the negotiations, and meant to take such steps as she thought necessary in order to assert her rights. For more than two months past it was clear that this must be the inevitable end of the correspondence between Tokio and St. Petersburg, and it is difficult to understand how the public, either here or elsewhere, could have allowed themselves to entertain any other opinion. It is of little use now to recall the different stages through which diplomacy advanced to this lamentable conclusion. For months Russia held the Japanese at arms' length, saying neither yea nor nay to the demands of her rival, but treating the latter in a way that proved that she regarded Japan as an inferior Power with which it was almost an indignity to have to deal. Whatever else may be the outcome of the struggle now in progress, it is at least certain that the diplomatic methods of Russia and the strategy which has so often availed her in her quarrels with Western Powers, have been fatally and irrevocably discredited. The Czar, if he is a wise man, as he is undoubtedly a pacific one, must know, henceforth, that there are occasions on which Russian diplomacy serves neither the best interests of his own country nor the cause of peace.

It is, of course, far too soon to attempt to forecast the issue of a struggle which, on the face of it, seems so unequal. Japan is immeasurably inferior to Russia, not only in territory and population, but in those resources which, as a rule, tell in the long run in favour of the Power that possesses them. But for her the present conflict is a struggle for life, and her people seem to be animated as one man by a patriotism so intense that it is prepared to accept any sacrifices that may be needed to secure the safety of the country. The intelligence of the Japanese, stimulated by their comparatively recent admission to the civilised races of the world, has been shown to be remarkable in many different branches of human effort; but nowhere, as the war with China proved, has it shone more conspicuously than in naval and military operations. The Japanese, moreover, as fighting men have given proof of the fact that in one important respect they are superior to the Christian races of the West. They have no fear of death. To give their lives for their country is not the sacrifice that it is to even the bravest of Europeans. In addition to these formidable equipments of intense patriotism and absolute lack of fear, they enjoy the immense advantage of their insular position, which they have turned to such good account that they have become relatively as great a maritime Power in the East as Great Britain is in the West. Russia, with her boundless area and population, and her enormous material resources, may affect to despise them as a puny and inferior race, with whom it is unnecessary

to treat on equal terms ; but if the statesmen of St. Petersburg had duly weighed the considerations I have suggested, it is not improbable that the negotiations would have had a different issue.

The beginning of the war was startling and dramatic. Japan, having drawn the sword, lost no time in using it. Russia was caught napping at Port Arthur, and almost before she had begun to contemplate any action by her presumptuous foe as possible, she had received a staggering and astounding blow. On the night of the 8th of February, a Japanese torpedo flotilla attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, and disabled their two most powerful battleships and their swiftest cruiser. On the following day, the Japanese fleet appeared in force, and bombarded the town and harbour so effectively that four more Russian ships of war were placed *hors de combat*. Thus, within twenty-four hours of the outbreak of hostilities, the whole condition of things, so far as naval supremacy was concerned, was altered. Russia, which in point of naval armaments had been almost on an equality with Japan, was suddenly deprived of many of her most powerful fighting vessels, and the command of the sea was secured by her enemy. Since then other engagements have taken place at sea, and they have resulted almost invariably in favour of the Japanese. How it comes to pass that Russia should have been so helpless to defend her own navy it is difficult to say. The fact remains that at this moment, so far as sea power is concerned, she is at the mercy of the foe she despised.

That she is beginning to realise the true nature of the contest on which she has embarked is proved by the official statement which the Czar's Government has addressed to the people. In this remarkable document the nation is warned that it must wait with patience for the time when Russia can strike with effect at its audacious enemy. It is impossible not to see in this declaration, coupled with the actual state of affairs in Manchuria, a practical acknowledgment on the part of Russia that she has lost the first stage of the campaign. No longer able to command the sea, she is compelled to give up to Japan the control of the Korean and Manchurian coasts, and to trust solely to the dangerously slender and uncertain link of communication which the Siberian Railway furnishes for the maintenance and reinforcement of her troops in the field. Her military position is undoubtedly a perilous one, and all her resources will be required to enable her to retrieve it.

The diplomatic situation created by the war is one of exceptional gravity. Russia has an ally in France as Japan has one in Great Britain. If this conflict had broken out two years ago, before this country had recovered from the struggle in South Africa, and before the good understanding with our French neighbours had been arrived at, the strong probability is that the war would almost

instantaneously have been extended, and France and England would have found themselves involved in it. Most happily for the interests of peace and civilisation, the rupture has been deferred until a different state of things has arisen, and it is possible for the statesmen, at least, of the two Western Powers to consider their situation calmly and dispassionately. In England, although the exasperation caused by the peculiar diplomatic methods of Russia is still very great, there is no desire to go beyond the limits laid down by our treaty with Japan and to interfere in a quarrel which the Japanese on their part declare that they desire to fight out for themselves. In France it is evident that the glamour of the alliance with Russia has lost some of its gloss, and that sensible Frenchmen, though their sympathies may be with the Czar and his Government, see no reason for involving themselves in a conflict in which their interests are certainly not identical with those of Russia, and in which they would have to face the inevitable risks and losses of an armed struggle with Great Britain. Both Frenchmen and Englishmen have good reason to be thankful for the cooler temper and clearer vision which they now enjoy. It enables them to see their own true interests more distinctly than would have been possible a few years ago, and those interests are summed up in the one word, Peace. The Cabinet at Washington has taken an active part from the first in connection with Chinese affairs and the officious meddling of Russia in them. The New World it is evident is no longer satisfied to attend upon the footsteps of the Old. But happily all the measures taken or proposed by Mr. Secretary Hay are designed to prevent the spread of the conflagration in the Far East, and if they are carried out in the spirit in which they have been devised they are likely to prove effectual in securing this end. The real danger to the peace of the world lies in the possible inflammation of public opinion here and elsewhere. An outburst of Mafeking madness in this country over the successes of Japan, certain as it would be to be followed by a similar retort from Paris, might set half the world in flames. A great responsibility in these circumstances rests upon our journalists and others who can influence public opinion. One can only hope that they will be sensible of the fact.

Upon one point the war, so far as it has gone, furnishes an impressive lesson that may be studied with advantage in other places besides St. Petersburg. This is the omnipotence of brain-power in controlling the affairs of the world. It is little more than thirty years since modern Japan emerged into the light of day. As it has been picturesquely put, Japan as we now know it is no older than the London School Board. It was my good fortune to witness the proceedings of the first Japanese mission that had come to England in modern times, and that is barely forty years ago. This mission, which was scarcely noticed in London, came to Europe on a double

errand—to study our English method of coal-mining and the way in which the Dutch had preserved their country from the encroachments of the sea. Its members represented the old Japan known to history; they wore the national dress, and those who were entitled to do so carried the two swords. They looked like figures who had marched upon us straight from the Middle Ages. But despite their appearance they were thoroughly practical in their methods. They wasted no time in calls of ceremony upon high officials, or in the distractions which London, even forty years ago, afforded to the stranger within its gates. A certain task had been assigned to them, and they performed it with speed and thoroughness, and then departed to do the rest of their work elsewhere. Japan was just beginning to awake from the slumber of centuries, but even then it manifested the practical spirit and the desire for scientific knowledge which are now seen to be the most remarkable characteristics of its people. When its awakening was complete its rulers made it their business to organise a system of scientific education for all classes of the nation. Never was there such a transformation as that which then came over the spirit of the Japanese. For thirty years past they have been mainly intent upon one thing, the acquirement of scientific knowledge with regard to all the departments of human effort. To know what ought to be done in a given case, and how best to do it, is the ultimate object of all scientific training. Religion, art, and literature, as everybody admits, have their appointed uses in the world, but without this practical knowledge a nation may reach the topmost pinnacle in every other branch of culture, and yet fail hopelessly in its struggle against a competing world. The Japanese have made it their business to carry the scientific spirit into the management of their national as well as their private affairs, and to-day the conflict between them and Russia seems to resolve itself largely into a contest between brains on one side, and muscles, backed by natural resources that are almost illimitable, on the other. In the first round in the apparently unequal match the advantage unmistakably rests with brains. Pall Mall and Downing Street may both learn something from the spectacle which is now being presented to us.

The mention of Pall Mall naturally draws one's attention to what is, after all, the one great practical achievement of the month. Here, at least, is a welcome relief to that dark side of the ministerial position and policy upon which I have been forced to dwell. Mr. Arnold-Forster's appointment as Secretary for War was criticised at the time in many different quarters. But, assuming, as I think we fairly may, his responsibility for the steps that have been lately taken, he has fully justified his selection for the post which he now holds. The report of the small Committee of three which had been empowered to consider the question of the reorganisation of the

War Office was published at the beginning of last month. It was a revolutionary document, and showed that here, at least, there was no tinkering up of an antiquated system, and no shirking of direct responsibility for radical changes. The old War Office, as we have known it ever since Crimean days, was abolished by a stroke of the pen, and in its place there sprang into existence a new department founded upon the model of the Board of Admiralty. The Board of Admiralty is not perfect, but at least it can claim to have worked well under many different, and some very trying, conditions. It has not only given us a fair division of responsibility and labour in the highest branches of the Service, but it has fostered a spirit of independent action, accompanied by personal responsibility, throughout the Service as a whole. The conditions of the army and navy, one need hardly say, are not the same, but nothing has been established more clearly by our recent experiences than the fact that the army badly needs a system of decentralisation, so far as its administration is concerned, and the cultivation of the spirit of independent responsibility among all its substantial units. The proposals of the Committee over which Lord Esher presided were accepted *en bloc* by the Government, and as the Royal Assent was forthwith given to them they at once became law. Their adoption involved the abolition of the great office of Commander-in-Chief, and the retirement of the whole of the distinguished men who filled the chief positions under the old system at the War Office. The only reason for regretting the abolition of the Commandership-in-Chief is that it has the appearance of treating with a certain amount of ungraciousness the last distinguished holder of that post. But the need for reform was urgent, and neither the claims of Lord Roberts nor those of his distinguished colleagues who fell with him could be allowed to stand in the way. In fairness to them it must be said that the responsibility for a lamentably defective and obsolete system of administration did not rest upon their shoulders. They had done their work admirably within the limits assigned to them, and the country cannot forget the debt which it owes to them for the zeal and ability with which they did their duty. But the Government evidently felt, as Lord Esher's Committee did, that an entirely new system could only be worked effectively by new men; and when we remember the absolute necessity for breaking free at once and for ever from the vicious traditions, both social and professional, which have so long paralysed our army system, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that in this matter, at least, they were in the right.

The reconstitution of the Defence Committee on the lines indicated by Lord Esher and his colleagues is an innovation hardly less important than the reorganisation of the War Office; but it is impossible to discuss the far-reaching proposals in the space at my command. There is a subject, however, of even greater importance

than any dealt with by the Committee that, up to the moment at which I write, has not been brought in any definite form before the public. It is one thing to reform the War Office, and quite another to reform the army. Those behind the scenes are only too well aware that army reform is at least as urgent and imperative as War Office reorganisation. The *quidnuncs* of the Service clubs are full of alarmist stories tending to illustrate the lamentable breakdown of the present system. I have no desire to exaggerate the importance of these panic-inspired rumours, but with the Army Estimates still advancing by leaps and bounds, and with the knowledge which most of us have of the condition of our land forces, it is impossible not to await with impatience the proposals which the Secretary for War will have to lay before the House of Commons on this subject. He may, indeed, already have made his statement when these lines appear in print. Whatever his scheme may be, I do not doubt that it will be a bold one, and that Mr. Arnold-Forster will be as anxious to escape from the fetters of red-tape and tradition in reforming the army as he has shown himself to be in reorganising the War Office. The question is one that rises far above the field of party politics; one can only regret that it should have to be faced under existing conditions, in the presence of a grave crisis in foreign affairs, and at the hands of a Ministry which has not only a weakened hold upon the House of Commons, but which has, apparently, forfeited the confidence of the country. Whatever the proposals may be, it is to be hoped that they will be judged upon their own merits, without regard to those of the Cabinet responsible for them. Continuity of policy is not less necessary in military than in foreign affairs.

WEMYSS REID.

LAST MONTH

II

LAST month opened with what I may call a military transformation scene. On taking up my paper on Monday the 1st of February, I, in common with the rest of his Majesty's lieges, learnt with astonishment—I might almost say with trepidation—that the British Army was to dispense henceforward with the services of a Commander-in-Chief. I confess that even now I can hardly realise the magnitude of this *coup-d'état* executed by a committee of vigilance composed of Lord Esher, Sir John Fisher, and Sir George Clarke. What next? was, and is still, my mental comment. Gradually, however, my apprehensions died away as I recalled the fact that I could never recollect a period when the British Army was not said to be in need of a drastic reconstruction, or when, after being reconstructed, it was not said to be still in urgent want of wholesale reform. I was further consoled by the reflection—to quote a saying of Emerson—that however marvellous and however complicated any machine may be, it can never work unless there is a man's brain at the head of the machinery. If we are to have no more commanders-in-chief, we shall yet have somebody who will hold the command. What the name or title of the supreme authority may be is a matter of indifference. I have had too much experience of companies not to be keenly alive to the defects of the board system. Still, I have found the system works fairly well when one director takes the lead; and I trust that the new administration of the Army, whatever it may be in theory, will be in fact a one-man board. There are two subjects—theological controversy and military administration—on which I decline, as a rule, to express any opinion of my own. I feel that these subjects 'are too high for me.' But there are two conclusions on the subject of army reform on which even an outsider may venture to make a suggestion. The first is that, however we may remodel and reconstruct our military mechanism, we shall never get an army capable of holding its own, as a second line of defence, until we adopt some form of compulsory service. The second is that until we consent to pay our officers a living wage we can never expect them to study their pursuits with the same energy and zeal as Englishmen of the same

class display in other occupations. Having contributed my probably worthless opinions on army reform, let me conclude by saying that, after careful perusal of the Esher Commission report, I gather that military promotion is to be regulated in future more directly than it has been hitherto by the Sovereign, who constitutionally is the head of the British Army, and by whom every officer's commission has to be signed before it becomes valid. In my opinion, the fact of the duties of the Commandership-in-Chief being exercised in future by the King is likely to prove of advantage directly to the Army and indirectly to the country. His Majesty has always taken the greatest interest in military affairs, and no one of his subjects has more keenly at heart the welfare, efficiency, and repute of the Army. Moreover, under his command, party interests will cease to possess the same influence as they have hitherto exercised in the selection of officers for important commands. The gracious farewell letter addressed to Lord Roberts, in which the King speaks of 'My Army' marks, I expect, the commencement of a new and better era for our military administration.

The King's Speech on the opening of Parliament, delivered on the day following the publication of the ukase in question, contained no allusion to this constitutional *coup-d'état*, though the report of the Commission was declared to have received the full approval of his Majesty. Indeed, the speech was one of the most meagre I can recall having perused for many years past. The ministerial programme hardly even suggests any legislation which could reasonably be expected to occupy more than a few weeks' languid discussion. The scantiness of the bill of fare thus provided for the Session just commenced has been interpreted as showing that the Government contemplates an early dissolution. I question the correctness of this interpretation, but I cannot doubt that the possibility of such a contingency was taken into consideration by the Ministry in drawing up the King's Speech. Very little Parliamentary experience is required to realise that when once, from whatever causes, a Ministry begins to fall to pieces, an unexpected ministerial defeat may occur at any moment upon some minor issue. The resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Ritchie, the replacement of the outgoing Ministers by comparatively young politicians who have not had—and are perhaps not likely to have—the opportunity of acquiring any such hold on public opinion as that possessed by their predecessors, and the virtual secession from the Conservative party of a considerable section of the Liberal Unionists have undoubtedly inflicted a severe blow upon the authority of the Ministry. Misfortunes never come singly; and the sudden illness of the Prime Minister, which has prevented his presence in Parliament, has, to say the least, added to the weakness of the Government. For the first time since the close of the war the Opposition have apparently made up their minds to confront the risk of an appeal to the country.

Whatever the organs of their party may choose to say, the Liberals are alive to the extraordinary effect produced upon the public mind by Mr. Chamberlain's crusade in favour of the revision of our fiscal policy. They think that their chance of obtaining a majority at a general election is far greater now than it is likely to prove after Mr. Chamberlain has propounded his policy before the agricultural constituencies. In their opinion office lies for the time within their reach; and they have consequently agreed to postpone all personal and political differences in their own ranks till they have succeeded in forcing on a general election. They are holding out proposals of joint action to the malcontent Unionists; they are assuring the Irish Nationalists that they are not averse in principle to Home Rule, however much they may have hitherto dissembled their love; they are making friends with the Labour party, and expressing their readiness to relieve the trade unions from any legal liability in respect of outrages committed by their members. Such action is justified by the rules of the party game, however inconsistent it may be with deep convictions or principles. There is no doubt that, even assuming the followers of the Duke of Devonshire should transfer their votes to the Liberals, the Ministry would still nominally command a decisive majority in the House of Commons. But there are, I suspect, a very considerable number of Unionist members who, though they would not vote against the Government, would personally be glad to have the elections over as soon as possible. If this is the case, the Whips will find it difficult to secure the attendance of the non-official members of the party, and in these circumstances an unforeseen defeat is always on the cards.

The debate on the Address was not one likely to take high rank in our Parliamentary annals. Mr. George Wyndham, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Arnold Forster, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Mr. Asquith scored heavily in the course of the debate; but the Ministerial speakers were handicapped by the absence of the Premier and of the late Secretary for the Colonies, while the Opposition were even more heavily burdened by the weakness of their case. They were afraid, as a body, to declare that no reform is needed in our fiscal system, but contended that the idea of any reform, even if advisable in itself, could not be entertained, because it might hypothetically lead to some infraction of orthodox free-trade principles. The whole argument of the Opposition was based upon what may be aptly called 'the thin end of the wedge' theory. It was admitted that retaliation might be essential to the interests of the country, but that these interests ought to be sacrificed because the employment of a retaliatory policy might lead in the future to an abandonment of free trade in favour of protection. The fact that the Government stands pledged not to adopt retaliation till after the propriety of its adoption has been submitted to the arbitrament of the constituencies was studiously ignored.

In plain English, the Liberals and their new Unionist allies created an imaginary issue and then proceeded to demolish it to their own satisfaction. Mr. Morley's amendment was defeated by a majority of fifty-one. Of the 276 votes given in favour of this amendment—tantamount as it was to a vote of censure—sixty-nine votes were contributed by the Irish Nationalists, whose attendance at the division had been secured by an urgent summons on the part of their Whips; while twenty-six Unionists screwed up courage to vote with the Home Rule party against the Unionist Government. Of these malcontents nine are described in Dod's *Parliamentary Companion* as Liberal Unionists. These gentlemen, who were elected as supporters of the Unionist cause, and who now claim to be so wedded to free-trade principles that they are bound in duty to desert their party, must, I think, have felt somewhat uncomfortable when they marched into the 'Ayes' lobby side by side with the Irish Home Rulers, who had just before announced, by the mouth of Mr. J. Redmond, that free trade had proved disastrous to Ireland, and who had made no secret of the fact that they voted for the amendment because they were anxious to see a Unionist Government replaced by a Liberal Home Rule administration. I greatly doubt the debate on the Address producing any marked effect on public opinion. The truth is the time has gone by when Parliamentary debates excited much attention outside of Westminster. Every year the interest of newspaper readers in reports of Parliamentary speeches becomes less and less, if we may judge by the growing curtailment of these reports in almost every influential paper except the *Times*. Nowadays, if you really want to influence the electorate, you have got to stump the country, as Mr. Gladstone did in the Midlothian campaign, and as Mr. Chamberlain has done in the manufacturing districts. It is idle to imagine that the electors peruse long columns of Parliamentary reports. The decline of public interest in the debates of the Legislature may be matter for regret—to my thinking it is matter for regret—but the fact of this decline cannot be doubted by any person cognisant of the statistics of the journalistic trade.

The debate was drawn out for some fourteen days, when it might with advantage have been concluded in a couple. The principal amendment, which was avowedly a vote of censure upon the Government, was moved by Mr. John Morley, who possesses the rare merit of impressing his hearers with the conviction of his own sincerity. He disapproves of war in general, and of our war with the Boers in particular; he hates imperialism, and, above all, the imperialism of Great Britain. In accordance with the teachings of Comte, he holds that the influence of England, as at present constituted, is a barrier to the progress of humanity, and he is therefore a staunch supporter of any policy, such as Home Rule, calculated to reduce England to her befitting position in the community of nations. But

just because my friend Mr. Morley is a rigid and convinced doctrinaire, he is not an effective party speaker. Earnestness is a high moral quality, but its possession is not conducive to success in Parliamentary debate. The greater part of his speech was devoted to a wholesale eulogy of Cobden, and of the principles associated with his name. The obvious answer to this indiscriminate praise of the Anti-Corn Law League and its author is to be found in the subsidiary title which Sir Walter Scott affixed to *Waverley*—‘Sixty Years Ago.’ With the exception of a few fanatics who believe that the economic doctrines of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham are as immutable as the laws of arithmetic, no man of sense will deny that a fiscal policy which may have been sound and beneficial three-score years come and gone may have become unsound and injurious under the altered conditions of the present day. Yet if this is granted all appeals to the Cobden tradition fall to the ground. However, I do not flatter myself that anything I or others can say will alter Mr. Morley’s conviction that Richard Cobden, though he proved himself utterly incompetent to manage his own business affairs, was eminently qualified to conduct the public affairs of the United Kingdom. All I venture to suggest is that, by the showing of his own biographer, the apostle of free trade had no claim to the reputation of statesmanship. If space permitted, I could produce scores upon scores of passages from Mr. Morley’s *Life of Cobden* which prove that whatever the latter’s merits may have been, either in his private or in his political capacity, he had absolutely no claim to be described as a statesman. I must content myself with one brief quotation. In 1842 Cobden wrote a letter to his friend Mr. Ashworth, in which I find the following words :

It has struck me that it would be well to try to engraft our free-trade agitation upon the peace movement. They are one and the same cause. . . . The efforts of the Peace Societies, however laudable, can never be successful so long as the nations maintain their present system of isolation. *The colonial system, with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of except by the indirect process of free trade, which will gradually and imperceptibly loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest.*

The italics are my own. In face of this declaration that the aim and object of Cobden’s free-trade agitation was to sever the connection between Great Britain and Greater Britain, Mr. Morley asks us to believe that Cobden was not only a British patriot but a British statesman. If Cobden was in the right, every vote given in favour of Mr. Morley’s amendment was a vote virtually given against the British Empire.

The most noteworthy speech delivered upon the Address was that of Mr. Chamberlain, not only for its own intrinsic merits, but for the disclosures which it elicited. The facts speak for themselves. In June 1899, when the possibility of war had become imminent, the

Government came to the conclusion that in the interests of peace it would be desirable to send out reinforcements to our army in South Africa, and to provide adequate means of transport for the forces already stationed in the Cape Colony and in Natal. At this time the chief hope of maintaining peace entertained by the then Colonial Minister and his colleagues was to impress upon the Transvaal Government the fact that, in the event of the peace negotiations resulting in failure, England was prepared to go to war. They had every reason to anticipate that the proposal to send out reinforcements would be opposed by the Liberals, as a party, on the ground that it would give umbrage to Boer susceptibilities, and thereby endanger the prospects of a pacific settlement. If the Opposition took up an attitude of open hostility to any military preparations with the view to strengthening our position in the event of war, this attitude would certainly confirm President Kruger in his belief that the Liberal party in England was opposed to war, and that the British Government would be unable to carry out a warlike policy. In order, if possible, to remove any such misapprehension on the part of the South African Republic, Mr. Chamberlain, in accordance with his usual custom of going straight to a point, proposed to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as leader of the Liberal party, to take counsel with him as to how far the despatch of reinforcements to South Africa could be so arranged as to receive the joint support of the two chief parties in Parliament. Sir Henry, after being made acquainted with the military preparations the Ministry had in view, absolutely declined to entertain any suggestion to the above effect. He was within his full right as a party leader in so declining. In common justice it should also be borne in mind that Sir Henry was probably aware of the communications which were passing at that time between Pretoria and the Pro-Boer members of the Liberal party. Anyhow, he refused all kind of co-operation with the war policy of the Government, and stated, in his answer to Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, that 'we [the Liberals] are strongly of opinion that in the present state of feeling in South Africa any military preparations should be done, if done at all, on a moderate scale, and in an unostentatious way.' Upon this refusal the Government, wisely, as I think, determined to postpone any further military preparations sooner than run the risk of an anti-war demonstration on the part of the Liberal party in Parliament, which would infallibly confirm the Boers in their rooted conviction that the British nation was not united in favour of a South African war. The suggestion of military preparations conducted, 'if at all, on a moderate scale, and in an unostentatious way,' was so manifestly imbecile, if judged by later experience, that its author has endeavoured to defend himself by the plea that Mr. Chamberlain had given him to understand that these warlike demonstrations were intended to be part and parcel of a policy of bluff, and that to such a policy he, as the leader of the Opposition,

did not feel himself justified in being a party. The correspondence which has since been published fully confirms the statement of the late Colonial Secretary, while all Sir Henry can allege, as proof of his original charge, is that after the interview in question he had stated in conversation with two friends that he had been invited to take part in a policy of bluff. He further asserted in his own defence that Mr. Chamberlain, at the interview under discussion, used the following words, or words to a like effect: 'You need not be alarmed; there will be no fighting. We know that these fellows [the Boers] won't fight. We are playing a game of bluff.'

It is no imputation on the good faith of Sir Henry and his unnamed friends that, after the lapse of four eventful years, they should not be able to report correctly the exact words of a casual conversation, of which no written record seems to have been taken at the time. It may, however, be worth while to point out that Mr. Chamberlain could not possibly have described the policy on behalf of which he desired Sir Henry's co-operation as a policy of bluff.

On referring to Dr. Richardson's English Dictionary, published in 1856, I find that bluff is described as 'a word not found in our older lexicographers, nor common in composition. It is applied to a bluntness, coarseness, roughness of manner.' If my memory serves me right, the word, in its modern sense, came into use in England some thirty odd years ago, when the late General Schenck, as the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James's, introduced the Emma Mine to the City and the game of poker to the West-end.

Now it is obvious that Mr. Chamberlain could never have regarded the idea of sending out reinforcements to South Africa while the peace negotiations were going on as being of the nature of bluff. The head and front of all the vindictive and scurrilous abuse brought against Mr. Chamberlain is that he was from the outset of the Bloemfontein negotiations determined upon going to war. Nobody in his senses can doubt that he felt confident, whether reasonably or unreasonably, of ultimate success, and that he regarded the outcome of the war as a foregone conclusion in favour of England. If this is so, to call the proposed despatch of reinforcements to South Africa while negotiations were still pending a piece of bluff is a flagrant absurdity. The only intelligible explanation of his action in soliciting Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's co-operation is that he hoped thereby to show that England really meant war in case of need, and that by so showing he might even at the eleventh hour avert the necessity of an armed conflict. Whatever opinion may be held as to the offers made by Mr. Chamberlain and declined by the sometime Minister for War under the Rosebery Administration, these overtures were clearly made with the aim of thwarting the very object Mr. Chamberlain is alleged to have had at heart. To say that his policy was one of bluff is simply childish.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Chamberlain will carry with him the sympathies of the British public in the well-earned rest he is about to enjoy in Egypt. The effect of his temporary absence from the stage of politics will only serve to show how great is the position he now holds. His dauntless courage, his sublime indifference to abuse and invective of any kind, his frank determination to look facts in the face, his marvellous lucidity of utterance, and his power of speaking common-sense to common people, have won for him the confidence of the great mass of his fellow-countrymen. This confidence has been increased by the virulence and unscrupulousness of his detractors.

The news of the Progressive victory at the Cape elections will be some consolation to Imperialists for the animosity displayed towards the Imperialist cause by the Liberal party at home. At the time of the Jameson raid, when the Liberals went mad in their crusade against Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, and when the mildest of their censors exulted in declaring that their career in South African public life was henceforth at an end, I ventured to express my conviction that, notwithstanding all that had come and gone, Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson had a great future before them in the land where they were both honoured and respected. My anticipation has been even more than fulfilled. If Cecil Rhodes had lived, he would long ere this have been Prime Minister of the Colony; and now Dr. Jameson, in virtue of his political connection and his personal friendship with the dead South African statesman, has become the leader of a United British party, which for the first time in Cape Parliamentary history commands an absolute majority in the Legislature. The prospects of the introduction of Chinese labour will probably benefit by the success of the Progressives. The conditions of the Cape Colony and of the Transvaal in respect to labour are entirely different. If I were a settler in the Cape, I should probably have deprecated the introduction of Chinese labourers on the eve of a general election; if I were a settler in the Transvaal, I should advocate it by all the means in my power. Now that the Progressives have carried the day the Bond has no further interest in making Chinese immigration a party question; and the issue will, I hope and believe, be decided on its intrinsic merits.

I find I have more than exceeded the space allotted to me without even alluding to by far the most important event of last month—the outbreak of war in the Far East. I hope there is every prospect that England may not be called upon to exchange the position of a spectator for that of a participator in the war now waging between Russia and Japan. But hope is not the same thing as certainty, and it would be folly to ignore the possibility that in certain contingencies England might be compelled to act as well as to advise. After all the words *‘Tu res agitur’* apply, in as far as England is concerned to the attempt of Japan to prevent Russia from extending her

dominions over China and Korea, if not over Japan. I have not sufficient knowledge of the conditions under which the Japanese conflict is being fought out to the bitter end to form any opinion of my own as to its ultimate result. My sympathies, as an Englishman, are with Japan as against Russia; and, in as far as I can judge from the opening of the campaign has shown the world that the contest is not likely to prove as unequal as was anticipated. I have a strong belief in the saying of Napoleon that somehow Providence is always on the side of the big battalions; and the numerical superiority of the Russian Army—upon paper—is perfectly overwhelming in comparison with that of Japan. I should feel more sanguine of the future if I could see any reason to believe that, supposing war should become imminent, both parties in the State would dismiss party considerations and adopt a common national policy. But 'of this consummation, so devoutly to be wished,' I, for my part, can see no sign. I have been a good deal recently in Paris, and was glad to find that the enthusiasm in favour of the Russian alliance had apparently suffered a grave decline, and that the general wish of the French public seemed to be to abstain from participating in a war in which France has few real interests concerned. If this view is correct, it strongly militates against the possibility of England having to interfere in favour of Japan.

The superstitious belief in the invulnerability of Russia has been rudely shaken throughout Europe by the disastrous defeats she has already sustained at sea, and even more by the hysterical utterances of the Czar and his official spokesmen. The spectacle of a great nation crying out the first moment she meets with opposition, uttering blood-curdling threats as to the vengeance she intends to inflict upon her antagonist, and trying to account for her own incompetence by the assertion that she had made insufficient preparation for war owing to her intense love of peace, is calculated to command respect abroad. But it seems to me over-optimistic yet to assume that the superiority of the Japanese will prove equally decisive when it comes to operations on land.

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composed of Gualacum, Menthol, Red Gum and Wild Prune Bark Extract. These VELADS clear and stimulate the vocal chord. In this way preventing fatigue of the organs of the voice, from which Public Speakers, Singers, and the Clergy suffer. They remove hoarseness and harshness. They are an excellent throat tonic, and an ideal astringent for relaxed throat. They have an excellent effect in inflammatory conditions of the larynx, which is the cause of loss of voice, and they are also invaluable in cases of weakness of throat and elongation of the uvula, enlargement of tonsils, or ulceration. The formula of these VELADS is based on the prescription of one of the most successful specialists of the day.

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VELADS FOR COUGHS—A LUNG TONIC.

composed of Codeia, Heroin, Senega, and Solidified Glycerine. Heroin is newly introduced remedy, now being largely used in all the London Dispensaries with the best results. Its soothing effect is very marked in Bronchitis and the cough accompanying Phthisis. A most effective and equally efficacious whether the cough is of a bronchial nature, cold, or a chronic winter cough. They quickly effect the removal of mucus from the chest, and allay the tickling of the throat, which induces frequent fits of coughing. This combination of Senega and Glycerine is really the most certain and speedy cough remedy known.

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VELADS FOR SLEEPLESSNESS.

composed of a combination of Bromides of Potassium, Ammonium, and so on. These VELADS are quite harmless, and they are intended for those who are not so much a sleep producer that is required as a SLEEP INDUCER. They act by producing a tranquil state of the nervous system, and by doing so, they induce healthy and refreshing sleep. Their effect is particularly noticeable in patients suffering from nervousness and irritability, such as occurs in hysterical

VELADS

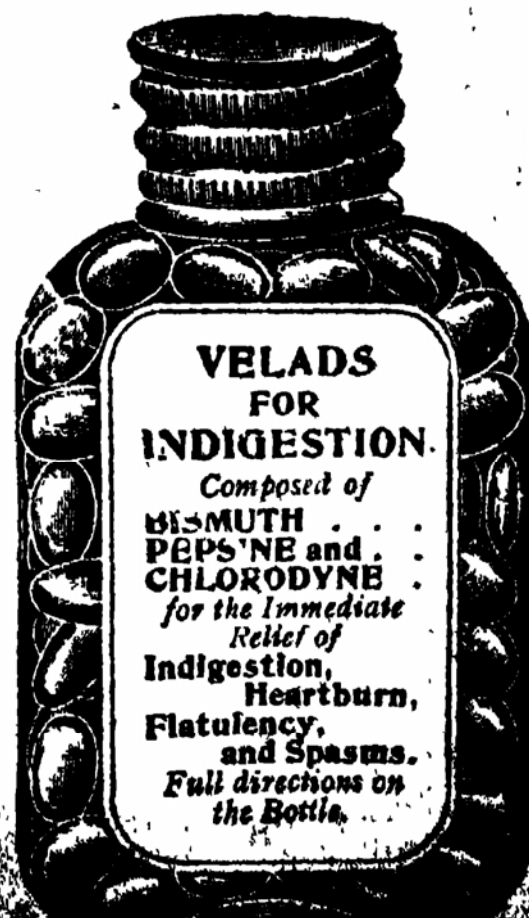
You have noticed that we frankly tell our Customers what drugs are contained in all Velad Preparations.

We do so because we do not want our Customers to think there is any secrecy or quackery about "VELADS."

We do not mind our Customers knowing what drug it is that is doing them good, any more than the best Physicians mind their patients knowing what is in their prescriptions. NO OTHER FIRM of Manufacturing Chemists have the courage to do this.

THE "VELAD" CHEMICAL CO. have originated this practice in the hope that it will help to put an end to humbug and quackery in medicine.

VELADS ARE HONEST MEDICINES.



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VELADS FOR ANÆMIA, (Poorness of Blood).

No ailment is responsible for so much misery as Anæmia. It gives rise to a perpetual feeling of utter weariness, and if neglected the patient becomes a chronic invalid. These VELADS are composed of Phosphate of Iron, prepared in such a way as to be easily assimilated by the most delicate patient. If these VELADS are taken regularly their beneficial effect will soon be evident by the return of a healthy color to the cheeks, which is the surest sign that there is rich healthy blood in the veins.

A pale face is an indication that there is a deficiency of Iron in the blood, and these VELADS by supplying this deficiency quickly remove the distressing sallow bloodless look, to which some ladies, and particularly young growing girls, are particularly subject. Weakness, languor, and incapacity for exertion rapidly disappear, and in other respects their use is certain to be attended with great benefit. Many patients are instructed by their physicians to take them regularly for a period of six weeks or longer.

Bottles 1/- and 2/6, post free.

If there is any tendency to Constipation the patient should take at bedtime in addition VELADS FOR CONSTIPATION as often as necessary.

VELADS FOR RHEUMATISM.

This remedy is advertised with absolute confidence, being the only one which, after watching the results of the treatment of various specialists in this complaint, we consider to give uniformly beneficial results.

Rheumatism is one of the most dreaded ailments, owing to the crippled state to which it reduces the patient, if neglected.

In mild cases, the use of these Velads for Rheumatism will be attended with benefit after five or six doses; in severe or long standing cases much longer treatment will be required to render the beneficial results permanent.

They are composed of Cimicifuga and a Salicylic Organic Compound. This combination gives great relief from the rheumatic pains and cramps, even when they are so severe as to prevent sleep. Several cases have been recorded where these drugs have rendered joints supple and useful, which for some time had almost lost power of movement.

Most favourable reports of these drugs have appeared in the Medical Journals, from which we select the following: "Very useful in Chronic Rheumatism, where one part of a tendon, muscle or joint, is extremely painful. Also useful in Sciatica and Lumbago."

Another says: "In Chronic Rheumatism and Lumbago very valuable."

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VELADS FOR WEAK DIGESTION.

Composed of Pepsine which digests nitrogenous food, Diastase which digests starchy food, Pancreatin which digests fatty food, and Iridin which gently stimulates the liver. These VELADS are a perfect aid to digestion and ensure complete assimilation of the food. They are consequently of special service in debilitated conditions of the digestive system, such as occur after an exhausting illness. To persons who are obliged to adopt a special dietary, these VELADS are very useful, as by their aid many of the inconvenient restrictions may be done away with. Their use may be persisted in for a long period with the greatest benefit to the general health, as they relieve the stomach of a great deal of the task of assimilation, thus enabling an enfeebled digestive system to regain its proper tone. They are adapted for those cases where the digestive system has been weakened or overtaxed by rich or highly-seasoned foods, meals taken hastily, or at irregular times, and other exigencies of society or commercial life.

Bottles 1/6 and 2/6 (treble size) post free.

It is particularly requested that all Orders, however small, be sent DIRECT to the Manufacturers; Customers thus ensure receiving their goods by return of post in faultless condition, and avoid the risk of having inferior imitations substituted for the genuine preparations.

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